

**Class Consciousness in the 2012 Labour Disputes at Marikana, North West
Province, South Africa.**

by

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents Mr Joseph Maswahla Molepo and Mrs Naomi Matabe Molepo and the rest of my family who encouraged me to be positive and work hard. The love, caring, support and modesty instilled in me by you and will to keep on working, enabled me to make strides with this project.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is a presentation of my original work and effort. Wherever contributions of other researchers are made, an endeavour is made to state this evidently with due reference to the literature and acknowledgement of research and discussions. This work has not been submitted anywhere for any other degree at any other institution.

Declaration by: Molepo Matshipi Moses

Signature

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explain the events surrounding the Marikana miners' strike in 2012, using Marxism's concept of class consciousness. The labour disputes witnessed at Marikana in 2012 represent one of the major labour movements that South Africa has witnessed since the inception of democracy. This study adopted qualitative research methods to inquire into the events of the Marikana 2012 labour disputes. Methods used in this study include qualitative research, descriptive research design, Marxism critical inquiry, purposive sampling and critical discourse analysis. Moreover, the study investigated employee relations in the mining sector. In addition, this study also examined the Marikana miner's working and living conditions and probed the role of social control agencies, including, trade unions, bargaining councils and the police, during the protests. This study proposes a fair distribution of wealth in the mining sector and the removal of the Migrant Labour System. Additionally, this study recommends transparency in the mining sector, the transformation of the education system and the restructuring of trade unions.

KEY CONCEPTS

Labour disputes, Collective behaviour, Protests, Natural resources, Class, Class consciousness, Proletariat, Bourgeoisie and Marikana

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND AND ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1. Introduction

The Marikana miners' strike or Lonmin strike was a wildcat strike at a mine owned by Lonmin in the Marikana area, close to Rustenburg, South Africa in 2012. The event garnered international attention following a series of violent incidents between the South African Police Service, Lonmin security officials, the leadership of National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU), as well as the protesting miners. This resulted in the death of 34 mine workers. The majority of the deaths reported occurred on the 16th of August 2012. Over 200 protestors were apprehended and charged with public violence, while some were admitted to hospital for injuries they sustained during the labour disputes.

1.1 Research problem

South Africa has always been prone to labour disputes. This is largely due to its history of racial exploitation during apartheid. Examples of such labour disputes that occurred during the year 2014 were covered by News24.com and include: (a) the 2014 (July the 4th) strike by more than 220 000 engineering and metal workers at Medupi and Kusile Power Stations, (b) the strike by 5 500 FAWU (Food and Allied Workers Union) workers that took place from the 27 May 2014, and (c) the Transnet strike that was characterised by the arrest of 46 people who were charged with public violence. These strikers were arrested on the 29th of April 2014. These strikes represent just a few of the strikes that the country witnessed in 2014, which led to the increased socio-economic problems in the country.

The South African economy took a major blow as a result of the widespread labour unrest in the mining sector in 2012. Evidence of this is visible in the destabilisation of the South African economy since the emergence of the strikes and the loss of income by the striking workers, as was witnessed at Marikana, for example. The 2012 labour disputes in the mining sector, coupled with slow economic growth, could further reduce the creation of employment in the country and, thus, lead to an increase in social problems, such as poverty and crime.

Furthermore, events that took place at Marikana during 2012 drew the attention of South Africa and various other countries. The loss of 34 lives and the injuries which miners suffered during the massacre need to be studied and understood. In addition, there is a need to investigate this event since it was one of the darkest periods in South African history since the inception of democracy in the country. Persistence of labour disputes is a problem to all South Africans. This study used the concept of class consciousness in order to explain what happened at Marikana. South Africa has witnessed labour disputes before but they did not result in such a massive loss of life. Commentators, such as Alexander (2012), termed the Marikana massacre an 'exceptional event' in modern democratic South Africa.

1.2 Literature review

This section deals with labour disputes in other African countries, in South Africa and, specifically, the disputes that occurred at Marikana 2012. Common trends with respect to the labour disputes highlighted are also included and the causes of the Marikana massacre are summarised.

1.2.1 Labour disputes in Africa

Labour disputes are a persistent factor on the African continent. A brief comparison will be made between South Africa (Marikana) and Nigeria (Niger Delta), given that South Africa and Nigeria were arguably the biggest economies on the African continent at the time of the labour disputes of Marikana 2012. Conflict was a necessary factor contributing to the labour disputes that occurred at Marikana 2012. Anstey in (Musukubili, 2009) defines conflict as a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aim of the opponents is to neutralise, injure or eliminate their rivals. Conflict in the corporate world may also be healthy and beneficial. Musukubili (2009) is of the view that conflict is often a catalyst for change, growth and development and, without it, the employment relationship system or society, as a whole, may tend to stagnate. Since conflict is an underlying contributor to labour disputes, the challenge, therefore, is how to approach, manage and handle conflict in the work setting appropriately.

1.2.2 The Niger Delta crisis in Nigeria

The Niger Delta region of Nigeria has been prone to violent attacks and violent demonstrations since its establishment as an industrial area in 1966 (Abegunde, 2012). In addition, Dike (2009) explains that violent agitation in the region was necessitated by a spate of injustices in the Niger Delta performed by the Nigerian government, on the other hand, and by the oil multinationals.

From the aforementioned, one can already infer that there are some flaws in the way in which the Nigerian government and multinational companies regulated the area. A coalition between the government and multi international companies led to antagonisms which were challenged by the lower working class of the Niger Delta. The persisting violent episodes directed at the Niger Delta are summed up by Custers and Mathysen (2009) who recorded violent attacks and labour disputes that date back from 1966 to 2009.

There are two prominent factors that led to violent labour disputes in the Niger Delta, namely, unequal sharing of the resources and exploitation. These capitalistic factors or antagonisms precipitated the occurrence of class consciousness in the region. A class that is conscious of its position in relation to the labour process is capable of challenging current established capitalistic systems. These capitalistic systems allow for the exploitation of the lower class and refuse the equal sharing of the profits of production.

Similarly, factors such as the aforementioned fuelled the Marikana protests. The episodes of the Niger Delta illustrate that labour unrest is not just a South African phenomenon and that some of the factors that contribute to the unrest are somewhat the same, regardless of where they occur. The problems that existed in the Niger Delta region were evident at Marikana, as will become clear in the following paragraphs.

1.2.3 The Marikana crisis in South Africa

The protests that took place at Marikana from August to September 2012 represent one of the largest collective behavioural episodes this country has experienced since the demise of apartheid. The violent episodes of collective behaviour that took place

at Marikana are an issue of concern to most citizens (both academics and the general public). The labour disputes at Marikana in 2012 highlighted the problems that come with capitalistic systems in a globalised industrial economy. The movements representing the protesting workers embrace what is termed class consciousness by Marxists. There is, therefore, a great need to understand and explain the events that led to the Marikana massacre.

The mining sector in South Africa has historically relied on cheap migrant labour, especially during the midst of apartheid. Under a democratic South Africa a great deal has changed, however one can argue that there is still a great deal of change required, especially in the mining sector. Magwaza (2014) states that the police killed 34 miners on the 16th of August 2012 at Marikana. This was probably the lowest point in South Africa's post-apartheid history.

The killings of the 16th of August 2012 followed casualties that occurred between the 12th and 14th of August 2012. The casualties between the 12th and 14th of August included 6 mineworkers, 2 security officials and 2 police officials. This was as a result of the labour disputes between the mine workers and their Lonmin employers. The workers demanded better treatment from their employers, particularly because of their exposure to dangerous conditions in the mines, insufficient wages, rising inequality and the failure of both unions (NUM and AMCU) and political leaders to speak up for the poor (Abegunde, 2012).

1.3 Contributing factors to the Marikana massacre

Factors contributing to the Marikana massacre are outlined in the following section. They include poor relations between employees and employers, poor working and living conditions of the protesting mineworkers, inability of trade unions to resolve the labour disputes and violence by carried out police officials against the strikers during the protests.

1.3.1 Lack of involvement by employers in employee relations

Employers can play an important role in escalating or remedying situations of labour unrest when they occur. The Lonmin mine management had a direct relationship with the protesting mineworkers at Marikana. Twala (2012) argues that, the mining

industry deliberately fragments its work force of 180 000 miners, about 82 000 of whom are employed through labour brokers and are exploited. Pahmidzai and Shane (2009) define a labour broker as a person who assigns a specified number of workers possessing specified skills to a client (employer) for a fixed period of time. The labour broker is deemed to be the employer; however, the worker is subject to client's control, as the client determines what, how and when the work will be done.

The above mentioned factors caused a feeling of unease among the mineworkers and, as a result, they resorted to strikes in order to demand better working conditions, since conventional approaches (collective bargaining councils) did not yield the desired results. Patel (1994) argues that the conditions of life on the mines bring the workers together in such a way that they become aware of their common interests and the strength of their unity. The unity and consciousness of the mineworkers at Marikana was an important factor that contributed to the protests. Since more than half of the workers were employed through labour brokers they were likely to discuss their employment conditions with one another and, if they are unhappy with their conditions, they would likely unite and try to change these conditions.

1.3.2 Poor wages and unreasonable working conditions for miners

Jones (2012) of the Sunday Times wrote that, "Drillers at the rock face of Australian mines earn more than 10 times the wages of their South African counterparts, like those at Marikana Platinum Mine in North West". The wages of the miners was a central issue during the protests, with the workers demanding a wage increase of R12 500 per month. Abegunde (2012) explains that, during the Marikana crisis, the lack of good welfare packages and conditions of service was a lesser reason for what became a violent conflict that claimed 44 lives and left several other miners wounded. The issue of wages has been a consistent problematic area of concern in the South African mining sector.

Alexander (2012) states that the workers struck in support of a demand for a minimum wage of R12 500 per month. Management refused their demands of a wage increase, which resulted in the lengthy protests that followed the deadlock. South African History Online (2012) SAHO submits that, during the five months'

strike, mineworkers' debts increased. Without salaries, the mineworkers' dependence on credit increased as they were forced to pay for basic necessities, such as food, clothes and school fees for their children.

The mineworkers were subjected to inequality from within the framework of their work place at Lonmin. This can be seen in the vast difference in wages between mineworkers and senior officials. This is corroborated by Gwatidzo and Benhura (2013) who found that median wages for legislations, senior officials and managers increased from R2 000 to R6 463 between 1997 to 2001, while those for plant and machine operators only increased from R1 250 to R1 821 during the same period.

The working conditions of the miners were reported to be poor and unproductive by SAHO (2012). In addition, Twala (2012) states that the complaints over poor conditions of employment had been made over a period of time without them receiving meaningful attention, which, in turn, led to an accumulation of grievances which mine workers could no longer tolerate

It is evident that the workers' working conditions were overlooked by their employers, who did not try to remedy the situation despite persistent reporting of non-conducive working conditions. The capitalistic systems at the Lonmin mining company were centralised on maximising profits at minimum costs. The class differentials in wages outlined by (Gwatidzo and Benhura 2013) are one of the fundamental factors that contributed to the consciousness of the workers and the position of their class within the labour process of Lonmin.

1.3.3 Lack of competency on the part of the trade unions

The role played by the mine unions (National Union of Mining worker – NUM and Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union – AMCU) during the Marikana crisis is questionable. The abovementioned trade unions were expected to facilitate addressing process to address the challenges that were faced by the Marikana miners, since the mining sector in South Africa is characterised by collective labour bargaining.

Gwatidzo and Benhura, (2013) define collective bargaining as a process whereby employees and their representatives and employers and their representatives,

negotiate in order to achieve some balance between the fulfilment of the needs and the objectives set for each party. Collective bargaining in South Africa consists of centralised and non-centralised collective bargaining. Gwatidzo and Benhura (2013) defines centralise bargaining as labour-related negotiations that take place at a macro (national) level. Negotiations that take place at a micro level take place at industry level.

The mining sector in South Africa utilises centralised collective bargaining to address wage issues. In consideration of the above, Ntuli and Kwenda (2012) are validated when they indicate that unionisation plays a crucial role in the mining sector. Independent representation of the workers by unions is needed for a fair share of wealth that is generated by the South African mining sector.

Sacks (2014) narrates that, on Wednesday the 8th of August 2012, some rock-drill operators (RDOs) from various Lonmin mines held a mass meeting, demanding a significant salary increase. Sacks (2014) further asserts that NUM leaders present at the meeting categorically refused to support the strike and, as a result, the workers took a memorandum to the NUM offices demanding NUM to represent them in their agitation for a R12 500 minimum wage.

When the mineworkers were approaching the NUM offices, approximately 15 to 20 NUM 'top five' leaders and other shop stewards came out of the offices and began shooting at the protesting strikers (Alexander, Lekgowa, Mmope, Sinwell and Xeswi, 2013). This event took place on the 11th of August 2012. Subsequent to that, on the 13th of August there were reports of two fatalities following a clash between NUM security personnel, Lonmin security officials and the protesting workers (Alexander, et al., 2013).

AMCU was also subject to some questionable moments, during the period of the 2012 miners' protests. Critics claim that AMCU intentionally stirred up strikers to increase the pressure on management (Wehmhoerner, 2012: 2). This type of thinking by the union led to an increase in the level of violence during the protests. AMCU leaders accused the NUM of collaborating with the 'enemy', namely, the employer (Mabuza, 2012: 2).

Twala (2012) further explains the animosity that existed between the two unions by quoting a member of AMCU from the Sowetan newspaper, as follows

“...we were attacked when we were on our way to a meeting. Those NUM leaders killed us because they are protecting the employer...”

These two unions, namely AMCU and NUM were expected to rise up and lead the march for the rights of the workers during the protests; instead they were in continuous conflict with each other and focused mainly on increasing membership numbers rather than on the plight of the mineworkers. The difference in ideology between the two unions was in the manner in which they handled the labour disputes. AMCU's assertion of NUM of having too close of a relationship with the employers (Lonmin) and the perpetuation of violence by AMCU escalated an already hostile environment.

1.3.4 Violence by police officials during the protests

The role played by the police during the protests is very crucial for this study in establishing the importance of social control agencies during situations of unrest in the country. Wehmhoerner (2012) points out that on 16th August 2012 police opened fire at striking workers of the Marikana platinum mine in South Africa, killing 36 miners. Later on autopsies revealed that they were shot from behind. This very tragic event is not dissimilar to events that occurred during the apartheid era. Alexander (2012) describes the Marikana massacre as a watershed moment with significance that has links with the massacres at Sharpeville (1960), Soweto uprisings (1976) and the 1973 Durban strikes. The methods used by the South African Police (SAPS) during these protests are questionable, considering the strides that South Africa has made post-apartheid.

1.3.5 Government laws and policies (mining sector)

Mining in South Africa is an important economic activity. Van der Schyff in (Twala, 2012) states that in 2009 mining contributed 8.8% directly and 10% indirectly to the country's gross domestic product (GDP), sustained approximately one million jobs and created roughly R10.5 billion in corporate tax receipts.

Despite these impressive statistics, the country has been a victim of unequal distribution of wealth, which leads to labour unrest (as witnessed in Marikana in 2012). Government introduced the Mineral and Petroleum Resource Development Act, 28 of 2002 (MPRDA) to bring about equitable reform in the mining sector (Twala, 2012). The MPRDA is somewhat controversial; the Act acknowledges that minerals in the country belong to the nation and that the State is the primary custodian of such minerals.

Twala (2012) argued that, perhaps due to the misinterpretation of the above Act by the miners and other related Acts, the mine workers deemed it necessary to demand what they claimed to be a living wage. However, there were several other factors that led to the Marikana protests, such as the Migrant Labour System, inequality and the poor working and living conditions of the mineworkers.

1.4 Theoretical framework

This section introduces the Marxist concept of class consciousness. Further details on how class consciousness is realised are outlined. This section also offers insights on how class consciousness is a relevant term of reference for this study.

1.4.1 Introduction to class consciousness

The concept of class consciousness originated from the work of Karl Marx. Class consciousness plays a central role in his theory of class and society. Class consciousness is explained by Giddens (1995) as, awareness of the class system, including the class an individual believes himself or herself to be in, together with the imagery of the class system he or she possess. Karl Marx, in (Patel, 1994), based his theory on the distinction of three types of social classes, the upper, middle and the lower class. Marx uses these three forms of class to explore and explain people's social life. For Marx, a class is a group of people who stand in common relationship to the means of production – the means by which they gain a livelihood (Giddens 1995: 216). For class consciousness to occur there are a number of factors to be explored. These factors are covered in the following discussion, with reference to the Marikana labour disputes.

1.4.2 The nature of class

Karl Marx focused most of his attention on the differences between *bourgeoisies* (those who own the means of production) and the *proletariats* (those who earn their living by selling their labour to the bourgeois). For Marx, the relationship between these two classes is exploitative (Patel, 1994). Historically, those who did not own land worked and served the land owners. In South Africa these events were most dominant during the apartheid era. The workers were compelled to share most of their production with the land owners.

However, Marx argues that, in the modern day, workers produce more than what is actually needed by employers to repay the cost of being hired (Thomson, 1974). This is known as *surplus value* which goes in the pockets of the employers as profit. In this study, bourgeois can be perceived as the Lonmin management, who are the owners of the means of production and also possess more power with respect to resources and wealth. By contrast, the Lonmin miners are conceptualised as the *proletariats*, who work under the authority of *bourgeoisies* (the owners of the means of production). The lives of the *proletariats* are characterised by long working hours with minimal payment. This trait is often explained by Karl Marx, as exploitation.

Modern South Africa is also characterised by some of the aforementioned. The mining sector, as seen in Marikana, consists of two contrasting groups, namely the workers and the employers of Lonmin mine. Farganis (2008) states that, "in the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, of manifold gradation of social rank". Examples of such various social ranks include patricians, knights, plebeians and slaves of ancient Rome.

In the middle ages there were feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices and serfs. Modern society has not done away with class antagonisms; instead class has developed from the ruins of the feudal society. Farganis (2008) argues that modern society has established new classes, new conditions of oppression and new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Chang (2010) defines modern day capitalism as a system made up of dozens of employees who are managed by a sole owner, in a system of huge corporations

hiring hundreds or even thousands of employees, with complex organisational structures. The modern day classes in an industrial setting are segmented through new conditions of inequality and exploitation. This can be seen in the difference between the working conditions of the mineworkers' underground, the mine managers and, the shareholders and the board members of Lonmin mine. The mineworkers occupy the lowest level of the labour process and the capitalistic organisational structure of Lonmin allows the exploitation of the mineworkers.

1.4.3 The genesis of elementary class consciousness

Marx, cited in (Przeworski, 1977), states that for class consciousness to occur a distinction between two crucial concepts must be made, namely, "class in itself" and "class for itself". Thomson (1974) explores the essence of a class in itself as being determined by one's relationship to the means of production. So long as a class is not subjectively aware of its objective position within the production relations, it remains a class in itself (Patel, 1994). The *proletariat* is a class in itself simply because of each individual's lack of ownership of the means of production, and the necessity for all of them to sell their labour power to capitalists. Unfavourable conditions experienced by the migrant labourers at Marikana coerced them to sell their labour to the capitalists in order to improve their livelihood and the livelihood of their families. The association of migrant labourers with other mineworkers at Lonmin constitutes a class, the working class. However this type of class still lacks class consciousness.

A class in itself lacks class consciousness, as opposed to a class for itself. Patel (1994) explains that, by becoming conscious of its objective position, a class in itself becomes a class for itself and it transforms itself into a community capable of acting in unity. Marx, in (Patel, 1994), states that, in order for the *proletariat* to become a class for itself, the economic criteria of class in itself must be added to by "class consciousness, by the consciousness of common interests and by the psychological bond that arises out of common class antagonisms". During the 2012 labour disputes, the Marikana mineworkers shared their socio-economic problems and they acted in unity to resolve or overthrow the authority that deprived them of enjoying socio-economic benefits.

1.4.4 Factors contributing to class consciousness

Przeworski (1977) posits that certain conditions must be present for a class in itself to develop into a class for itself, which is a more practical and socially matured group. The protesting mineworkers at Marikana had shared common antagonisms and they were united in their measures and strategies for challenging the established labour relations at Lonmin. The Marikana mineworkers shared antagonisms against capitalistic labour relations at Lonmin, which highlights precipitators of class for itself. A class for itself is conscious of its position within labour relations and has determination to fight against such a system.

Fanon (1952) explains that, in its immediacy, consciousness of self is simply being for-itself, it wants to be recognised as a primal value without reference to life, as a transformation of subjective certainty into subjective truth. Such self-consciousness at its height threatens false consciousness and it is not just plain existence. It threatens established social structures and their organisations.

Fanon (1952) further explains that, human reality in-it-self-for-itself can be achieved through conflict and through the risk that conflict implies. Consciousness at this level was witnessed during the 2012 labour disputes at Marikana. The protesting mineworkers at Marikana were involved in a conflict with the employer (Lonmin), the police, security officials and bargaining councils. However the abovementioned conflict did not even begin to describe the violent nature, convulsion and dissolution of the labour disputes at Marikana 2012.

1.4.5 Proletarian consciousness

This study will confine its attention almost exclusively to proletarian consciousness. Marx, in Thomson (1974), views such consciousness at its highest degree as revolutionary consciousness. Marx, in (Patel, 1994), argues that, capitalism and the competition it entailed, forced members of society into two groups, the *proletariat* or workers and the capitalists or *bourgeoisie*. These two groups are involved in an exploitative relationship, which may result in revolutionary consciousness if the previously mentioned factors contributing to class consciousness are evident. This can be seen in the tragic events that led to the Marikana massacre, which exhibited traces of similar exploitative relationships between the workers and the employers.

Coleman, in (Twala, 2012), explains that, in the years since 1994, the massive platinum boom in the Rustenburg area had generated fabulous wealth for companies and executives, on the one hand, and social squalor, tensions and poverty for workers and communities, on the other. The exploitation, poverty and degradation of the working class at Marikana laid a platform for the emergence of class consciousness among the mineworkers. The movements of the protesting mineworkers highlighted high levels of being class consciousness. The organisation of and unity among the mineworkers that transpired during the labour disputes of 2012 Marikana were remarkable.

According to O'Donnell (2011), South Africa has more than US\$2.5 Trillion in mineral resources, which make it the number one mining country in the world. However, due to the dynamic elements of modern day capitalism, the year 2012 was characterised by a dark history of 44 deaths which resulted from movements by protesting mineworkers who wanted better wages, living and working conditions. Since South Africa is one of the leading mining countries in the world, it would be expected that the workers should enjoy good living and working conditions. However this was not the case at Marikana 2012, as the workers embarked on movements to challenge low wages, poor living and working conditions. The consciousness of the mineworkers at Marikana 2012, was a driving force of their collective movements.

1.4.6 Relevance of the theory to study

The theory is relevant to this study, as it captures and explains the recent activities that took place at Marikana. The theory also offers explanations of events that took place amongst the miners and to their realisation of the present conditions at Marikana. The theory is significant to the study to discover and explain the antagonism between Lonmin miners and their employers. Furthermore the theory used in this study offered a clear analysis of the labour process at Lonmin mine.

1.5 Operational definitions

Class consciousness: For the purpose of this study, class consciousness will be defined as, 'the awareness of the class system, including the class an individual believes himself or herself to be in, together with the imagery of the class system he or she possess' (Giddens, 1995).

Labour disputes: The study will employ the (BusinessDictionary.com, 2010) definition of labour disputes which means, the controversy between an employer and its employees regarding the terms (such as conditions of employment, fringe benefits, hours of work, tenure, wages) to be negotiated during collective bargaining, or the implementation of already agreed upon terms.

Marikana: A mining community in the Rustenburg Local Municipality, where the 2012 labour disputes occurred.

1.6 Purpose of the study

1.6.1 Aim

The aim of the study was to describe the labour disputes that took place at Marikana during the year 2012 using Karl Marx's theory of class consciousness.

1.6.2 Objectives

- to describe the labour disputes that took place at Marikana during the year 2012 using Marxist's concept of class consciousness
- to identify grievances expressed by miners at Marikana as components of class consciousness.
- to illustrate the protestors' behavioural patterns during the Marikana massacre, using the concept of class consciousness Marxism.
- to ascertain the role played by social control agencies during the 2012 Marikana labour disputes.

1.7 Methodology

Qualitative research methodology was used in this study. The advantage of qualitative research includes providing an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world. Qualitative research also allowed the researcher to explore issues in a more detailed manner, by answering questions and seeking meaning.

Grbich (2013) asserts that, qualitative hermeneutic approaches involve seeking meaning and developing interpretive explanations. Meanings in this study were discovered through the following series of actions, namely, collecting and examining data and adjustment of the research objectives in light of emerging issues that were initially excluded; descriptions of who was affected by the labour disputes at Marikana 2012 were outlined; factors that perpetuated the labour disputes were examined; and assessments of key players during the protests were made.

1.7.1 Research design

Descriptive research is most often used when a new area of inquiry is being explored. A descriptive study is concerned with existing distribution of arguments

and casual theories. The researcher had the luxury to go through the results of the inquiries, reports and books concerning Marikana 2012. As a result, the researcher identified key issues for critical discussion. This was achieved through the investigation of the labour disputes at Marikana, the concept of class consciousness and its causal factors. This allowed the emergence of underlying discourses, binary oppositions and further inquiries of globalised modern industrial capitalism.

Traditional descriptive inquiry is characterised by three important factors, which includes person, place and time. However, a good descriptive inquiry must answer who, what, why, when and where. The researcher investigated who was involved in the Marikana protests, what led to the protests, why did the protests persist, how long the protests took place and where the protests occurred. The sixth question that was also added to the above mentioned questions was 'so what'? The researcher examined the aftermath of the protests. Since the study was descriptive in nature, data was measured as it was, no alterations were made to the collected data.

1.7.2 Sampling

Data for this study was generated using secondary data. The respondents were too far away, and could not be reached because the study was not funded. Also the Marikana labour disputes represented a very dark in South African democracy. As such Marikana, at that time of the massacre was a highly politically contested terrain. There were no true established gate keepers and there was a lot of mistrust from the

respondents because of how tense and volatile the situation was. The Marikana labour disputes were also a subject to the Farlam commission of inquiry.

Secondary data includes data that was collected for a different purpose, but can be repurposed for use in a different study. Such data includes documents from academic publications, statistical agencies (such as a population census) and results from investigators. Data was collected from academic publications concerned with the Marikana protests and other documents that were valid, reliable and accredited. As a result, no interviews were conducted for this research project. Only documents with specific reference to the objectives of this study were included.

The sample of the data was collected from various institutions, commissions, books and reports by the parties involved in the 2012 Marikana protests. These documentations were selected because of their validity, reliability and accreditation they received. The documentation included the following:

- The Marikana Commission of Inquiry Report 2015.
- Marikana: A View from the Mountain and a Case to Answer.
- We are going to Kill Each Other Today: The Marikana Story Marikana as a tipping point? The political economy of labour tensions in South Africa's mining industry and how to resolve them.
- Marikana as a tipping point? The political economy of labour tensions in South Africa's mining industry and how to resolve them.
- South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) Annual International Report 2012.
- The Broad Based Socio Economic – Empowerment Charter (BBSEE) for the South African mining and minerals industry 2010.
- Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act 28 of 2002 (MPRDA) and the Mine Health Safety Act 29 of 1996 (MHS).
- Final Results Announcements of Lonmin Plc between 2009 and 2013.
- Lonmin Plc Sustainable Development Reports between 2006 and 2011.
- Bench Marks Foundation Report: Policy Gap 7 Lonmin 2003 – 2012.

1.7.3 Data collection

Secondary data was used for this research project, because it might have proved to be risky for the researcher to venture into Marikana to collect data, during the undertaking of this project. The Marikana labour disputes were characterised by high levels of violence and loss of life.

The researcher collected documents concerning the Marikana massacre and narrowed them down to those documents that were relevant to this study. Documentation included articles, books and reports by journalists and the results of the Marikana commission of inquiry. The collected data was included with reference to the aim and objectives of this study. The researcher developed coding schemes to narrow down the information which was required for this research project. During the data collection phase, the researcher became familiar with the informational content of the documentation and was able to identify new topics to explore.

1.7.4 Data management

Qualitative methods are very complex, especially in the collection of data. Hence the collected data needed to be managed. The collected data was separated into categories in order to label the data and prepare it for coding. For example, data was labelled with an identity label that was familiar to the researcher. Copies of the data were also kept for back up.

Data that could be coded was identified and analysed later to determine if they represented a new category or a subcategory of an existing code. Verification of the textual data was undertaken in order to identify any deviations from the original data.

1.7.5 Data analysis

During this phase the researcher developed analytical intuitions and connections that could be tested as the analysis progressed. Discourse analysis was used for this research project. Gee (1999) describes discourse analysis as a method for analysing the ways that specific features of language contribute to the interpretation of texts in their various contexts. Since secondary sources were used for this study, discourse analysis was an appropriate method of analysis. Discourse analysis allowed the

researcher to describe the Marikana protests in a well-planned or organised manner. Analysis focused on the language used when describing a phenomenon, for example, the Marikana massacre. The analyses of the Marikana massacre included, semiotic, activity, material, political and socio-cultural issues. These points of analysis described the factors that sparked the violence that resulted in the massacre.

Bernard (2000) states that, 'discourse analysis involves the close study of naturally occurring interactions'. During the interpretation phase the researcher read and noted transcripts that described the objectives of this study. Transcripts which covered the same objective were grouped together. Data representative of new areas that were overlooked initially represented new areas to be described with reference to the labour disputes. The researcher described how the discourse at Mariakana 2012 developed, how it worked in terms of organisation and exclusion and lastly the outcomes of the labour disputes.

1.7.6 Transferability, Dependability and Confirmability

As mentioned earlier this research method was characterised by the use of reliable, valid and accredited secondary sources and document analysis. The researcher ensured that all secondary sources and supporting documents used were validated, accredited and reliable. The collected data was verified on the basis of the above, to determine whether the data was relevant to this study or not. Data was also collected with reference to the research objectives of this study.

1.7.7 Bias

Bias was limited in this study, which aimed at describing the nature of the labour disputes at Marikana 2012. The proposed study sought to describe the events of the disputes without taking sides of the parties involved. The presentations of this study, therefore, were representative of the collected data and, as such, no alterations were done by the researcher with the collected data.

1.8 Ethical considerations

This research project did not involve research participants. No interviews were conducted; data was acquired through accredited and reliable secondary sources. This study was also subject to testing for plagiarism through 'Turnitin' software offered by the University of Limpopo Library. This was done to ensure the authenticity of this study.

1.9 Significance of the study

The chosen study is of significant importance in educating and familiarising both academics and the general public about collective behaviour and class consciousness. Collective behaviour is a persistent factor in the modern day world and it has the potential to create very unpleasant scenarios (death and injuries), as was seen in the case of the Marikana massacre. Explanations which may lead to the control and solution of the necessary conditions and precipitants of destructive collective action are needed. This study has the potential to raise awareness about collective behaviour and its aftermath. In addition, this study also has the potential to spark debate in relation to modern capitalistic labour processes in the mining sector of a democratic South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

This chapter introduces the Marxist concept of class consciousness. Further details on how class consciousness is realised are outlined. This section also offers insights on how class consciousness is a relevant term of reference for this study.

2.1 Introduction to class consciousness

The concept of class consciousness originated from the work of Karl Marx. Class consciousness plays a central role in his theory of class and society. Class consciousness is explained by Giddens (1995) as, awareness of the class system, including the class an individual believes himself or herself to be in, together with the imagery of the class system he or she possess.

Karl Marx, in (Patel, 1994), based his theory on the distinction of three types of social classes, the upper, middle and the lower class. Marx uses these three forms of class to explore and explain people's social life. For Marx, a class is a group of people who stand in common relationship to the means of production – the means by which they gain a livelihood (Giddens 1995: 216). For class consciousness to occur there are a number of factors to be explored. These factors are covered in the following discussions, with reference to the Marikana labour disputes.

2.2 Economic inequality and social class

The economic inequality and social class of the Marikana 2012 setup can be analysed by examining the productive force, the relations of production and the superstructure. An analyses of the above mentioned key factors at the mining community of Marikana highlights the difference in the relations to production. The legal and political superstructures are also highlighted by such an analysis of the Marikana 2012.

The productive force is those facilities and devices which are used to productive effect in the process of production (Levi, 1991). Means of production being **is** in the one hand and labour power on the other. Means of production are physical productive resources, machinery, tools, raw materials, premises and financial power.

Labour power includes not only the strength of producers, but also skill and technical knowledge.

From the above discussion, labour power is the most important dimension than the objective means of production. Within the more important dimension of labour power is knowledge. Levi (1991) explains that in its later stages the development of the productive force is largely a function of the development of productively useful science. Means of production alone is not capable of producing what is needed, however labour power has the knowledge and science on how to produce with or without means of production. For as long as there is the know-how on the cognitive of the workers, production will continue.

The mineworkers at Marikana are the labour power with the knowledge and skill to extract minerals from underground. The Lonmin mine owners and board members own the means of production, in machinery and tools for extracting. However the most important dimension of extracting are the mineworkers who makes it possible for the mine owners to generate wealth from the gems they make by selling minerals extracted by mineworkers.

The second key analysis of the Marikana 2012 is relations of production. Relations of production are relations of economic power. Levi (1991) assert that, in a capitalist society relations of production include the economic power capitalists have on means of production, the economic power workers have over their own labour power and the lack of economic power workers have over means of production.

The discussion above highlights three different types of social groupings. The mineworkers have no economic power, the management have economic power over the mineworkers and the owners of the Lonmin mine have economic power to the means of production. The mineworkers who perform the most important extraction of minerals at Marikana are at the bottom of the superstructure.

The capitalistic Lonmin mine labour relations forces the workers to have little or no economic power. Hence the mineworkers protested their position and demanded better treatment from their employers. Mineworkers at Marikana are not part of the economic base but they are below the economic foundation, the ground which

economic power rests. The economic power visible in the capitalistic mine Lonmin solely rest on labour power that is offered by mineworkers.

2.3 The nature of class

Karl Marx focused most of his attention on the differences between *bourgeoisies* (those who own the means of production) and the *proletariats* (those who earn their living by selling their labour to the bourgeois). For Marx, the relationship between these two classes is exploitative (Patel, 1994). Historically, those who did not own land worked and served the land owners. In South Africa these events were most dominant during the apartheid era. The workers were compelled to share most of their production with the land owners.

However, Marx argues that, in the modern day, workers produce more than what is actually needed by employers to repay the cost of being hired (Thomson, 1974). This is known as *surplus value* which goes in the pockets of the employers as profit. In this study, bourgeois can be perceived as the Lonmin management, who are the owners of the means of production and also possess more power with respect to resources and wealth. By contrast, the Lonmin miners are conceptualised as the *proletariats*, who work under the authority of *bourgeoisies* (the owners of the means of production). The lives of the *proletariats* are characterised by long working hours with minimal payment. This trait is often explained by Karl Marx, as exploitation.

Modern South Africa is also characterised by some of the aforementioned. The mining sector, as seen in Marikana, consists of two contrasting groups, namely the workers and the employers of Lonmin mine. Farganis (2008) states that, "in the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, of manifold gradation of social rank". Examples of such various social ranks include patricians, knights, plebeians and slaves of ancient Rome.

In the middle ages there were feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices and serfs. Modern society has not done away with class antagonisms; instead class has developed from the ruins of the feudal society. Farganis (2008)

argues that modern society has established new classes, new conditions of oppression and new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Chang (2010) defines modern day capitalism as a system made up of dozens of employees who are managed by a sole owner, in a system of huge corporations hiring hundreds or even thousands of employees, with complex organisational structures. The modern day classes in an industrial setting are segmented through new conditions of inequality and exploitation. This can be seen in the difference between the working conditions of the mineworkers' underground, the mine managers and, the shareholders and the board members of Lonmin mine. The class analysis at Marikana 2012 portrays high levels of economic inequality. With the mineworkers occupying the lowest level of the labour process and the capitalistic organisational structure of Lonmin allowing the exploitation of the mineworkers.

Antagonisms that are shared and endured by the mineworkers awaken what is termed class consciousness. Common interests and unity ignited the mineworkers to fight for what they saw rightfully as theirs. This was a fair share in the economic gains of the South African mining industry. A detailed outline on class consciousness is outlined in the following discussions.

2.4 The genesis of elementary class consciousness

Marx, cited in (Przeworski, 1977), states that for class consciousness to occur a distinction between two crucial concepts must be made, namely, "class in itself" and "class for itself". Thomson (1974) explores the essence of a class in itself as being determined by one's relationship to the means of production. So long as a class is not subjectively aware of its objective position within the production relations, it remains a class in itself (Patel, 1994). The *proletariat* is a class in itself simply because of each individual's lack of ownership of the means of production, and the necessity for all of them to sell their labour power to capitalists. Unfavourable conditions experienced by the migrant labourers at Marikana coerced them to sell their labour to the capitalists in order to improve their livelihood and the livelihood of their families. The association of migrant labourers with other mineworkers at Lonmin constitutes a class, the working class. However this type of class still lacks class consciousness.

A class in itself lacks class consciousness, as opposed to a class for itself. Patel (1994) explains that, by becoming conscious of its objective position, a class in itself becomes a class for itself and it transforms itself into a community capable of acting in unity. Marx, in (Patel, 1994), states that, in order for the *proletariat* to become a class for itself, the economic criteria of class in itself must be added to by “class consciousness, by the consciousness of common interests and by the psychological bond that arises out of common class antagonisms”. During the 2012 labour disputes, the Marikana mineworkers shared their socio-economic problems and they acted in unity to resolve or overthrow the authority that deprived them of enjoying socio-economic benefits.

2.5 Factors contributing to class consciousness

Przeworski (1977) posits that certain conditions must be present for a class in itself to develop into a class for itself, which is a more practical and socially matured group. The protesting mineworkers at Marikana had shared common antagonisms and they were united in their measures and strategies for challenging the established labour relations at Lonmin. The Marikana mineworkers shared antagonisms against capitalistic labour relations at Lonmin, which highlights precipitators of class for itself. A class for itself is conscious of its position within labour relations and has determination to fight against such a system.

Fanon (1952) explains that, in its immediacy, consciousness of self is simply being for-itself, it wants to be recognised as a primal value without reference to life, as a transformation of subjective certainty into subjective truth. Such self-consciousness at its height threatens false consciousness and it is not just plain existence. It threatens established social structures and their organisations.

Fanon (1952) further explains that, human reality in-it-self-for-it-self can be achieved through conflict and through the risk that conflict implies. Consciousness at this level was witnessed during the 2012 labour disputes at Marikana. The protesting mineworkers at Marikana were involved in a conflict with the employer (Lonmin), the police, security officials and bargaining councils. However the abovementioned conflict did not even begin to describe the violent nature, convulsion and dissolution of the labour disputes at Marikana 2012.

2.6 Proletarian Consciousness

This study will confine its attention almost exclusively to proletarian consciousness. Marx, in Thomson (1974), views such consciousness at its highest degree as revolutionary consciousness. Marx, in (Patel, 1994), argues that, capitalism and the competition it entailed, forced members of society into two groups, the *proletariat* or workers and the capitalists or *bourgeoisie*. These two groups are involved in an exploitative relationship, which may result in revolutionary consciousness if the previously mentioned factors contributing to class consciousness are evident. This can be seen in the tragic events that led to the Marikana massacre, which exhibited traces of similar exploitative relationships between the workers and the employers.

Coleman, in (Twala, 2012), explains that, in the years since 1994, the massive platinum boom in the Rustenburg area had generated fabulous wealth for companies and executives, on the one hand, and social squalor, tensions and poverty for workers and communities, on the other. The exploitation, poverty and degradation of the working class at Marikana laid a platform for the emergence of class consciousness among the mineworkers. The movements of the protesting mineworkers highlighted high levels of being class conscious. The organisation of and unity among the mineworkers that transpired during the labour disputes of 2012 Marikana were remarkable.

According to O'Donnell (2011), South Africa has more than US\$2.5 Trillion in mineral resources, which make it the number one mining country in the world. However, due to the dynamic elements of modern day capitalism, the year 2012 was characterised by a dark history of 44 deaths which resulted from movements by protesting mineworkers who wanted better wages, living and working conditions. Since South Africa is one of the leading mining countries in the world, it would be expected that the workers should enjoy good living and working conditions. However this was not the case at Marikana 2012, as the workers embarked on movements to challenge low wages, poor living and working conditions. The consciousness of the mineworkers at Marikana 2012 was a driving force of their collective movements.

2.7 Relevance of the theory to study

The theory is relevant to this study, as it captures and explains the recent activities that took place at Marikana. The theory also offers explanations of events that took place amongst the miners and to their realisation of the present conditions at Marikana. The theory is significant to the study to discover and explain the antagonism between Lonmin miners and their employers. Furthermore the theory used in this study offered a clear analysis of the labour process at Lonmin mine.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

3. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the labour disputes and strikes that result in violent conflict on the African continent. Factors that contribute to violent conflict will be outlined in this chapter. The causes of the labour disputes, as well as the capitalistic systems that lead to such conflict, are also discussed. Other key conditions of class consciousness are discussed in length, with a comparison of labour disputes in African countries during specific years.

3.1 Labour disputes

Strikes or labour disputes are perpetuated by multiple factors that vary from working conditions to remuneration. According to the Labour Relations Amendment Act, No 12 of 2002, disputes refer to any dispute about a matter of mutual interest between one or more trade union and one or more employee and on the other hand one or more employers' organisation and one or more employer.

Warneck (2007), explains a strike as a temporary stoppage of work which might be in a form of overtime ban, go slow or a complete stop of work by the workers who are involved in a labour disputes with the employer. A strike is also defined as, 'a temporary stoppage of work by a group of employees in order to express grievances or enforce a demand' (Hyman, 1989). Strikes are a collective act undertaken by a group of employees who are in dispute with their employers. Additionally, strikes are acts that are undertaken by a group of people who are conscious of their relationship with the societies in which they live.

3.1.1 Dimensions of strikes and labour disputes

The labour disputes at Marikana were centralised on the workers' grievances about their working and living conditions, as well as a demand for a wage increase to R12 500 per month. The employers in Lonmin did not agree to some of the grievances brought forward by the mineworkers and this led to perpetuating factors of the strikes. The bargaining councils also did not yield substantial results to address the demands of the mineworkers.

Strikes are characterised by complex and dynamic factors that include, underlying social structures, processes and relations between the employer and the employees. Darlington (2012) gives an explanation of the contextual features of strikes and they include the economic cycle and levels of unemployment, the size of the workplace, degree of community isolation of occupational communities, nature of conflict handling and collective bargaining arrangements. Some of the features outlined by Darlington (2012) were also witnessed during the 2012 Marikana labour disputes, as will be explained later. These features are responsible for the contradictory social relations between workers and management at Marikana 2012 and thus gave rise to industrial conflict.

The Marikana labour disputes were labelled unlawful by Lonmin, the police and other some of the commentators of the disputes. The disputes were labelled unlawful since the workers wanted to negotiate for their demands outside the established channels. The workers had no faith in the bargaining councils and representatives of union leaders who were allegedly in cahoots with the mine management. Majority of the Marikana workers took it upon themselves to fight and negotiate for their demands.

3.2 Labour disputes in Africa

The African continent has been endowed with various natural resources. This has turned the world's attention to the continent for economic benefits. Natural resources play a key role in the conflicts that are persistent in African communities, especially in the mining sector, as is witnessed in the following outline of labour disputes on the African continent.

The persistence occurrence of violent clashes and protests that are recorded in the mining sector, as seen in Marikana and other mining communities, are an issues of concern for academics and the public in general. These violent clashes at times lead to massive loss of life, as was the case at Marikana 2012, Zambia 2011 and Guinea 2007. The fatal clashes in the mining sectors of these three aforementioned countries are outlined in detail in the following discussion.

Abegunde (2012) explains the dynamics of resource conflict on the continent by ambivalent significance of natural resources, their management and distribution, and

their effect on welfare delivery and social reaction. The unequal share of profit and the large gap between the employers and the employees is an example of what is articulated by Abegunde. These factors fuel the labour disputes that are witnessed in the African mining sector.

Mining on the African continent plays an important role in positioning much of the African societies in terms of political and economic resource allocation (Darlington, 2012). The mining sector is largely characterised by enormous segmentations of class. The dynamics that the working class are exposed to are very different to those who control the means of production.

The African continent has been 'invaded' by multiple international companies that expropriate mineral resources. More often than not these companies create instability and conflict, since they are primarily focused on making profits through cheap labour. This can be validated by the Migrant Labour System to be discussed in the following points of reference.

3.3 Historical overview of labour disputes on the African continent

In order to keep a firm grip on the composition of this study it is important to understand the dynamics of resource conflict on the African continent, including the history of such conflicts and trends of such conflicts. As illustrated earlier by Abegunde (2012), the continent has been on the receiving end of violent, often fatal, clashes in the mining sector. This section examines recorded labour protests witnessed on the African continent and, later on, establishes common trends during such protests in relations to the disputes of Marikana.

3.3.1 Labour protests in Ghana

Maoto (2013) reported that production at the Gold Field mines in Ghana ground to a halt as a result of wildcat strikes. Three thousand mineworkers represented by Ghana's Mineworker Union submitted a list of demands to management at both the Tarkwa and Damang mining sites. Furthermore, Xulu and Marias (2013) reported that the workers downed tools for six days as they demanded the removal of certain senior members of Gold Field management and performance bonuses. They also complained about the standard of food supplied.

Moreover, the workers complained about the nutrition at mine canteens as being poor and, thus, affecting their health (Xulu and Marias, 2013). Wage issues are always at the centre of labour disputes in the mining sector, as was the case in Tarkwa and Damang. Mining companies usually want to cut costs by paying the miners low wages or depriving them of bonuses, as seen at the above mentioned mining sites. More often than not, these traits of exploitation by mining companies are challenged by the conscious working class.

The protesting mine workers at Marikana were also subject to inadequate salaries, amongst other grievances that were brought forward. Underpayment of mine workers in Africa is a real and existing antagonistic which the conscious working class simply cannot tolerate. The workers at Tarkwa and Damang shared the same problem of low wages as the workers in Marikana in 2012. Mine workers from both mining companies had to launch protests to gain the attention of their employers. This also highlights the mistrust from both the management and the workers and the separation which is created between the two. Management protects and improve their wellbeing by acting as instigators of the separation between the workers and them. The separation of the workers leads to class struggle of the workers who share the same antagonisms.

3.3.2 Labour protests in Zambia

Copper mining in Zambia is one of the main industries contributing to the economic development of the country. The industry was faced with a wave of labour protests that occurred in the Copperbelt Province in 2011. Wei and Hu (2011) submits that, strikes began on 5 October 2011 in the Chambishi mines belonging to the Non Ferrous Africa Corporation (NFCA) by mine workers in the Copperbelt Province over wages and working conditions. Additionally, there were also reports of one fatality and one of executive members who sustained injuries as a mineworker pushed a trolley that crashed on the two men (Wei and Hu, 2011).

The labour disputes in Zambia draws parallel to that of Ghana gold fields and Marikana with wages being at the centre of the disputes. The 2011 labour disputes in Zambia's NFCA led to fatalities as it was the case in Marikana. Constant loss of lives during disputes in the mining sector is a serious issue of concern. This study

condemns such tragedies and highlights the socio-economic problems that lead to such tragedies.

3.3.3 Labour protests in Guinea

O'Donnell (2011) identifies Guinea as one of the top five mining countries in the world, behind South Africa, Russia, Australia and Ukraine, with a total of \$222 billion of bauxite reserves. In 2007 the country was faced with prolonged general protests in the mining sector, which were followed by devastating results. Reuters (2012) reports that, Guinea's powerful labour movement paralysed the country for two months through a general strike in early 2007, before it was violently put down by the army, causing the death of at least 150 people.

Guinea was also subject to a tragedy of 150 people losing their lives during labour disputes in the mining sector. As Reuters 2012 points out that, the strike was put down by the army which is supposed to defend and protect the citizens of the country, it was indeed heart breaking. In Marikana 2012 the South African police were responsible for the killing of 34 miners and it was a very dark period of our democracy post-apartheid. The army and the police are vital organs of state. They are both liable for the protection and upholding of the constitution. If such vital state organs are used to protect the interest of exploitative capitalistic systems at the cost of the wellbeing of its country's citizens, then that country is subject to heightened socio-economic problems which will eventually lead to serious crisis in the government.

3.3.4 Labour protests in Namibia

In 2013 about 300 workers, including mine staff and contractor employees of the LHU mine (Langer Heinrich Uranium Mine), protested against LHU because of poor working conditions, issues pertaining to female worker's miscarriages, the company's refusal of a wage increase for the workers, unfair performance bonuses, nepotism and corruption (Basov, 2013). Basov (2013) further states that the Australian based Paladin Energy Ltd. owns a 100% interest in the LHU mine.

The workers of the LHU mine were likely to be overlooked as was the case in 2013. The motive of the owners of LHU mine, like most mine owners, is to make large amounts of profits at minimum costs. The workers at the LHU mine were evidently

involved in an exploitative relationship with the international Australian company. Globalisations bring about the interconnectedness of countries and allow trading between countries. Globalisation coupled with capitalism often brings about social problems in countries which are considered underdeveloped or developing. Multi-international mining companies hold such countries at ransom and the mineworkers are at the receiving end of exploitative capitalistic measures.

3.3.5 Labour protests in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Mining in the DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo) is characterised by high levels of employment of artisanal miners. The miners are in continuous clashes with mining companies and the police. Caugharan (2013) observed that mining operations in the DRC have resulted in decades of abuse against artisanal miners and their neighbouring communities. The DRC authorities have not only failed to prevent mining companies and traders from abusing the human rights of the artisanal miners, they themselves have violated human rights to facilitate mining operations.

The case in the DRC not only outlines exploitation of artisanal miners for profits but also points to the government's failure to intervene and insure the protection of these miners and their communities, as described by Caugharan (2013). The case that was witnessed in the Democratic Republic of Congo confirms certain failures by African governments to protect and ensure the safety of workers in the mining sector. This was the case with the other four mining countries which were discussed above.

3.4 Mining in South Africa

The role of mining in South Africa has been an extremely important one since the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and of gold in 1886. Since the late 19th century, mining has shaped the country politically, culturally and economically (Bur, 2012). Mining in the country is responsible for the development of several industries and businesses built around the mining sector. Mining is an integral part of the South African economy. In addition, the mining sector is thought to employ over a million people in the country, which makes it one of the major employers in South Africa.

South Africa is one of the world's leading producers of platinum group metals (PGMs). In 2011, South Africa accounted for 74% of the world's platinum mine

production, 38% of the world's palladium production, and 80% of the world's production of other PGMs (Thomas, Yadira and James, 2013). Chamber of Mines of South Africa (2012) stated that products derived from mining and mineral processing accounted for 45% of national exports, and PGMs comprised of 25% of these exports. This indicates that the country's development and economic growth is largely dependent on the mining sector.

3.5 Historical overview of labour unrest in the South African mining industry

Mineral extraction throughout the world has long been accompanied by social protests (Bebbington, Hinojosa, Bebbington, Burneo and Warnars, 2008). Historically, such protest hinged mostly around the relationship between capital and labour. Although protest in mines is often supported by political activists, such protests are usually led by unions and workers' organisations.

Harvey (2005) states that a distinction between exploitation and capital accumulation through dispossession is a key feature that drives the occurrence of protests in the mineral extraction industry. When protests occur in the mining sector they are usually triggered by workers who seek higher wages, shorter working hours and shares in profits or ownership. There is a long list of protests that occurred in the South African mining sector. A review of labour disputes in the South African mining sector is outlined in the next section, starting from 2009.

3.5.1 Labour disputes in the South African mining sector between 2009 and 2012

In 2009 the Murray and Roberts mine faced a wildcat strike after the contracts of over 3 000 workers were terminated for allegedly embarking on an illegal strike. The Murray and Roberts mine has experienced a series of violent encounters between mine workers, the police and security personnel under contract with Murray and Roberts. Seccombe (2012) outlined some of the violent attacks that were caused by labour unrests at the Murray and Roberts mine, where three guards and police officers shot and killed three people during an invasion and, furthermore, in November 2009 police arrested 32 Murray and Roberts workers after they invaded a shaft at Kroondal and attempted a sit in, which was marked by violence.

The year 2010 was also marked by labour unrests that occurred at the Northam Platinum's Zondereinder operations in Limpopo. The Annual Industrial Action Report (2011) by the Department of Labour documents that, on the 5th of September 2010 most workers of the Platinum's Zondereinder operations embarked on a strike. The strike started after workers rejected the company's wage increase offer of 8%. Like most strikes in the mining sector in South Africa. Employers are more often than not involved in wage disputes with their employees, as was the case in Platinum's Zondereinder operations 2010 and Marikana 2012.

Furthermore in 2011 there were labour unrests at Impala mine in Rustenburg which lasted for more than a month. Nicolson (2012) notes that trouble at the mine started when miners in high demand in the area were offered an 18% increase in wages. Five thousand rock drill operators (RDOs) took issue with the selective increase in salaries and went on strike on the 12th of January 2011. The RDOs were overlooked by the management of the mine, who only approved an increase for the high demand mineworkers, excluding the RDOs. Chapple and Barnett (2012) of CNN reported that fatal incidents occurred during a six weeks strike at the Impala Platinum (Implats) in February 2011, which left three dead. The deaths of the three protesters occurred during a violent confrontation with the police.

The year 2012 was marked by a series of labour disputes that occurred throughout the 2012 financial year. Thomas, et al., (2013) captured the strikes that occurred in the South African Platinum-Group Metal Mines (2012), which included, (a) a six-week shutdown of Implats operations, (b) in September Implats Rustenburg operations were also shut down following the Marikana protests, the company fired 12 000 striking workers and also confirmed labour strikes at its Union and Amandebelt operations, (c) in September unrest spread to other Platinum-Group Metal Mines including, Atlatza Resources Corporations Bokoni Mine, Gold Fields Ltd.'s Beatrix and KDC West Mines, Gold One International Ltd.'s Ezulwini Mine, Harmony Gold Ltd.'s Kusasalethu Mine, Kumba Iron Ore Ltd.'s Sishen Mine, and Village Main Reef Ltd.'s Blyvoor Mine.

Kilby and Bishop (2012) also noted that AngloGold Ashanti Ltd. had strikes at all its gold mining operations. Furthermore Thomas, et al., (2013) state that, in late October 2012, AngloGold Ashanti announced plans to fire 12,000 striking workers,

Atlatsa fired about 2,000 striking workers; Gold Fields, about 1,500; and Gold One, more than 1,400. Dismissing workers toxifies the labour environment and hardens attitudes of miners, which may lead to violent confrontation. As such conflict resolution measures are necessary in the South African mining sector.

3.5.2 Common trends of labour disputes in the South African mining sector

It is evident that the South African mining sector has been on the receiving end of constant labour unrest. From the above discussions it is clear that wage disputes are always at the core of the strikes. It is rather unfortunate that it seems as if the government, trade unions and the employers, who are in a coalition, do not have the necessary means to contain and control the disputes. Most of the discussed disputes are accompanied by violent clashes that usually lead to death.

The persistent occurrence of unrest also indicates that the country is faced with major socio-economic challenges in the mining sector. These socio-economic challenges include poor working and living conditions, low wages and vast inequalities in earnings between the workers underground and management of mines. The exploitative capitalistic nature of multi-international mining companies, in order to make profit with minimal costs, perpetuates such labour disputes. In South Africa such challenges can also be attributed to the Migrant Labour System to be discussed in the following sections.

3.6 The 2011 labour disputes, a build-up to the Marikana massacre

The wave of strikes that occurred in 2011 had an influence on the occurrence of the Marikana protests. The strikes that happened in the build up to the Marikana 2012 labour disputes happened at Lonmin owned mines. The Institute of Development and Labour Law (2014) summarises the series of events that occurred prior the 2012 Marikana protest in the following manner:

There was an unprotected strike at Lonmin's Karee Mine, in which workers demanded the reinstatement of the NUM Branch Committee, which had been disbanded allegedly at the insistence of NUM. It appeared that there was no AMCU presence at the Karee Mine at this point. In May and June 2011, 8 500 striking workers at Karee Mine were dismissed and ceased to be members of NUM as a consequence. The majority were subsequently re-employed. Some of those that are

not re-employed referred their disputes to the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA), assisted by AMCU.

On the 11th of January 2012, RDOs at Implats went on strike for two demands: a net monthly salary of R9 000 and that there be no negotiations with NUM. On the 21st of February 2012, Lonmin signed a 'working-in' agreement with the two recognised (founding) unions namely AMCU and NUM (this allowed workers to work additional shifts in March and December and then take extra days off in Easter and Christmas).

On the 21st of June 2012, RDOs allegedly held a meeting at Karee Mine and marched on the Karee Mine administration offices to "request" that their wages be increased to R12 500 per month. Management agreed to refer the matter to the Lonmin Executive Committee (Exco) and report back. Following a series of negotiations in August 2012, it appeared that the granting of the allowance to the RDOs generated dissatisfaction both amongst those who did not receive it and amongst the RDOs that considered it inadequate. This initiated the chain of events that culminated in the massacre. The failure of wage negotiations for the RDOs was a perpetuating factor which escalated the disputes to a series of protests that followed.

From the above summary of events that took place between May 2011 and August 2012, it is apparent that the workers at the platinum mines were dissatisfied with their employers and the treatment that they received. This was likely to develop into what is termed class consciousness by Marx. The workers are one community and they shared the same burden of working underground. They engaged management through the proper channels, or through conventional means (collective bargaining councils), to get their issues resolved. However such measures did not yield results.

Some of the fundamental conditions for the development of class consciousness are outlined by Thomson (1974) as an aggregate of people who satisfy the economic criteria of a social class becoming a class in the full meaning of the term when its members are connected by the tie of class consciousness. The community of the workers shared most of their time at work together and they were most likely to discuss issues that are supposed to regulate their working experiences.

There are several factors that contribute to class consciousness and they are summed up by Patel (1994) as follows, in order for the *proletariat* to become class consciousness, the economic criteria must be sustained by class consciousness, by the consciousness of common interests and by the psychological bond that arises out of common class antagonisms. As explained earlier, the workers shared common animosities in regard to the working environment and their wish was to solve their problems through conventional methods. These conventional methods yielded no results, leading to the protests that were witnessed in Marikana 2012. Marx, in Thomson (1974), views such consciousness at its highest degree as revolutionary consciousness.

3.7 The Marikana crisis

The town of Marikana is situated in the North West Province of South Africa. On the outskirts of the town are three Lonmin-owned mines (Karee, West Platinum and East Platinum). Alongside these mines there is the eNkanini shack settlement where a large proportion of the miners reside, while working in the Lonmin mines (Legassick, 2012). The area of Marikana witnessed what some scholars termed a turning point in the history of post-apartheid South Africa. The events of the Marikana protests represented a new level of protest witnessed in democratic South Africa. Alexander (2012) submits that the Marikana massacre was an 'exceptional event', at least for South Africa.

The Marikana miners' strike or Lonmin strike was a wildcat strike that occurred without the approval or support of union leadership, at a mine owned by Lonmin in the Marikana area, close to Rustenburg, South Africa in 2012. The Marikana massacre shocked South Africa and world at large. Tragedy struck on the 16th of August 2012. Alexander (2012) posits that, on that fateful day, heavily armed police shot at a crowd of protesting mineworkers, killing 34 and injuring 78 others.

Domestic and international observers were quick to condemn the tragic events that occurred on the 16th of August 2012. The number of deaths amongst security personnel, members of the SAPS and the protesting miners who were killed in the build-up to and during the massacre amounted to 44. The Marikana massacre opened wounds of South Africans and comparisons were made to apartheid era massacres, such as those in Sharpsville and Soweto. Bur (2012) states that the

shootings which happened in Marikana became known as the deadliest incident of violence between the police and civilians since the dawn of democracy in the country.

3.7.1 The traumatic and tragic events of the 16th August 2012

Following failed wage negotiations and unrest in the area, approximately 3 000 striking platinum mine workers were gathered on a hill close to the town of Marikana, near Rustenburg, in the North West Province of South Africa on 16 August 2012. The police dispersed the crowd on the hill and, in the course of this action, injured 78 mine workers and shot and killed 34 others (Philips, Nelson, Vorajee, Murray, Ndlovhu and Davies, 2014).

During the violent clash between the police and protestors prior to that fateful day, it was reported that two policemen and two mine security guards were also killed (Dlangamandla, Jika, Ledwaba, Mosamo, Saba and Sadiki, 2013). The death of the 2 police officials on the 13th of August was arguably a turning point in the way the South African Police Services handled themselves on the 16th of August. The violence of the 16th of August was initiated by the shootings of the police officials, following orders that were given by police leadership.

Alexander, et al., (2013) also explain that, before the attack, the protestors were surrounded by a barbed wire by the South African Police Services and Task Force. During the shooting, some protestors were shot in the back or in the back of the head while trying to run away. The execution manner in which the miners were killed on the 16th of August indicates traces of revenge by the South African Police Services following the incident of their 2 fallen colleagues who were killed on the 13th of August.

These shootings by the police officials were not justified. The police could have used rubber bullets to disperse the crowd. If they had to resort to the use of live ammunition when they felt that the miners posed a threat to them, they could have shot the protesting workers in their legs, not in their heads and or in their backs. This study strongly condemns the actions of the police during the 16th of August 2012.

These events were very traumatic and tragic and one cannot help but wonder if these events could have been avoided. The police who shot live ammunition at the protestors were apparently under attack by the workers and they shot in self-defence. However, this is very surprising considering that most of the protestors who died were shot at the back. Police brutality in the country has always been an issue of concern as will be outlined in the discussions later on.

3.8 Factors that led to the Marikana massacre

As explained earlier, there were multiple complex factors that led to the labour disputes that occurred in Marikana 2012. These factors include the Migrant Labour System, the experiences of the workers underground, the role of the trade unions, the wage determination process (which includes labour broking and collective bargaining) and the role of the employers. These factors are reviewed below:

3.8.1 The Migrant Labour System

The migrant labour system dates back to the days of apartheid. Wolpe (1972) stated that the migrant labour system was initially functioned for worker control by employers and to preserve an economic and political system that was based on the super exploitation of black workers. In modern democratic South Africa the Migrant Labour System is still evident in the mining sector and employers use the mineworkers' socio-economic problems as methods of control and manipulation.

Unlike in the apartheid era, Migrant Labour Systems are no longer based on skin colour but on class. The system is also centred on methods of manipulation and exploitations which are rooted in the socio-economic problems of mineworkers. The fragmented class of the mineworkers are on the lowest level of the hierarchal bureaucratic capitalist labour relations.

The current South African mining industry is supported by the Migrant Labour System which was inherited from the apartheid system. The mining industry has relied heavily on an institutionalised migrant system that not only guarantees cheap labour through excessive exploitation but that also ensures the externalisation of costs to the 'reserves' and neighbouring countries (Chinguno, 2013). The workers live in dire conditions with minimal rights and an annual work cycle that only allows for breaks at Christmas and Easter.

Migrant Labour Systems and social distance are very important in understanding the underlying social dynamics. Global economic changes brought about how work is fragmented and done in the South African mining sector. Multi-international mining companies thrive on fragmentation. The externalisation of work is designed to minimise risk and maximise profits. The migrant labourer is vulnerable to fragmentations that the company impose and take advantage of the unfavourable socio-economic background of the worker.

The Migrant Labour System is a very bad trait in modern democracy, it still represent exploitation and manipulation of workers. The system has remained unchanged in the mining sector and still continues to haunt the wellbeing of the workers. Exploitation remains the most influential factor that drives the persistent of the Migrant Labour System.

South Africa is arguably one of the countries in the world that suffers from the plague of poverty and high levels of inequality. Dlangamandla, et al., (2013) states that the protesting miners were angered by the inequity in remuneration structures, where CEOs and owners earn a thousand times more than entry-level miners; poverty and inequality; the harsh Migrant Labour System which is signified by the a double family burden borne by many migrant workers and demanding and dangerous working conditions.

3.8.2 The Rock Drill Operator's experience

RDOs perform the toughest, most dangerous functions at the core mining. The RDOs have a long history of being underpaid relative to other miners, especially in the platinum sector. Dlangamandla, et al., (2013) explain that, unlike the gold sector, there are no serious service increment differentials in the platinum sector or other significant allowances and, as such, there are few real cash incentives to do RDO work.

Dlangamandla, et al., (2013) further outlines that almost all RDOs are migrant labourers, almost all are functionally illiterate and about 80% come from the Eastern Cape. The RDOs continue to represent the worst feature of the poverty-driven system that is migrant labour. The RDOs are a class that is widely overlooked and have not enjoyed the fruits of the transition from apartheid to democracy in the

country. The RDOs were the instigators of the labour disputes that followed the refusal of Lonmin to increase wages to R12 500 per month.

3.8.3 Ineffectiveness of the labour movements to handle the worker's grievances at Marikana 2012

In South Africa, trade unions were formed in the early part of 1900s, but workers in the mining sector showed dissatisfaction with their work situation as early as 1882 during the strikes in the mining sector (Hickley, 2012). Mineworkers at Marikana have always been represented by NUM in the past. However, during the Marikana labour disputes, AMCU became the largest union at Marikana subsequent to NUM's loss of membership during the protests. Hickley (2012) asserts that before the introduction of trade unions, employer's main aim was to make as much profit as possible without having any regard for the interests of the workers. Workers were dismissed for no good reason and treated and paid badly while the owners of the business became richer.

South Africa is known for its solid and sound labour relations culture, particularly post the 1994 period (Twala, 2012). Twala (2012) further states that the country's collective bargaining system is amongst the best in the world. The system has clear guidelines and spells out the responsibility of employers, labour movements and workers.

Dlangamandla, et al., (2013) clarify the process of collective bargaining by outlining its core characteristics, which include, (a) a high degree of centralisation of bargaining at the sector or company level, (b) a heavy unspoken reliance by companies on the majority union to manage employee expectations, (c) a merging of bargaining units in some instances to support majoritarian practices, creating a semi closed shop environment for the majority union, (d) a raising for threshold for the entry of minority unions to gain recognition, thus helping to entrench the majority union as the sole bargaining partner and (e) an agency fee to be paid by non-unionised employees to the majority unions *pro rata* according to their representatives.

The above processes are outlined in the Labour Relations Act (LRA), however, these processes are prone to criticism. After a long period of stable collective bargaining,

the negotiating parties became co-dependent. This co-dependence results in material benefits for labour union representatives and management reliance on union representatives. Some of the criticisms outlined above were also visible in Marikana as was evidenced by the relationship between National Union of Miners (NUM) and the mine workers, who were at logger heads with each other.

Trade unions play an important role in South Africa, especially in the mining sector. Twala (2012) states that trade unions are responsible to ensure workers earn a living wage and that the environment they work in is safe. Mwilima (2008) further explains that trade unions have been established to improve living conditions of their members by negotiating; not only decent wages, but benefits such as medical, housing, and pensions, which all contribute to the improvement of living standards of working people. The above position outlines the role of trade unions, which goes beyond the collective bargaining process and places trade unions at the centre of the nation's development.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Association of Mine Workers and construction Union (AMCU) were the two largest unions representing the striking mineworkers at Marikana. However, during the labour disputes NUM was losing members to AMCU. These unions were heavily criticised for failing the workers during the lengthy protests at Marikana 2012 by scholars such as (Msomi 2012, Twala 2012, Sacks 2014 and Steward 2012) for failing the workers during the lengthy protests at Marikana 2012.

Msomi (2012) states that many workers belonging to the NUM and AMCU claimed that they were expelled as members if they voiced their complaints against the leadership of the unions. This was attributed to poor communication between the workers and the leaders of the unions. There was also a perception amongst workers that the unions were in cahoots with the employers, which is why workers were silenced. In addition Twala (2012) states that there was no proper feedback given to the members on the labour issues raised in meetings. In most cases after collective bargaining the leaders would simply tell the workers about the wage increases, without explaining much on negotiations with respect to their working conditions and other related perks.

NUM was under constant siege after it was criticised for having too close a relationship with both the South African ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC) and Lonmin (Msomi, 2012). NUM is the largest union in the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU), which is in alliance with the ruling party (ANC). NUM's independence was compromised by its alliance with the governing political party ANC. Governance was also threatened and questioned during the 2012 Marikana labour disputes.

Sacks (2014) described the events that took place on the 8th and 9th of August, prior to the events of the tragic massacre that took place on the 16th of August. Sacks (2014) observed that on Wednesday the 8th of August some Rock Drill Operators held a mass gathering, demanding an increase in wages. The NUM leaders present at the gathering refused to support the strike. On the 10th of August workers assembled and marched to the offices of Lonmin management where they were addressed by the general manager and were told to go back to the NUM leaders. The reaction of the protestors is covered by Sacks (2014) who further described that on the 11th of August the workers marched to NUM offices in Wonderkop where they submitted a memorandum. As they were 100 – 150 metres from the NUM offices the “top five” NUM leaders and other shop stewards came out of the offices and started shooting at the protesting workers. Following this incident the workers started to carry traditional weapons when they gathered.

Subsequent to the shootings of the 11th of August 2012, (Alexander, et al., 2013) describe that on the 12th of August two security men were dragged from their cars and killed with *pangas* or spears and later the same day two NUM members were stabbed to death. These horrific events occurred during a clash between the protestors, mine security and the police on the 12th of August 2012.

Steward (2012) submits that there were tensions between NUM and AMCU at the Impala platinum mine in Rustenburg. AMCU was accused by NUM, which was losing membership, of using violent tactics and trying to impede negotiations to further its own membership drive. The AMCU disagreement subsequently challenged NUM's dominating position at Marikana. Twala (2012) states that the leaders of AMCU accused the NUM of collaborating with the ‘enemy’, namely the employer.

Interestingly, NUM leaders blamed the labour unrest on the rival AMCU and NUM indicated that its members were forced to join the unprotected strike (Sacks, 2014).

It is apparent that both unions failed the very people they are supposed to represent. NUM officials portrayed high levels of incompetence when they failed to address the concerns of its members. AMCU was involved in a power struggle with NUM and, thus, neglected the safety of their workers. The two unions were in constant clashes with one trying to disregard the other, instead of finding common ground to work together on the issues at hand. NUM officials were also protecting the Lonmin mine management since they were receiving a monthly bonus of R14 000 from Lonmin (Sacks, 2014). On other hand, AMCU mainly focused on increasing membership by poaching members from the NUM.

3.8.4 The role played by the employer (Lonmin)

Lonmin attempted to absolve itself of all responsibility, claiming that clashes were a consequence of competition between the NUM and the newly formed AMCU (Alexander, 2012). However, this was not the case since Lonmin and both unions were responsible for the control and avoidance of the watershed moment that occurred during the protests. Alexander (2012) further states that in the days leading to the massacre, Lonmin lobbied the government to treat the workers' actions as criminal rather than as an industrial dispute.

This coalition by government and Lonmin intensified the class differentials at Mariakana. At this point the protesting workers were faced with a different type of *bourgeoisie*, one that was in cahoots with the South African government. Instead of playing a mediatory role in the labour disputes, government was now one of the elite that stood in between the workers and the realisation of their demands. The workers, at this stage, only had the phenomenon of class consciousness as a driving force, since government and trade unions did not back them in their quest for emancipation from exploitative capitalist structures.

Moreover, Alexander (2012) submits that Lonmin also provided crucial logistical support to the police, including offices for its joint Operation Centre, intelligence collected by security personnel, access to more than 200 cameras, accommodation and food for the police. Transport and helicopters were also provided by Lonmin on

the day. Lonmin completely failed the workers as they focused on neutralising the protestors by deploying police officials and neglected the safety and wellbeing of its employees. One can even argue that Lonmin justified the police's response during the protests by equipping the police with all means available to the company, in a quest to defuse the protesting workers.

3.8.5 Wage determination process in the mining sector

Gwatidzo and Benhura (2013) point out that, in the South Africa mining sector, wages are determined by several factors, including labour supply, labour demand, prices of minerals, institutional factors such as minimum wages, bargaining councils and union pressure and considerations of past racial discrimination.. The wage landscape in the country has evolved along with the country's political transition from apartheid to democracy. Although the wage determination process has been legislated for in a manner that should be beneficial to all parties involved, there are still some outstanding issues which need to be addressed, as discussed below.

3.8.6 Labour broking

Coleman (2012) states that, in the recent years since 1994, the massive platinum boom in the Rustenburg area "has generated 'fabulous wealth' for companies and executives, but social squalor, tensions and poverty for workers and communities". Twala (2012) further explains that the industry "deliberately fragments its workforce of 180,000, about 82,000 who are employed through labour brokers and exploited" and with workers consciously divided along ethnic, racial and regional lines. Lonmin mine, in other words, promotes some features of the apartheid system, yet some of the South African liberation movement's key figures are part of the ownership, board members or management of the mine.

Such key political figures are strategically placed on the boards of Lonmin in such a manner that allegiance will only be declared to Lonmin, not to the working class made up of mineworkers. Chang (2010) affirms that modern capitalist economies are made up of large, hierarchal corporations that plan their activities in great detail, even across national borders.

In modern day capitalism, government policy, corporate planning and market relations are all interrelate in a complex way. Multi international mining companies

from wealthy countries are the masters of these complex relations between government, corporate and markets. The manipulation and control of these complex interrelations are a vital factor in the mining sector. Since mineral resources are thought to belong to the natives who reside on that land, strategies to control government, corporate and markets are a central trait by the mining companies. Mining companies expropriate minerals at low costs by intensifying scarcity and competition for jobs. As such, these corporations create a massive labour force that is willing to sell their labour to the capitalistic mining *bourgeoisie*. Scarcity and competition of jobs thus creates a platform for capitalistic exploitative measures, such as labour broking and the Migrant Labour System.

3.8.7 Collective bargaining councils

Collective bargaining can either be centralised or de-centralised. Collective bargaining plays an important role in wage determination in the mining sector. The Chamber of Mines plays a central role in the centralised bargaining process (Gwatidzo and Benhura, 2013). The Chamber of Mines is responsible for negotiating with workers' representatives. Bargaining Councils consists of trade unions and employer organisations. These Bargaining Councils are governed by the legislative framework dealing with collective bargaining and wage determination. However, in recent years the impact of unions in wage setting has been declining, as witnessed in the 2012 Marikana protests. Workers disobeyed the union directive and viewed the NUM as stooges of the employers and, hence, rejected the union (Gwatidzo and Benhura, 2013). This led to the breakdown of the collective bargaining system.

There are several weaknesses in the wage determination process in the South African mining sector. Harington, McGlashan and Chelkoskwa (2004) illustrate that the main weakness in the wage determination process is attributed to the Migrant Labour System which has largely remained unaltered in the post-apartheid era, despite being criticised. The Migrant Labour System was built during the midst of the apartheid era. It was established on the principles of racial segregation, control and exploitation of African workers. This system makes workers vulnerable as mining companies hire foreigners who can easily be dismissed and re-employed. These mining companies take advantage of the vulnerability of the unfavourable social and political status of the workers in their homelands.

The Labour Market Review of the Department of Labour (2007) submits that, what exacerbates mistreatment of migrant labourers has been the dominance of a handful powerful centralised mining groups which began to outsource non-production and production functions to a growing number of sub-contracting companies. The use of these sub-contracted workers has been the highest in the platinum sector. Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout (2008) point out that in 2005, 54 667 of a total of 96 734 employees in the platinum sector were outsourced. This may also be one of the reasons for the 2012 Marikana protests. The sub-contracted workers are not entitled to the same benefits as other mine workers and their contracts are normally not lengthy ones, which translates into the ease of replacing and hiring them by the employers.

Patel (1994) argues that the conditions of working life in the factory brings the workers together in such a way that they become aware of their common interests and the strength of their unity. Since more than half of the workers are employed through labour broking they are likely to discuss this with one another and, if they unhappy with the situation, they are likely to unite and try to overthrow the system, as was the case in Marikana. The level of class consciousness of the mineworkers challenged the labour broking and other systems that tolerated exploitation.

3.9 Police brutality during the labour disputes

US Legal (2014) defines police brutality as “a civil right violation that occurs when a police officer acts with excessive force by using an amount of force with regards to a civilian that is more than necessary”. Police force was used to maintain the apartheid system in the past. Since 1994 South African Police Services (SAPS) has an obligation to service to the public, which is in line with the South African government’s Batho Pele (People first) initiative to improve the delivery of public services (Zondi and Ukpere, 2014). This service includes crime prevention, community policing, as well as ensuring the safety of the general public during strikes or protests that may affect society. The vision and mission of the South African Police Services is defined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996 (Act 108 of 1996) which states that the SAPS is responsible for:

- Maintaining public order
- Uphold and enforce the law
- Ensure that criminals are brought to justice
- The preventing, combating and investigating of crimes
- Participating in efforts to address the causes of crime
- Investigating crimes that threatens the safety or security of any community
- Preventing anything that may threatens the safety and security of any community
- Creating a safe and secure environment of all people in South Africa
- Protecting the inhabitants of the republic and their property.

From the above it is very evident that the SAPS are an integral part of the South African community. What transpired at Marikana on the 16th of August 2012 contradicts all of the responsibilities outlined by the constitution. The main massacre occurred 300 metres from the site television cameras where trained on and there was evidence that the workers were shot execution style as they raised their hands to surrender or in the back as they fled (Hamilton, 2012).

Du Plessis (2013) from the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID) indicated that there were 720 deaths or fatal incidents in the 2011/2012 financial year, 232 of the fatalities were deaths in police custody, while 488 were as a result of police action. The above statistics highlight questionable conduct by the members of the SAPS who were responsible for fatalities amounting to 488 in 2011/2012 financial year. This was the year of the Marikana massacre. An area of interest also arises, whether the modern democratic SAPS are worse or share the same violent tactics as those of the apartheid system.

Hamilton (2012) further states that a decision had been made to drown the strike in blood. This decision could not have been concluded by Lonmin management or police alone but government must have been consulted at the highest level as Lonmin mine management does not have power to conclude matters on such a high level. There are people who occupy higher offices of authority who knew and enabled the events of the 16th of August 2012. These high ranked authoritative

figures in the SAPS and their actions on the 16th of August will be outlined in detail in Chapter Four of this study.

Fanon (1963) explains that, in poor underdeveloped countries where enormous wealth rubs shoulders with abject poverty, the army and the police force form pillars of the regime. The army and the police are an integral part of any country. The actions of the army and the police affect the whole nation or country. As such, the manner in which the SAPS conducted themselves during the labour disputes at Marikana is a national matter that concerns all South Africans.

3.10 Summary of findings from literature

The following is a summary of findings from the literature reviewed:

South Africa is characterised by labour disputes and strikes that turn into violent conflict. Violent labour disputes did not only occur during the apartheid era but they are occurring in the newly found democracy in South Africa. The labour disputes in the mining sector, the violence and persistence of unjust treatment of mineworkers emphasise serious problems of governance and labour relations in South Africa. Leaders who represent both the mineworkers and governance cannot maintain objectivity when faced with challenges that come about with labour disputes and strikes.

Conflict in the mines is not a uniquely South African phenomenon. Earlier in the chapter there were discussions on African countries and the labour disputes that incurred. Common trends on failures of governance which include exploitative capitalistic methods were discussed in this chapter. Africa being one of the most mining continents, there is an apparent need to rectify expropriation of minerals in the continent. African workers who mostly do the core of mining and expropriating minerals should be well cared for and improve economic lives of such mining communities.

Conflict in the South African mines was inherited from system of apartheid. There are systems which were used to oppress mineworkers during the apartheid era. Traits of these systems are also found in the problematic Migrant Labour System.

The Migrant Labour System has no relevance in modern democratic mining. Exploitative measures and oppressional measures in modern South African mining have no room.

The country's economy is widely influenced by mining as such mining is an integral part of South African development. Proper governance of objective and transparent conduct in the mining sector is an evident need. The Migrant Labour System, coupled with exploitation of workers, is at the core of conflict in the mines.

Trade unions jostled for membership and neglected workers' struggles during the Marikana labour disputes. NUM and AMCU were the most established union representatives during the 2012 labour disputes at Marikana. Under the watch of both unions the collective bargaining council collapsed during the labour disputes. This led to the unprotected strikes that occurred during the disputes at Marikana 2012.

The system of labour broking perpetuates workers' exploitation. The South African government needs to enforce the discussed legislative frameworks in the mining sector and ensure adherence by mining companies. Policy makers in the mining sector should draft measures which counteract exploitation and vulnerability of mineworkers. Accountability from mining companies should be sustained throughout. Transparent methods on profits made from mineral expropriation should be available to ensure sustainable socio-economic growth in South African mining sector.

The SAPS's conduct during the protests was questionable due to the level of violence, injuries and loss of lives that was witnessed prior, during and after the 16th of August 2012. The SAPS failed the country as a whole during the 2012 labour disputes. The study denounces the SAPS's conduct during the labour disputes.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction and study area

Marikana is one of several mining communities in the Rustenburg Local Municipality in the Bojanala Platinum District Municipality, North West Province, South Africa. According to Statistics South Africa (2011), Rustenburg is the most populous municipality in the Northwest Province with a total population of 549 575. According to the 2011 Census, of the 549 575 people who reside in the Rustenburg Municipality, 88.5% are black Africans, 9.4% are white and 2.1% from other population groups (Indians, Asians and coloureds).

The Rustenburg Local Municipality has 199 044 households with an average size of 2.5 persons per household, of which 68.7% are formal dwellings. Female-headed households make up 26.4% of the total, while 84% of the households have access to piped water either in each dwelling or in the yard, 38.5% have water inside dwelling and 83% of the households have access to electricity for lighting (Census, 2011).

According to Census 2011, the Marikana area has a population of 19 522 in 11 679 households. Of the 19 522 people, 12 232 or 62.66% are male and 7 290 or 37.34% of the total population are female (Census, 2011). Black Africans constitute 98.35% of the population, whites 0.86%, Indian or Asian 0.46%, other population groups 0.20% and coloureds 0.14% (Census, 2011). Isixhosa, Setswana, Xitsonga and Sesotho are respectively the most spoken languages in the area, with IsiNdebele being the least spoken language.

According to Census 2011, of the total population of 549 575 of Rustenburg aged 20 years and older, 5.4% have completed primary school, 36.2% have some secondary education, 31.1% have completed matric and 8.9% have some form of higher education, while 5.4% have no form of schooling at all.

The Rustenburg Local Municipality has an overall population of 266 471 people who are economically active (employed or unemployed looking for work), of which 26.4% are unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Moreover, the Rustenburg Local Municipality has an overall population of 142 219 economically active youth (15-34 years), of which 34.7% are unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

In the Northwest Province most of the economic activities are concentrated in the southern region between Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp, as well as in the Rustenburg and the eastern region (including Dr. Segomotsi Mompoti, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, Bojanala and Ngaka Modiri Molema), where more than 83.3% of the Northwest Province's economic activities take place (Democratic Nursing Organisation of South Africa, 2015). The most prominent economic activity in the Rustenburg area is mining. According to South African Info (2012), 94% of platinum in South Africa is found in the Rustenburg and Brits districts.

An environmental analysis of the Rustenburg municipality is summed up by a Municipal Profile provided by the Rustenburg Local Municipality (2013). The total land area is 342 564 hectares and it is divided in the following manner, vacant land – 245 482, agriculture (cultured land) - 50 833, urban – 15 462, mining – 6 220, roads - 4 710, wetlands – 3 765, small holdings – 3 684, plantations – 3 369, scattered rural – 2 907, natural vegetation – 2 712, water – 2 078, industry and commerce – 1 022, agriculture (livestock) – 265, landfill – 41, agriculture (greenhouse) – 8 and sewage ponds – 6 hectares respectively.

4.2 Methodology

This study used qualitative research methods to investigate the 2012 labour disputes at Marikana. According to Hancock, Windridge and Ockleford (2007), qualitative research attempts to broaden and deepen our understanding of how things came to be in our social world. Likewise, Merriam (2009) affirms that qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world.

Bricki and Green (2007) further argue that qualitative research is characterised by its aims, which relate to understanding some aspects of social life and its methods which (in general) generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis. In this study, qualitative research methods offered in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world in Marikana 2012. Furthermore, qualitative research methods used in this study compelled the researcher to explore the emergence of new and overlooked issues.

4.2.1 Ontology

The ontology from this study's point of view is with the nature of reality and what there is to know about the world being studied. According to Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls and Ormston (2013), key ontological questions are concerned with whether or not there is a social reality that exists independently of human conceptions and interpretations, which is closely related to whether there is a shared reality or only multiple, context-specific realities. This study utilised critical theory to investigate and describe the labour protests at Marikana 2012.

4.2.2 Critical Theory

Critical theory was first propounded in 1937. Critical theory attempts to find a supra-disciplinary social theory rooted in Marxism and the critique for political economy and revolution. Critical theory is promoted by the ideologies which are in line with Marxism, hence its employment in this study. Critical theory correspondingly offers a critical analysis, which enabled the researcher to develop a body of knowledge of the Marikana 2012 labour disputes. Critical theory asserts that commodity, money, value, exchange and fetishism characterise, not only the capitalist economy, but also social relations under capitalism where human relations and all forms of life are governed by commodity and exchange relations and values (Kellner, 1990).

Critical theory maintains that capitalist societies produce severe structures wherein human beings are transformed to commodities. The mine workers at Marikana were victims of such a severe system and their labour was converted to being part of trade within the company. Cartman (2013) argues that *proletariats* experience themselves only as objects, for the capitalist labour process strips from them all subjective actions and turns them into the commodity of labour power dominated by the market. This is done in line with a motive of maximising profit at low costs. This model was challenged by the class consciousness of the workers at Marikana. The striking mineworkers at Marikana disputed the labour process at Lonmin as they fought for an increase in their wages and an improvement in their working and living conditions.

4.2.3 Critical Inquiry

This study utilised critical inquiry to investigate currently held values and assumptions of conventional social structures at Marikana 2012. This study sought

to challenge what is termed “false consciousness” in order to develop new ways of understanding unjust social systems. The tenacity of this study was to challenge the ideal projection of capitalism’s harmonious capitalist market, unified by laws of supply and demand. Critical theory offers an alternative by showing the relationships between ideas and theoretical positions and their social environment and, thus, attempts to contextualise or historicise ideas in terms of their roots within social processes (Kellner, 1990).

4.2.4 Critical theory systems and processes

Totality refers to the structure of society, defined by the Marxian critique of political economy, which provides the framework and context of inquiry which constitute social facts (Kellner, 1990). Totality is used in a synchronic sense by critical theorists. This study investigated historical social and cultural backgrounds as well as developments that represent thought and life within the context of mineworkers at Marikana 2012.

Historical ontology explains a reality that is created and shaped by social-, political-, cultural-, economic-, ethnic- and gender-based forces that have been reified or crystallised over time into social structures that are taken to be natural or real (Cohen and Grabtree, 2006). Critical theorists believe that this assumption is inappropriate. Cohen and Grabtree (2006) further argue that critical theoretical approaches tend to rely on dialogic methods that foster conversation and reflection. The reflective dialogic approach of critical theory allowed the researcher to question the natural state and challenge efforts to maintain order during the protests in 2012 Marikana.

The central concern of critical theory is to trace the linkage between the economy and the political, social, cultural and psychic realms. Critical theorists explain the interconnections between these spheres as well as contradictions through what is termed mediated totality. Consequently, critical theory provides analyses of a mediated social totality that describes various relations among spheres of reality, rather than reducing all of society to the dynamics of the economy (Cohen and Grabtree 2006). Critical theory in this study was systematic, integrating and totalising in its quest to explain class consciousness of the mineworkers at Marikana 2012.

Critical theory is a research approach with empirical dimensions, not a naturalistic science. Hence in this study critical theory and qualitative research methods were utilised to go deeper in discovering the reality of the 2012 labour disputes at Marikana. Morrow (1994) argued that a consequence of critical theory is to locate actors within more encompassing structural settings of relations of power and control. This was achieved through a class analysis of the key actors in the Marikana 2012 labour disputes. These actors included the workers, management and board members of Lonmin mine at Marikana. Additionally, Simone (2004) explains that critical theory makes possible the concrete analysis of structure and of contingently staged social action.

4.3 Research design

Descriptive research is mostly utilised when a new area of inquiry is being explored, hence its employment as the research design for this research project. Knowing any phenomena, event or experience requires, at the very least, knowledge of the facts about that phenomena. However, one cannot find such facts outside a particular context that gives meaning to those facts.

This study reviewed relevant literature in line with the research objectives of this study regarding the 2012 labour disputes on Marikana to develop and discover facts that gave meaning to the labour disputes. Descriptions always depend on the perceptions, inclinations, sensitivities and sensibilities of the describer (Sandelowski, 2000). In this study project, the Marikana labour disputes were identified as an event to be investigated and, in the process, certain aspects featuring the disputes began to be transformed and experienced.

4.3.1 Characteristics of descriptive research

The most important aspect of descriptive research is explained by De Jong and Van der Voordt (2002) as objectivity or neutrality. Descriptive research primarily focuses on explanations of how reality is. De Jong and Van der Voordt (2002) further explain that, descriptive research is not aimed at formulating a hypothesis or developing a theory, it focuses on making inventories.

This research project's main focus was directed at describing the events that took place at Marikana 2012 and not to present assumptions on how events unfolded in Marikana 2012. Mitchel and Jolly (2013) argue that, when you use descriptive methods, you gain the ability to test assumptions about virtually any situation. Descriptive methods afforded this study the flexibility to test arguments that were discovered regarding the Marikana disputes using Marxism's class consciousness theory.

4.3.2 Limitations of descriptive methods

Mitchel and Jolly (2013) submit that, without being able to manipulate data and account for the effects of irrelevant assumptions, you cannot legitimately make cause and effect statements. In other words, you may discover that two causes are related but you cannot find out why they are related.

However, although descriptive methods forced the study to make cause and effect assertions, such data helped the researcher to think and explore cause and effect questions. Good descriptive methods provoke the "why" which is usually associated with explanatory research. In order to achieve this, the study followed Mitchel and Jolly's (2013) two main strategies, using findings from correlation studies to think of experimental (cause and effect) arguments.

This reported that police action led to the death and injury of miners at Marikana during the protests. This may have been because the police were responding to a hostile situation. However, since there have been recorded cases of police brutality in the past, one can reach the conclusion that the police are generally brutal in their quest for public order policing. The statistics of police brutality can serve as a link in order to make the assumption that police brutality led to the death of miners in Marikana. Furthermore, Mitchel and Jolly (2013) argue that the introduction of a third factor, that accounts for the relationship of the argument, can be used to make cause and effect claims.

4.4 Data collection

The Marikana massacre was characterised by harsh and violent encounters that resulted in fatalities. Hostility still persists amongst the people who were part of the

massacre, especially when they are questioned about the details of the massacre. Lack of funding also made it hard to interview primary respondents who were too far.

The study utilised secondary documents that had critical engagements of the Marikana labour disputes. The collection of the data took a lot of time, which includes reading and re-reading of materials collected. Coding methods for the collected data came in handy when identifying which documentations were relevant to the study. Both relevant literature and irrelevant literature to the study were backed up for continuous critical analysis. After re-reading of the documents and finding if they serve the aims and objectives of the study, the documents will pass gate keeping of relevant literature.

Functional documentations for the study were only identified after the gate keeping stage. Functional documents for the study were grouped together to address objectives of the study and analysis of data was initiated simultaneously as the data was managed and grouped together.

The study utilised unobtrusive measures to collect relevant data for the study. Unobtrusive measures of data collection include documents, archival records and physical evidence. According to (Marshal and Rossman, 2006), all three abovementioned documents and archival records are the most frequently used in qualitative research.

4.4.1 Data collection sources

(a) The Marikana Commission of Inquiry Report 2015

The Marikana Commission of Inquiry Report (2015) deals with matters of public, national and international concern arising from the tragic incidents at the Lonmin Mine, Marikana, in the North West Province. The Commission was chaired by a retired judge of the Supreme Court of Appeal, Ian Gordon Farlam, along with Advocate Bantubonke Regent Tokota, SC and Advocate Pingla Devi Hamraj, SC and additional members.

The commission was appointed by the President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Jacob Zuma in terms of section 84(2) of the Constitution of South Africa 1996. The mandate given to the commission was to investigate the tragic events of the

protests, specifically the events of the 11th of August 2012 and the 16th of August 2012, which led to the deaths of 44 people, with more than 70 people being injured and approximately 250 being arrested.

(b) Marikana: A View from the Mountain and a Case to Answer

A book by Peter Alexander, Thapelo Lekgowa, Luke Sinwell, Botsang Mmope and Bongani Xezwi entitled “Marikana: A view from the mountain and a case to answer” was published in 2012 by Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd, Pretoria, South Africa.

The book offers a narrative of events covering the build-up and the actual protests. The book includes testimony from strikers who were present at Marikana during the massacre that occurred on the 16th of August 2012. The book also consists of interviews that were undertaken with the president of Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU), Joseph Mathunjwa, ten interviews with the mineworkers who were on strike and an interview with the wife of a miner. The book also captured speeches which were delivered during the protests, including a speech given by Tholakele ‘Bhele’ Dlunga (a strike leader) to a rally on a field at Nkaneng on the 18th of August 2012 and a speech given by Jeff Mphahlele (general secretary of AMCU) at a public meeting at the University of Johannesburg on the 20th of August 2012.

(c) We are going to Kill Each Other Today: The Marikana Story

A book by Felix Dlangamandla, Thanduxolo Jika, Lucas Ledwaba, Sebatatso Mosamo, Athandiwe Saba and Leon Sadiki, titled “We are going to kill each other today: The Marikana story” was published by Tafelberg in 2013.

The book details the events of the protests and the activities of major key players during the protests, including the striking mineworkers, the South African Police Services (SAPS), Lonmin, AMCU and NUM. This book consists of three elements. Part 1 comprises of the events before, during and after the shootings of 16 August 2012. Part 2 contains source material about the conflict, its causes and its aftermath. Part 3 focuses on Hartford’s seminal analysis of the social dynamic underlying sustained unrest in the mining industry.

(d) Marikana as a tipping point? The political economy of labour tensions in South Africa's mining industry and how to resolve them

This article was published by the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), authored by Ross Harvey and titled "Marikana as a tipping point? The political economy of labour tensions in South Africa's mining industry and how to resolve them".

The South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) is an independent non-governmental organisation. The main objectives of SAIIA is to make effective input into public policy and to encourage wider and more informed debate on international affairs, with particular emphasis on African issues and concerns.

Tragedies such as Marikana tend to catalyse change – a potential tipping point on the trajectory of South Africa's political economy. Given the salience of labour – employer and inter - union labour tensions, that occurred at Marikana 2012. The article seeks to discover precipitating factors influencing the Marikana protests. The paper also asks what an optimal resolution of these tensions might look like for the sake of the industry and those it employs. The article further looks into a plausible outcome that could have be achieved within the existing parameters of de facto power in the South African mining industry.

(e) South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) Annual International Report 2012

The "SAHRC Annual International Report 2012" is a report published by the South African Human Rights Comission (SAHRC), authored by Fadlah Adams, Nicole Breen, Jennifer Dixon, Chantal Kisoona, Busiso Moyo, Karam Singh and Rachel Ward.

The events of August 2012 in Marikana in the North West Province of South Africa caused a paradigm shift in the understanding of human rights in South Africa. The events of August 2012 therefore ushered in significant debates concerning how far South Africa had progressed since 1994 and the dawn of democracy in the country. This report attempted to foster debate on South Africa's democratic progression from an international perspective. The report reflected on the main human rights treaties

and treaty bodies of the United Nations, with particular attention given to South Africa's compliance with each convention during the period under review, in terms of policy, noteworthy, legal cases, social and political developments.

(f) The Broad Based Socio Economic – Empowerment Charter (BBSEE) for the South African mining and minerals industry 2010

The Broad Based Socio-Economic Empowerment Charter (BBSEE) of 2010 is an amendment of the BBSEE of 2002. It was amended on the 13th of September 2010 by the Department of Mineral Resources and was published on the 20th September 2010 in the Government Gazette as GN 838 of Government Gazette 33573.

The 2002 Charter was amended to bring about transformation in the mining sector with specific targets set. The Charter aims to redress the historic inequalities experienced by the majority of South Africans which prevented them from owning the means of production and from having a meaningful part in the economy. Attention was given to a number of shortcomings of the previous Charter, these being ownership, procurement, employment equity, beneficiation, human resource development, mine community development and housing and living conditions.

(g) Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act 28 of 2002 (MPRDA) and the Mine Health Safety Act 29 of 1996 (MHS)

Both the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act 28 of 2002 and the Mine Health Safety Act 29 of 1996 are administered by the Department of Mineral Resources, which is responsible for regulating and maintaining order in the mining industry.

The Mine Health Safety Act 29 of 1996 seeks to provide health and safety protection to employees and other persons working on the country's mines. Some of the aims of this Act include protecting the health and safety of those involved in mining, giving effect to the public international law obligations of the Republic concerning health and safety on the country's mines, providing for employee participation in matters of health and safety through health and safety committees, providing for effective monitoring of health and safety conditions on the mines and promoting consultation

and co-operation on health and safety between the State, employers, employees, as well as their representatives.

The Mineral Petroleum Resources Development Act 28 of 2002 seeks to give the State the right to exercise sovereignty over all the minerals and petroleum resources in the Republic. Section 2(d) of the MPRDA explains some of the objectives of the act as follows, “to substantially and meaningfully expand opportunities for historically disadvantaged persons, including women and communities, to enter into and actively participate in the mineral and petroleum industries and to benefit from the exploitation of the nation’s mineral and petroleum resources”. In a nutshell the MPRDA is the primary guideline for expropriating minerals in the country, how are they expanded and how the people who mine such minerals are taken care of in terms of their socio-economic wellbeing.

(h) Final Results Announcements of Lonmin Plc between 2009 and 2013

The Final Results Announcements of Lonmin Plc between 2009 and 2013 highlights the company’s performance, financial results and the general results of the company’s actions during a particular financial year, in this case 2009 and 2013.

(i) Lonmin Plc Sustainable Development Reports between 2006 and 2011

The reports outline Lonmin’s housing commitments between 2006 and 2011. The reports cover targets for converting hostels and the building of housing units for Lonmin employees, as well as other developmental targets set by Lonmin.

(j) Bench Marks Foundation Report: Policy Gap 7 Lonmin 2003 - 2012

The Bench Marks Foundation is an independent non-governmental organisation established by the South African Council of Churches (SACC), the Ecumenical Service for Socio–Economic Transformation (ESSET), Industrial Mission of South Africa, CDT Foundation and the Justice and Peace Department of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference.

The aim of the Bench Marks Foundation is to ensure that the operations of big corporations do not in any way undermine community life and destroy the

environment and that investment is done in such a way that it respects the integrity of creation, is just, equitable and promotes human development.

4.5 Data analysis

The data collected was analysed through discourse analysis. Discourses can either be spoken or written representations of a topic or practice. According to Grbich (2013), discourses dictate meaning or hidden impact of individuals or groups whose views were dominant at a particular point in time. Discourse analysis is a popular set of theories and methods used to investigate problems in the social sciences.

Grbich (2013) explains discourse analysis as a way of questioning in both social and scientific areas, the ways of thinking, writing and speaking about particular topics in order to discover rules, assumptions, ways of seeing, hidden motivations, conditions for development and change, and how and why these changes occurred or were resisted. Qualitative data analysis in this study built a grounded theory of what transpired during analysis. Furthermore, Gee (1999) explains that discourse analysis is centred on how a discourse is developed, how it works and what the outcomes have been.

Gee (1999) stresses that doing discourse analysis has meant that 'discourse' becomes 'language in action'. The language in action that Gee (1999) refers to embodies the expression of subjectivity for the topic under study, being the Marikana 2012 labour disputes. This ideology of language in action is further explained by Sullivan (2012) who argues that, in order for logical and semantically referential relationships to become dialogic, they must be embodied, they must enter another sphere of existence, they must become part of the discourse, an utterance and receive an author that is a creator of the given utterance. The uncovered utterances in this study positioned the author's expression and experience of the topic under study.

Likewise Sullivan (2012) posits that discourse consists of a multiplicity of speaking voices that express and respond to value judgements in their articulation of a point of view. The 'voice' played an integral part in the study by giving an expression a point of view. The voice also gave a particular intonation to an issue, a person or a thing.

As a result discourse became lived experiences during the analysis stage of this study.

The following guidelines were utilised to analyse the collected data, adopted from the Foucauldian approach (Grbich, 2013):

1. Tracking the historical development of the Marikana protests before and during the year 2012, identifying key players during the protests and the social, political and economic atmosphere which underpinned the development of the protests.
2. Identifying factors in terms of the labour disputes, statements, themes, arguments and traces of challenges and ideas that advanced or escalated the labour disputes.
3. Outlining disunity and discontinuity and the limits of the labour disputes and monitoring dispersion or diffusion in other parts of the labour disputes.
4. Locating challenges during the labour disputes and discovering what happened to them, where did they come from, why, and if they were rejected, how were they rejected and by whom and for what purpose.

Lacey and Luff (2001) explain data analysis as processing and working on data in order to ensure that all important data has been captured. Data analysis included organising unarranged data or incomplete data so that crucial information could be extracted from it.

The presentation of data and the analysis thereof were integrated into comprehensible units. Document analyses was done to give voice and meaning to the labour disputes at Marikana. The main documents included in this study were public records, including organisational reports, annual reports, policy manuals and handbooks. Personal documents included accounts of individual actions, beliefs and experiences taken from books by Dlangamandla, et al., (2013) and Alexander, et al., (2013). The collected data was coded and a list of topics was established. Similar topics were grouped together. During the process of grouping the topics together, new topics emerged and they were also coded and grouped together.

The topics were identified by challenging false class consciousness and investigations of Marxism's concept of class. The topics identified through critical

theoretical systems helped in the comprehension of the history of the workers, social classes and the revolution. The causes of the Marikana massacre are complex and contain many gradations. As a result, a single facet could lead to a shallow analysis.

4.5.1 Data management

Due to the amount of the collected literature there was a need to manage the collected data before analysis and interpretation of the data could begin. Strauss and Corbin (1990) explain qualitative data analysis as a search for general statements about relationships and underlying themes. This study utilised the research objectives as reference point for the identification of the underlying relationships and general statements. In order to manage the collected data, data was organised using colour coded notes to keep track of dates, names, titles, timelines and descriptions of settings.

Generating categories of data was an important application of this study. The management of the collected data enabled the researcher to develop points of indication, data organisation and interpretation. This study also utilised template strategies for data organisation. According to Atkinson and Delamont (2005), template strategies apply sets of codes to the data that may undergo revision as analysis proceeds. Such data showed the potential for the creation of a new category or point of interest previously overlooked by the researcher.

4.5.2 Analytical procedures

A discourse analytical procedure involves seven phases, as summarised by Marshall and Rossman (2006). The managed data was organised into analyses units in line with the research objectives of this study. The collected data was also coded, enabling the interpretation of the data through analytical memos. Data was also examined for alternative understandings before the writing of the report for this study began.

Jorgensen and Philips (2002) state that the aim of carrying out critical research is to investigate and analyse power relations in society and to formulate normative perspectives from which a critique of such relations can be made. Discourse interpretations were made and an analysis of the texts collected are presented in

Chapter 4. Binary oppositions were depicted through the analyses of power relations and struggle at Marikana 2012.

4.5.3 Organising the data

The collected data was organised. The researcher used note cards to mark the collected data. The notes cards had points of reference that included the date, place, activity, who and what. This was done with every single document collected. The data was organised and reorganised with suggestions regarding the abovementioned points of reference.

4.5.4 Immersion and Reduction

According Jacoby and Siminoff (2005), during the immersion stage the researcher engages with the data and obtains a sense of the whole before rearranging the data into discrete units for analysis. First the researcher used a comment sheet to record first impressions, new topics and analytical hunches. This was done by reading the available accredited, validated and reliable transcripts used in this study regarding the 2012 Marikana labour disputes.

The researcher also used memos to record early documents and analytical hunches. Wolcott (1994) explains the advantages of writing reflective memos, notes, thoughts and insights as invaluable generation of unusual insights that move the analysis from the mundane and obvious to the creative.

Jacoby and Siminoff (2005) outline the goals of the reduction phase as follows, (a) to reduce the amount of raw data to that which is relevant to answering the research questions, (b) to break the data (both transcripts memos) into more manageable themes and thematic segments and (c) to reorganise the data into categories in a way that addresses the research objectives. The study consistently used codes that were initially developed during and after the collection of data to represent topics, categories of events, attitudes or beliefs that represented human behaviour and processes.

4.5.5 Discourse analysis

This study merged discourse analysis and critical theory to grasp thorough conclusions from the dialectical interactions of the parties involved in the subject

understudy. This study focused on oppositional models of a one dimensional society through contradiction, conflicts and crisis tendencies within the mode of production utilised by Lonmin mine.

Kellner (1990) asserts that critical theorists should be concerned with a theoretical analyses (which include discourse analysis) of developments within capitalist economies and changes in class stratification, the labour process, new technologies, the media and politics. In this study, attempts were made to politicise critical theory by reconnecting it with new social movements and the existence of the political struggles witnessed at Marikana. Critical theory helped to unpack this study through the initial investigation of the reality of the labour disputes, investigation of social structures and a class analysis of the key actors in the Marikana labour disputes.

4.5.6 Foucauldian discourse analyses

The Foucauldian approach uses historical and political tracking of documentation over time and tends to utilise the conceptual preconceptions of power as the basis for interpretation (Grbich, 2013). This study utilised the approach proposed by Foucault to interpret the events of Marikana 2012 labour protest. According to Foucault (1972), discourses are not objects, they do not identify objects, they constitute them and, in the practice of doing so, conceal their own invention.

The Foucauldian approach proposes two areas of interpreting discourse, “the outside looking in” and “the inside looking out”. The outside looking in approach utilises historical development to track a discourse over time, while the inside looking out approach utilises the identification of constituents in terms of statements, themes, arguments, traces of challenges and traces of ideas that changed direction (Grbich, 2013).

4.5.7 The ‘inside – out’ discourse analysis

Inside–out discourse analysis lacks certain fundamental strategies to interpret what this study sought to uncover. As a result, the study utilised the outside-in approach to discourse analysis. The outside–in approach to discourse suggests that the outside world reveals the interior. Feelings or emotions may be publicly portrayed but, if you go deeper, they are representative of the internal emotions or feelings. From the outside–in, in order to record the emergence of the object of a discourse, you need

to first map the surface from which the object has emerged (Grbich, 2013). Identifying the location of such an object and the mapping of perceptions and their relationships enabled the recording of discourse.

In this study, investigations of social groups, work and literature allowed the recording of the disputes in Marikana 2012. Grbich (2013) outlines the final stages of the outside-in approach to discourse analysis by regrouping of statements, their interconnection, their consolidation in particular fields, the persistence of particular themes and their systems of dispersion within which regularities may be evident and can be undertaken.

This study utilised the outside–in approach to discourse analysis because it allowed the exploration of the historical development of the 2012 labour disputes at Marikana and the social, political and economic climate which promoted the disputes. Locating challenges and discovering what happened to these challenges, where they came from, by whom and why, is an integral part of this study, and the outside–in approach to discourse analysis enabled the researcher to find all these focus points.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

5. Introduction

This chapter provides an in-depth presentation of the 2012 labour disputes using the Marxist's concept of class consciousness. This chapter also focuses on the way in which qualitative research methods were used to understand the Marikana mineworkers' experiences and grievances. Additionally, this chapter provides a link between the research objectives and the findings of this study.

5.1 Explanations of labour disputes at Marikana 2012, using Marxism's concept of class consciousness

This section examines explanations of the labour disputes that took place at Marikana. The collected data gives a clear assessment of class consciousness of the workers during the labour disputes. Contributory factors to the labour disputes are also outlined.

5.1.1 The striking workers

It is crucial to point out that the massacre occurred because of the actions of the police; however, one cannot overlook the workers' refusal to be intimidated as a factor. The workers knew the potential that they might be killed but they stayed on the hill and continued to demand that their grievances be heard. Available data from Dlangamandla, et al., (2013) and Alexander, et al., (2013) pointed to strong pre-existing solidarities as outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. The solidarity and unity among the mineworkers awakened their class consciousness. The emergence of class consciousness played an important role in determining the behavioural patterns the workers engaged in during the protests.

Most of the workers were migrant labourers from Pondoland and RDOs from Karee (Dlangamandla, et al., 2013). The workers spent enormous amounts of time together before and during the protests, including the days and nights of struggle on the hill. This section searches for explanations for the remarkable resistance on the part of the workers and the high levels of class consciousness exhibited during the protests.

Evidently pay was the central issue of the protest, with health and safety playing a secondary role. It is clear that management's refusal to talk to the strikers was a crunch issue (Alexander, et al., 2013). The bargaining councils had already failed to yield substantial results to diffuse the strike. In order to thoroughly explain the behavioural patterns of the workers, a class analysis was done in three dimensions that included class structure, the labour process and class formation or struggle of the labour disputes at Marikana.

5.1.2 The Class structure of the Mineworkers

Class structure refers to the location of social agents in the basic property relations or production relations of an economic system (Bidet and Kouvelakis, 2008). The definition of class structure by Bidet and Kouvelakis (2008) is in line with definitions offered by Marx. The position of the mineworkers in property relations or production relations at Marikana was examined. At Lonmin and its economic systems three types of 'classes' can be observed, the workers underground, management and shareholders. The workers are at the lowest level of the economic system, with little incentives and labour intensive constraints.

An interview with an RDO transcribed in (Alexander, et al., 2013) stated the following in terms of daily routines of a mineworker at work:

"I wake up at 3:30am and have to be out of the house by 4am, I walk 1.2 kilometres to catch the 4:15am bus. The bus drops me at K3 shaft so I have to take another bus again that will drop me off at the hostel. Then I take the third bus that drops me here at 4B. Then I check in properly. There are no dispatches (lifts) so we all have to take a chair lift from surface to level 1, then another from level 2 to level 6 and take another chair lift from 6 to 10. That is where I work. When I arrive there I still have to walk another 800 metres to the waiting place".

For this mineworker, and for other fellow mineworkers in the same class, getting to their working stations is, in itself, a struggle, not to mention the labour intensive drilling they have to do during the course of the day. The foremost difference between RDOs and management is getting to work. The RDOs have to go through obstacles that management does not have to go through when both are going to work.

For Bidet and Kouvelakis (2008) class structures are also defined by the distribution of the means of production. Management at Lonmin sets targets for the RDOs to meet while on duty. Property relations thus contribute to class relations when management asserts or enforces claims on the production activities of the RDOs. The targets are enforced to maintain certain levels of production in a given period of time, formulated in Lonmin's Sustainable Development Reports.

Furthermore the RDO interview in (Alexander, et al., 2013) continued to state the following:

“Operating the machine is the most difficult task and you cannot go home until you have completed your daily task. The stress sometimes causes us to make accidents. Because you are constrained by time you always have to watch the time and make sure you finish in time”.

It is evident that the targets that are set by management for the RDOs to achieve are challenging and the RDOs cannot knock off work without reaching their target. As the interviewee explained above, this creates a stressful situation for the RDOs. The mineworker is also a victim of low wages and exploitation. According to Wright (1979), to describe an inequality as reflecting exploitation is to make the claim that there exists a particular kind of causal relationship between the incomes of different actors. The relationship between management and the RDOs in Marikana is exploitative and, as such, constitutes class relationship.

Furthermore, Bidet and Kouvelakis (2008) explain that the process of exploitation thus creates interdependence between the two groups, but this interdependent relationship is, at its very core, an antagonistic one. The fact that there is a dimension of pressure involved in the process means that the exploited RDOs hate the situation they find themselves in, hence the antagonisms that led to the protest. The class differentials at Lonmin in 2012 underpinned the labour disputes that took place at Marikana.

5.1.3 Class formation or struggle of the mineworkers

Commonly, class is readily defined by income. Poor people constitute the lower class, middle income constitutes the middle class and rich people are classed as the

upper class. It is also worth noting that class structure constitutes a hierarchy of one being either above or below another.

Wright (1979) explained that classes thus are not labelled along a continuum from lower to upper; instead they are defined by the nature of the social relations in which they exist. The set of social relations in the mining company Lonmin does not merely portray descriptions of the society there but it also reflects real groupings of interests that can form the basis for collective social action through class consciousness. Przeworski (1977) argued that processes of class formation are seen as a transition from a class in itself to a class for itself. This evidence will be outlined in the discussions on class in itself and a class for itself.

5.1.4 The labour process

According to Bidet and Kouvelaki (2008) the labour process refers to the organisation of production, in which production produces a surplus that the dominant class (owners of production) appropriates from the direct producers. The labour process plays a central role in the underlying centrality of exploitation. Mineworkers were being exposed to domination from within the company because of the capitalist economic structures. Capital was the centre for organising the labour force and processes.

Wright (1979) writes that class positions, as defined within Marxist theory, have a pervasive and systematic impact on income determination. The impact is at least as important as race, education, occupational status or sex. In order to understand fundamental dimensions of social inequality in the mining sector, the difference in the identified classes at the Lonmin were analysed.

Fragmentation at the mining company, Lonmin, also stamps its authority on division of the workers and this can be seen in terms of the difference in wages among its employees. This fragmentation causes the workers to review their stance as they sweat underground to enrich the industry and their employers. This leads to what is termed as class formation or struggle. Class formation or struggle was a necessity contributor of the consciousness of the mineworkers at Marikana with regard to their position in the labour process.

5.2 Grievances expressed by miners as components of class consciousness

This section evaluates grievances that were expressed by the mineworkers towards the mining company, Lonmin. As explained in the above section, the workers had already gone through the three dimensions of class analysis, including class structure, the labour process and class formation. Although the workers were at the stage of class formation, they were still faced with a false consciousness. This section explains the components that led to the class consciousness of the striking mineworkers, as they fought to challenge false consciousness.

5.2.1 Class in itself

If workers are organised against capital in their observed commonality with others, a focus on identity becomes clear. Class is an important factor in the political and economic lives of the mineworkers. The central political actor is the financial company, Lonmin, as coordinators of the entire corporate structure. Small groups of CEOs and managers, who sit on several corporate boards, served as directorate organisers of social structures in the company.

Lukács (1968) argues that, if from the vantage point of a particular class the totality of existing society is not visible, a class thinks the thoughts are imputable to it and which bear upon its interest right through to their logical conclusion and yet fails to strike at the heart of that totality, then such a class is doomed to play only a subordinate role.

Blunden (2006) further states that common conditions of life do not necessarily constitute a class, but they do constitute a class in itself, a class waiting to be born. The workers in solidarity were faced with social degradation and hardships that were imposed on them by the unequal distribution of wealth within the company. The workers, at this stage, were considered a class for itself. The mineworkers were faced with social antagonisms, which were dictated to them by the capitalistic structures of the mining company, centralised on fragmentation and exploitation.

Until the mineworkers struck at the core of the established capitalistic structures, they were a class for itself, with false consciousness. The problem of false consciousness is limited to the realm of the superstructure, the state and the cultural forms, from which the working class is excluded (Eyerman, 1981). False

consciousness was challenged by the labour disputes that the striking mineworkers were engaged in during the 2012 Marikana protests.

5.3 Protestors behavioural patterns of class consciousness

The striking mineworkers had to go through the whole process of class consciousness in order to challenge the social structures that were established at the Lonmin mine, Marikana. The behavioural patterns of the workers portrayed unity, solidarity and high levels of class consciousness during the protests. This section explains the behavioural patterns that the workers engaged in as distinctive attributes of class consciousness.

5.3.1 Evidence of class consciousness at Marikana

Lanning (2007) posits that consciousness comes about when people are aware of something worth communicating to like-minded others, such as making others aware of a common problem, or contesting someone's erroneous view of how capitalist society functions. Class consciousness is more than simply being conscious about social relations. Class consciousness goes further to challenge established capitalistic social relations, as was the case in Marikana 2012.

The Marikana mineworkers were faced with similar social circumstances, living conditions and the kinds of work they do. The workers were also faced with social divisions of labour and similar positions in the established social relationships at Lonmin. Moreover, the workers were conscious of their solidarity and acted based on the common challenges they faced. An analysis between the workers and the employers with regard to different interests and living conditions was done to establish the awakening of class consciousness of the mineworkers.

The mineworkers were conscious that the employers had created labour and living conditions that were not favourable to the working class and they had to be challenged. Dlangamandla, et al., (2013) captured the unfavourable conditions, which include the vast inequity in remuneration structure, the landscape of poverty and inequality, the harsh reality of the Migrant Labour System and the demanding and dangerous working conditions.

Kelsh and Hill (2006) further explains that class is conceptualised in the Marxist framework as a binary social division instituted at the point of production, which is, therefore, capable of explaining the causes inequity and difference at the level of production. The conditions of inequity enabled the development of the Marikana mineworkers' class consciousness.

The class consciousness of the mineworkers led to transformative social action, which translated in the protests. The protests at Marikana 2012 represented revolutionary consciousness of the working class against a capitalistic structure and the facilitators of that structure.

The mineworkers were now conscious of their property relationships. They were conscious that their relationships to property were the cause of the inequality and their exploitative experiences. They challenged the property relationships at the Lonmin. At this point the Marikana mineworkers had gone through a process of class consciousness. Arguably, at this stage they were at highest level of class consciousness, revolutionary consciousness.

5.3.2 Class for itself

After going through the class consciousness process, the mineworkers were now considered a class for itself. Blunden (2006) submits that a class is only really a class, a class for itself, when it is also a social movement, when it has the consciousness of its mission and the organisation to express this and bring it about.

The protesting mineworkers at Marikana had gone through the consciousness of their property relationships at the company and demanded change. After the bargaining councils could not bring about a resolution of the workers' grievances, they embarked on labour disputes, which were categorised by organised protests that lasted for months.

Alexander, et al., (2013) explain the organisation of the movements of the protesting workers on the 16th of August 2012 where workers were moving in tightly-knit battalions, especially the strike leaders, which consisted of five men who were responsible for negotiating with the police, while the other group of workers stopped and kneeled about 20 metres from the police vehicles. These organisational

movements occurred in the morning before the massacre of the 16th of August 2012. These movements showed a high level of unity amongst the protesting mineworkers and hegemony or control.

Dlangamandla, et al., (2013) further explain the organisation of the workers on the 16th of August where striking workers were reciting battle cries from their homeland and move about in organised columns, raising clouds of dust, but 34 of them sang for the very last time. On the 16th of August 2012, the mineworkers portrayed high levels of solidarity to fight for the demands they made of their employers.

The massacre tainted the solidarity and left a bloody memory in the minds of those who were involved in the protests on that fateful day. However, the remarkable consciousness and unity of the workers on that fateful day will forever be encrypted in history. The class consciousness of the mineworkers at Marikana challenged capitalism in modern democratic South Africa in a manner that has never been experienced before.

Fanon (1952) explain that self-consciousness accepts the risk of its life and, consequently, it threatens the other in its physical being. Although freedom is achieved with risk of life, the events of the Marikana massacre on the 16th of August 2012 were severe, cruel and unforgiving.

Fanon (1952) further explained that it is solely by risking life that freedom is obtained; only thus it is tried and proved that the essential nature of self-consciousness is not bare existence.

5.4 The role of social control agencies during the labour disputes at Marikana

This section focuses on the role that was played by social control agencies that were involved in the 2012 labour disputes at Marikana. An analysis of these control agencies was done in order to establish and evaluate their responsibilities, with regards to the 2012 labour protests. These control agencies had different responsibilities and purposes towards the protests and, as such, an analysis of each was done in this regard.

5.4.1 The position of Lonmin

Lonmin Plc is the company that employed the workers who were involved in the 2012 labour disputes. It is a company that is listed on the Johannesburg and London Stock Exchanges. The company engages in the discovery, extraction, refining and marketing platinum group metals (PGMs) and it is also one of world's largest primary PGMs producers. The company operates at Marikana, Akani and Pandora where they own several shafts.

Final results announcements of Lonmin Plc found on their website were analysed between 2009 and 2013. A few highlights were made to establish the company's production rates during 2009 and 2013. The company sold 682 955 ounces of platinum in 2009, 706 000 ounces of platinum in 2010, 721 000 ounces of platinum in 2011, 701 831 ounces of platinum in 2012 and 751 000 ounces of platinum in 2013.

The above sales between 2009 and 2011 shows an increase in each year with respect to ounces of platinum sold, except for 2012. The 2012 figure was the result of the number of hours of production lost in 2012 financial year because of the lengthy Marikana strike that took place between the 10th of August and the 18th of September 2012. Lonmin's Sustainable Development Report of 2012 demonstrates a revenue loss of some \$250 million in 2012. The production levels then picked up in 2013 with an increase of 10.5% from the previous year, which was marked by protests. This was the highest number of ounces sold by Lonmin in the past six years.

5.4.2 Lonmin executives and general worker's salaries

Considering the above in terms of production levels of platinum by Lonmin shows a continuous increase and naturally one would expect an increase in the wages of all the people who were responsible for the profits made. Sadly, that was not the case. Substantial wage differences were very evident and portrayed a vast difference in terms of salaries between the general workers and the company's management. This is evidence of a difference in class structures at the company.

A research report by the Bench Marks Foundation, which investigated Lonmin's activities between 2003 and 2012, was analysed and few highlighted facts included

the following. An average Lonmin mineworker had to work 325 years to earn the value of the CEO's salary in 2011 (Bench Marks Foundation, 2013). This wage difference is astonishing and it highlights the existence of huge class differentials between the workers of the same company.

5.4.3 Lonmin social capital

The company offers support to the communities that are affected by, and involved in, their operations; this is termed social commitment by the company. This is in line with the 2010 Mining Charter and is required in order to get licensing for mining. The Bench Marks Foundation research report points out the problems that arise from these community projects and Social Labour Plans (SLPs) under the mining charter. The items covered in the charter for the money that would be used for community development by the mining company include, skills development, rural development, donations, business development and housing development.

From the above mentioned items there is one that is missing and it is called administration. This means administrative costs and salaries. Salaries were also part and parcel of the money that would be sourced from the Lonmin's Community Development Trust. In other words administrators of the funds for community development get paid from the very same funds that are reserved for community development.

5.4.4 Housing

There are two aspects of Lonmin's housing commitments worth looking at and they are employee housing and hostels. The Sustainable Development Report (SDR) of 2006 by Lonmin indicated a target of 6000 new employee houses over a period of five years, between 2006 and 2010. The SDR 2011 of Lonmin indicated the following:

"...to date we have built 1 728 houses, we have revised our housing strategy, following the experience we have gained of the latest government policies and information gathered from a human settlement survey of our employees".

In short, the company failed to build 4 272 houses that they promised 5 years ago, which was outlined in the SDR of 2006. This was a huge let off by the company

since part of the grievances voiced by the protesting workers included poor conditions of living.

5.4.5 Mineworkers not able and not willing to buy houses

Another major problem with the housing offered by Lonmin was that the houses were for sale. In order for workers to obtain a title deed they had to buy the houses from the company. This was done in opposition to renting and for house ownership. Although this was a good principle, the majority of the workers did not buy the houses that were built.

In a survey done by Lonmin which is covered in 2012 SDR the following was stated with respect of housing sales:

“...in our 2008 survey, we found out that only 15% of employees wishes to buy a house at Marikana and of those, affordability was an issue”.

The purchase price for a unit was R62 426 (Bench Mark Foundation report, 2013). The mineworkers, especially the RDOs, simply could not afford these housing units. The demand for a wage increase validates the inability of workers not being able to afford basic necessities.

The fact that Lonmin could not solve the problem of housing in a period of six years clearly indicates that workers could not afford to buy houses from Lonmin. This, in turn, brings to the fore the issue of mineworker income. The workers simply did not buy the houses because they could not afford them. It was not a matter of a lack of financial education but rather some prudent or rational reasoning. For example, if you embark on a strike and do not get paid you cannot pay your bond and eventually you will lose the house to the bank. The selling of housing units by Lonmin was a complete failure.

5.4.6 Lonmin hostels conversion 2003 to 2012

During the period of 2003 and 2012 Lonmin's target was to build and convert hostels to family units that would cater for its mine workers, especially migrant labours. Data collected in systematic way from the Bench Marks Foundation research report illustrates that the company only managed to convert 79 hostels out of 128 into family units during the 2003 and 2012 period.

According to the Bench Mark Foundation Report (2013), the ratio of the conversion of hostels into housing units was 1 to 7-8, with 8 beds in a hostel translating into 1-2 beds in the new units. This meant that majority of mine workers would be left homeless and would have to find accommodation themselves. Most of the mineworkers eventually built shacks in squatter camps such as Nkaneng and other informal settlements.

The hostel conversion process is a redundant, unsustainable and unjust process. It is very evident from the above that Lonmin failed to meet its housing obligations in time. This translated into poor housing structures that mineworkers would eventually end up living in if they could not make the cut in the conversion process.

5.4.7 Lonmin's role during the protests

Following events of the protests an analysis was done on the role that Lonmin played during the protests. Mining in South Africa contributes largely to the country's economic growth. The strikes of 2012 at Marikana were not an isolated case. Lonmin workers were inspired by the outcomes of the Impala strike. Lonmin RDOs started organising for the strike as of June 2012. The striking mineworkers were uncompromising and stipulated a wage increase outside the collective bargaining council or union framework. The level of determination intensified at that time since workers had a point of reference.

Lonmin mine management engaged the workers outside the bargaining councils and union framework. According to Chinguno (2013), Lonmin mine management offered the RDOs a shift allowance of between R500 and R700, which was, however, vehemently rejected by the workers. Later on, Lonmin management refrained from engaging the workers outside of the recognised unions (NUM and AMCU). At that stage negotiations came to a standstill.

Lonmin is worthy of blame on how they handled the grievances of the workers. The company portrayed unacceptable modern capitalist practices. The workers on the mine live in appalling conditions. Although the company complained about excessive pay demands by the workers, its senior management employees were earning so much more than the workers underground. According to Alexander, et al., (2013), in 2011, Lonmin's CEO Ian Farmer earned 325 times as much as the average worker

in the mining industry. This highlights the difference in class of the mineworkers and management. One class that is at the very lowest is the workers underground or rather Lonmin Mine Company makes it that way.

Although the company did eventually agree to pay rises, with the RDOs and other mine workers getting an extra 22%, it was already too late because that occurred after the massacre of its own workers. The massacre could have been avoided if the company attended to the grievances of its workers in time. Moreover, the company focused on equipping the police with logistical support, such as transport and detention camps, rather than focusing on dealing with the grievances of the mineworkers. Had Lonmin focused primarily on taking care of the demands of the workers, rather than diffusing the protests, the massacre could have been avoided.

5.5 The incompetence of the trade unions

The trade unions that had the majority membership of the striking workers during the year 2012 at Marikana were NUM and AMCU. It has been very disheartening to witness how the labour movements conducted themselves during the protests. There was a very precise difference in the fundamentals of the strike between the workers' demands and the union leaders' expectations. The trade union that took centre stage with regards to unfortunate conduct during the protests was the NUM.

5.5.1 NUM's Ineffectiveness

Sakhela and Bezuidenhout (2008) identified factors producing weak shop steward organisations as, internal conflicts, careerism, corruption, succession battles and tribalism or ethnicity. Despite the strides that NUM made during the time of the liberation movements, it was now faced with a paradox during the protests at Marikana. The union's capacity was weakened during the Marikana protests. Msomi (2013) submitted that all the gains that were made over the years were undone overnight by the labour movements who failed to represent the workers effectively in the bargaining chambers.

NUM made a huge mistake by distancing themselves from the protests by accusing AMCU of forcing its members to join an unprotected strike. The role that was played by the NUM in the bargaining chambers was suspicious to the workers. Naturally in

the bargaining chambers one expects the labour movement to put forward the demands of the workers with minimal compromise.

This was not the case following the shooting of striking mineworkers by the NUM security forces. One worker, who was an AMCU member, was quoted from the (Twala, 2012) saying that:

“...we were attacked on our way to a meeting. Those NUM leaders killed us because they are protecting the employer and that they (NUM leaders and the employer) have called the police to kill us. We are not afraid because we work underground our lives are forever at risk.”

These remarks followed what was captured by Alexander, et al., (2013) who submits that, on the 13th of August, some NUM officials shot at unarmed strikers, two of whom were seriously wounded. This caused the level of violence of the protests to intensify. The shootings discussed above also played an integral part in the build-up to the 16th of August massacre.

NUM was also accused by an investment firm J.P Morgan (2012) of having too close a relationship with both the mine’s management and the ruling ANC. Thus, the labour movement lost touch with its constituencies.

Dlangamandla, et al., (2013) emphasise that, in an environment of scarce resources, extreme inequalities and limited options for the economic empowerment for employees, union office becomes a highly sought after position and, once acquired, the union office is a place to defend, to protect those benefits and lifestyle advantages. The fundamental flaw with the unions and their leadership is the gap that has been created between the leaders and the life experiences of the workers at the lowest level. This gap was exposed during the 2012 protests at Marikana.

5.5.2 AMCU’s ineffectiveness

AMCU and its leaders also played a crucial role during the labour disputes at Marikana. AMCU and NUM were not working together to steer the negotiations for the demands of the workers through the bargaining chambers. Instead they were in constant disarray and blamed each other for the violent manner of the protests.

On the 14th of August 2012, AMCU called a press conference and issued a media release. The main point of the media release was that AMCU distanced itself from the demands and the violence which was perpetrated by the employees; moreover Mr Mathunjwa (AMCU's leader) blamed NUM for behind the situation and referring to them as 'sinister forces'.

AMCU took an active role, especially Mr Mathunjwa, in the negotiations with the protesters; he was in constant discourse with workers at the Koppie (the gathering point for the protesters on the hill). As indicated by the Marikana Commission of Inquiry Report (2015), it is clear that Mr Mathunjwa used the strike as a platform to recruit more members to AMCU, he and other officials of AMCU attacked NUM, using inflammatory language, inciting strikers to believe that NUM had been oppressing the black nation for 30 years and it had to be 'killed'.

The evidence discussed above points out that AMCU was involved in a power struggle with NUM to get more members on their side. It is a tragic reality that the wellbeing of the mineworkers was compromised in a quest to grow a labour movement's membership, which is what AMCU did.

5.6 The police's efforts during the protests

The police officers that were operating at Marikana during the protests were responsible for the killings of the striking mineworkers on that fateful day of August the 16th 2012. Alexander, et al., (2013) give a summary of events in this manner, police opened fire on a contingent of workers using R5 assault rifles (automatic rifles, and within ten seconds 12 of the workers were fatally wounded. Over the next 30 seconds a further 21 or 22 workers were slaughtered.

It was traumatising to witness, especially in view of the new freedom the country has found and made huge strides to rectify the wrongs of the apartheid regime. So many people dying at the hands of the people who are expected to uphold and protect their human rights. Alexander (2012) describe the Marikana massacre as a watershed moment with significance that has links to the massacres at Sharpeville (1960), Soweto uprisings (1976) and the 1973 Durban strikes. In addition, what stands out is the numbers of lives lost during the Marikana protests and the manner in which the

workers were executed, with some being shot in the back as they fled from the police.

5.6.1 The police's reservations for using lethal force

The police defended their use of lethal force using three accounts which are identified by Alexander, et.al., (2013) as, action had to be taken against an illegal gathering that threatened public safety, the police fired in self-defence and lastly the Commissioner of the South African Police Services (SAPS) at the time, Riah Phiyega, said in a press conference that the intention was to:

"...disperse the protestors from their strong hold into small manageable groups for the police to disarm".

According to the South African Constitution, the right to strike is a constitutional right afforded to all employees in terms of section 23(2) (c) Act 108 of 1996. There is nothing unconstitutional about mineworkers who are sitting on top of a hill which is not a key point and is situated in no direct proximity of a city, town or any location that constitutes a threat to public safety.

Carrying traditional weapons does not justify the lethal force the police used to 'disarm or disperse' the striking workers, using live ammunition. Generally in South Africa the police, especially Public Order Police officials, use teargas, water cannons, stun grenades and rubber bullets to disperse crowds. One wonders how Marikana became an exception. Arguably, as the evidence discussed in Chapter 3 points out, the shootings of August the 16th were revenge for the 2 police officials who were killed prior to the massacre.

5.6.2 The Coalition between the SAPS and Lonmin

During the protests, Lonmin security forces partnered with the SAPS to 'control' the strikes. Lonmin offered the SAPS intelligence, access to CCTV footages and other logistical aids to disband the protesters. According to the Marikana Commission of inquiry Report (2015) there was no toxic collusion between Lonmin and the SAPS. It was legally factual that the company offered support to the SAPS.

However, efforts of the company were directed at neutralising the protests and that was a key fundamental flaw on their part. Naturally, the company was expected to

maintain and uphold the wellbeing of its employees. This was not the case as Lonmin focused on ending the strike that was causing them to lose revenue, rather than the finding solutions to the demands of the mineworkers.

5.6.3 Word from top Authority personnel of the SAPS

During the protests, key police officials, who occupy high ranks in SAPS, also played an integral part on how things unfolded. The National Police Commissioner at the time, Riah Phiyega, the Minister of Police, Nathi Mthethwa, and Captain Dennis Adriao, the spokesperson for the police in the North West Province, played a central role in how events unfolded on the 16th of August 2012.

General Riah Phiyega was quoted by (Alexander, et al., 2013) as saying, when asked who gave the police the order to shoot:

“As commissioner I gave police the responsibility to execute the task they needed to do...”

In a nutshell, the police commissioner obligated senior police officials to use lethal force if they thought it was necessary. This would have required authorisation from the Office of the Minister of Police Mr Nathi Mthethwa.

Moreover, the spokesperson for the police in the North West Province was quoted in (Alexander, et al., 2013) as saying:

“...today is unfortunately the D-day”.

This was on the morning of the 16th of August 2012. The Marikana Commission of Inquiry Report (2015) submits that the decision was made, for which Lt Gen Mbambo and those present at the extraordinary session of the National Management Forum (NMF) on 15 August must accept responsibility. This was the decisive cause of the 34 deaths on the 16th of August.

The Provincial Commissioner, Lieutenant General Zukisa Mbombo, was quoted by (Dlangamandla, et al., 2013) in a media briefing held in the Lonmin boardroom as saying:

“We are ending this today; don't ask me how but today we are ending this”.

This was said on the 16th of August 2012 with regards to the protests. Evidence given at the aforementioned points to a premeditated act of violence towards the striking mineworkers on that fateful day. No one expected the shocking scenes that unfolded on August 16th, because the above outlined statements did not begin to indicate the events that followed hours later. Advocate George Bizos was quoted in the Marikana Commission of Inquiry Report (2015), where he was representing the Human Rights Commission and some family members of the miners, arguing that the aim of the police that day was not 'crowd control, but confrontation'.

5.6.4 Police tactics on the 16th of August 2012

It is very evident that there was an order from high above that was given to clear the protesters from where they were gathered using dangerous lethal force against people who had sticks and spears, be popularly known as cultural or traditional weapons.

The killing of 34 striking mineworkers on this day caused huge horror among both local and international commentators. The police claimed that they were acting in self-defence, but this cannot justify the inappropriate use of force, or the killings. According to Alexander (2012), 14 of the 34 killed men were shot in the back or the back of the head. How can you defend yourself by shooting someone in the back of their heads? It is very clear that the mineworkers were fleeing for their lives and still they were shot in the back by the police.

An exceptionally shocking event was the killing of one miner who was at the centre stage of the negotiations with the police during the protests. The worker's autopsy report shows multiple bullet wounds amounting to 7 shots. This was the killing of the man who was commonly known as 'the man in the green blanket' during the protests.

Dlangamandla, et al., (2013) explain the horror of the killing of Mgcineni 'Mambush' Noki in this manner: 'the cause of his death was a bullet wound to the head, he also had gunshot wounds in the left side of the face and neck, right thigh, buttocks, right calf and left leg'. This leader of the negotiating mineworkers was executed in the most brutal manner. His death was frightening, upsetting and dreadful.

Moreover Alexander (2012) interrogates the ordering of four mortuary vehicles to the scene in the early hours of the morning before the killings. The massacre was not an accident but the result of a premeditated act of force by the SAPS. This was a very bad time in the country's modern democracy, where people who fought for their own class emancipation from undesirable working and living conditions were killed for what they thought they had the right to demand.

There is no doubt that the police failed the mineworkers, the country and the Constitution they were supposed to uphold. Such incidences have never been recorded anywhere since the dawn of the country's democracy. The manner in which the police units who were deployed at Marikana and handled themselves, was in the outmost criminal, inappropriate and absurd.

Du Plessis (2013) of the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID) indicated that 720 deaths or fatal incidents in the 2011/2012 financial year with 232 of all fatalities were deaths in police custody, while 488 were as a result of police action. The above readings highlight questionable conduct by the members of the SAPS who were responsible for fatalities that amounted to 488 in 2011/2012 financial year. This was the year of the Marikana massacre.

This statistics show a growing brutality in SAPS and Marikana killings are exceptional misconduct by the SAPS. The levels of brutality in SAPS threaten social order and make it further difficult for police to handle massive protests without casualties.

This chapter offered discussions of the labour disputes, presented evidence to back up arguments made by the study and findings were interpreted with Marxism class consciousness. Summary, recommendations and conclusions are illustrated in the next chapter.

5.7 Conclusion of analyses

There are multiple factors that led to consciousness of the mineworkers at Marikana and thus leading to the protests. Analysis in this chapter highlights socio-economic problems that lead to such protests. The legacy of apartheid still haunts the mining sector in South Africa and leads to socio-economic problems as discussed in this chapter. Capitalistic labour relations systems at the mining company Lonmin, led to heightened social problems for the mineworkers. Social control agencies during the Marikana labour disputes were compromised and had no resolution to the intense situation of the disputes. Police conduct during the labour disputes is highly questionable and led to the death of 34 mineworkers. A summary and recommendations to the Marikana 2012 labour disputes is presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

The topic of labour disputes is by no means a unique and exclusive phenomenon to South Africa. Other countries also experience labour disputes in certain areas of their economic sectors. These economic sectors include the mining sector. This sector, specifically in South Africa, was investigated in this study in relation to the labour disputes that occurred at Marikana. The following are key summary points of the labour disputes at Marikana 2012:

- The working and living conditions of the mineworkers at Marikana 2012 contributed to the act of class consciousness witnessed in the labour disputes.
- Lonmin mining company's labour processes imposed exploitative capitalistic systems that were challenged by the class consciousness of the workers.
- Evidence discussed in Chapter 4 represents appropriate grievances brought forward by the protesting mineworkers.
- Trade unions at Marikana 2012, namely AMCU and NUM, neglected the interests of the workers as they fought to increase membership.
- The police tactics during the protests, especially on the 16th of August 2012, should be strongly condemned. This study denounces the level of force witnessed at Marikana 2012 against the protesting mineworkers.
- The South African Government has some of the best legislative frameworks, as discussed in this study. However, the government, and especially the Department of Mineral Resources, should enforce and ensure compliance by mining companies the legislative.
- Lastly, the violence and aftermath of the 2012 disputes are regrettable and have no room in modern day democratic South Africa.

6.2 Recommendations

This study proposes the following recommendations with regard to socio-economic challenges that are witnessed in the mining sector.

6.2.1 Distribution of wealth

It was highlighted in this study that dynamic economic growth in a capitalist environment, against stability, unity and social cohesion, was a problem. This led to the fundamental causes of the labour disputes at Marikana. This is a challenge that comes with globalisation and international business models.

Abegunde (2012) outlined some of the steps that need to be taken in order to realise a fair distribution of wealth in the mining sector through, cooperation, co-management and conservation of the natural resources. This could be achieved through interactions between government, communities, environmentalists and multi international companies by drawing up an agreement governing equal share of distribution. Such interactions must also co-opt representatives of workers as part of the decision making process.

It was highlighted in this study that there is a problem with the relationship between business, labour and government. It is true that the relationship of these parties it is burdened by the legacy of the past apartheid system. Such systems include the Migrant Labour System, which still persists, even in the modern democratic South Africa.

The Migrant Labour System, which has remained unchanged since apartheid, leads to social crisis. This social crisis includes poor housing conditions for migrant workers, coupled with a double economic burden. This system of migrant labour should be discarded in the modern democratic South African mining sector.

There is a need re-orientate the economy to bring about more job opportunities. This could be achieved through the beneficiation of the country's raw materials, where raw materials are extracted and processed in South Africa, thus creating new job opportunities in South Africa for unemployed South Africans, rather than creating jobs offshore.

South Africa needs to stop solely focusing distributing the existing resources. Through beneficiation the country can generate new resources. South Africa has high unemployment levels, major educational problems and transformation issues. Beneficiation can correct the problem of unemployment.

6.2.2 Transformation of the education system

Government has an obligation to ensure that education take centre stage in the mining industry. The education system must produce people who are not easily fired and replaceable in the mining sector, because this allows the exploitation of mine workers. The education system must produce people who specialise in certain areas of mining; as this will allow sustainable economic growth for mineworkers.

The levels of illiteracy amongst mineworkers needs to be addressed as it creates the social problems that exist in the mining sector. The majority of the RDOs, who were migrant labourers at Marikana 2012, had minimal formal education. As such, this leads to exploitative measures by employees in the mining sector. Modern mineworkers require special skills and educational training. The education systems that benefit from mining communities must prioritise educational programmes that benefit such communities.

Data presented in Chapter 3 points out that, in 2011 before the Marikana labour disputes, the people in Rustenburg Local Municipality had low levels of formal education. Of the total population of 549 575 of the Rustenburg residents those aged 20 years and older, only 5.4% have completed primary school, 36.2% had some secondary education, 31.1% had completed matric and 8.9% had some form of higher education, while 5.4% of those aged 20 years and older have no form of schooling at all.

This problem of the education system in the Rustenburg community needs to be addressed immediately, in order to create economic growth for both the community and its members. Education is fundamental for the progress of the country to deal with poverty and inequality. The education system need to be addressed by social partners and solutions to this social problem of the country's education systems are required as such.

6.2.3 Transparency in the mining industry

Few people understand the mining system because of the secrecy surrounding the processes and practices employed by the industry. The South African public has a right to know how much mining companies make, how much they give to

governmental departments and how is the money spend to improve the lives of South Africans.

Transparency will increase accountability in the mining industry and this can only benefit all parties concerned. Transparency will also lead to the minimisation of corruption in the sector, even determining if whether it exists.

Through transparent and accountable measures, government can use the money it gets from mining to invest in other economic sectors. This will allow for the generation of new jobs and improvement of the economy. The money generated from the mining industry should be re-invested in other sectors, such as agriculture and education. Manufacturing industries, as such, will be able to use local resources for production and sustainability.

6.2.4 The removal of labour broking and inequality in the mining sector

The gap in remuneration between an average mineworker and executives of mines is really big. The inequalities are not easy to ignore. Executives in the mining sector enjoy wage increases which, at times, are well above the inflation rate. They also enjoy benefits and share dividends. The mineworkers are faced with the burden of caring for extended family members. The Migrant Labour System plays an integral role in creating the double family burden that migrant workers experience. The social problems which were highlighted in this study are a result of the Migrant Labour System.

Labour broking and labour market reforms in South Africa need to be reviewed. Although government has implemented Acts and the Constitution to protect the interests of the labour force, there are outstanding factors that need to be addressed. There is need for legislative frameworks that deal with inequality and poverty. Government and business should work together to put measures in place to address inequality in the mining sector.

In addition, the South African government should stop thinking about themselves as a separate entity from labour. Moreover, government should not only focus on making and implementing laws or enforcing them. Government should view

themselves as empowered labourers with the responsibility of empowering other labourers.

Government should take an active role in the mining sector through a top management viewpoint. This will benefit business and labour by establishing mutual respect between the two, with government taking a mediatory role.

6.2.5 The restructuring of trade unions

This study posited that union leaders have lost touch with the core of their existence. The South African labour relations system depends at its core on union negotiators who know what labour requires. If the negotiators are divorced what is required by the labour that they represent, the whole system collapses, as was seen at Marikana.

The unions need to get back to basics. The unions need to separate themselves from government or the ruling political party. COSATU, in particular must distance itself from the alliance that consists of SACP and NUM. This alliance of unions and government undermines the independence of labour representation.

Workers have expressed the opinion that the unions are not helping; they are the causes of them not getting their demands met, because unions no longer respect workers' interests. The partnership between government, business and labour to address labour relations depends solely on unions being independent.

Furthermore, substantial reliance on union driven communications reduces accountability. When communication is cut between management and the mineworkers at all levels, labour relations between the two are weakened. Management must take centre stage in operational settings to address employee problems.

The 2012 labour disputes cut through union boundaries, as opposed to the view that, AMCU and NUM were competing. The workers were united as they sought economic emancipation for themselves and demanded for better living, through better salaries.

The unification of the workers signified class consciousness characterised by high solidarity levels and common interests in their quest to get demands that were brought forward met. This level of class consciousness was realised as a result of a communication breakdowns between the workers and the employers prior to the protests.

6.2.6 Unacceptable police tactics during the protests

It was highlighted in this study that paramilitary units trained to use R5 automatic rifles led the massacre. It is evident that police operations on the 16th of August were planned like an act of warfare. This warfare was waged against the striking mineworkers, a class enemy to the elite.

This study proposes for the utilisation of non-lethal force as outlined in the South African Constitution, though Public Order Policing. This study condemns the lethal force used by the SAPS which led to the killings of 34 mineworkers on the 16th of August 2012.

Following the Marikana Commission of Inquiry Report, the individual who was Police Commissioner during the killings of protesting mineworkers at Marikana 2012, was suspended. However, it is worth noting that there was also an apparent need to suspend police officials who were on the ground that fateful day.

This will help stamp out the unacceptable use of violence in a democratic South Africa, which may cost lives, as was the case at Marikana. Criminalisation of such acts is needed in the country's legal framework.

6.2.7 Transformation of the mining industry

The results of the Marikana crisis in the mining industry are a result of broader difficulties that are faced with respect to the relationship between labour, business and government. The results of Marikana also highlight the failures of the compromises of modern South Africa.

Although the country has made strides with respect to other economic factors, such as the inclusion of black entrepreneurs in the mining sector and better pay for skilled labourers, the economy is still focused on export-led growth. Foreign companies

transfer profits freely with little restrictions found in the legal and policy frameworks that exists.

Government should implement policy and legal frameworks that challenge inequality at its core. This will initiate the alleviation of poverty. Although mineworkers are being paid better than other employees in other sectors of the economy, such as in the agriculture sector, it is important to highlight that mineworkers also take care of family members who are not working. A mineworker is not solely representative of his or her immediate self-interests. There are also family members who depend on that income for a better livelihood.

6.3 Conclusion

The Marikana massacre was frightening to witness in modern democratic South Africa. The events that took place during the massacre undermine the strides the country has made, post-apartheid. The workers portrayed incredible resilience during the protests. The movement continued despite attacks from unions, politicians and the police. The workers portrayed toughness when they continued with the strike following the killing of 34 colleagues on the 16th of August. This is one of the most remarkable class consciousness movements witnessed in South African history. The killings were the result of an upsetting oversight by government. The protests, however, highlighted the fact that South Africa still has setbacks with regards to apartheid systems within the mining sector. These holdups still haunt the country's modern democracy. The rejection and abandoning of these systems can only help the country to prosper, especially in the mining sector.

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