

Public Administration Milieu and the Theory Linked to Public Sector Unions: A Narrative on Employment Relations

ST Mzangwa

University of South Africa, South Africa

Abstract: One of the main principles which public administration addresses is state (government) relations and their effect on administration, politics and social institutions; hence, public administration may in effect be regarded as the governing system. Based on this level of understating, public administration has a major influence on the structures of public organisations, management of public services and management techniques of governance. On this note, public sector unions or trade unions as labour organisations representing workers, some of whom are public servants, have a role to play in operations of institutions applying principles of governance. It is for this reason that public administration is significant and relevant in employment relations and administration. It focuses on effective and efficient management as well as governance of organisations. Trade unions operate as one of the three role players in employment relations. The stance of working relations amongst the three role players, i.e. the state, employers and employees' organisations are influenced by theoretical perspectives in the public and private sector. This article seeks to address some theoretical perspectives in a unionised public sector environment and provide a narrative on the existence of trade unionism.

Keywords: Employment relations, Governance, Scientific management principles, Unitary perspective, Radical perspective, Pluralist perspective

1. Introduction

The purpose of this exploration derives from the public sector unions' role and seek to narrate the theory linked to public sector unions in employment relations. Through discussion informed by literature on this article, description is portrayed as to what could trade unions contribute as one of the role-players in employment relations. This is assessed in the context of scientific management principles or Taylorism. The scientific management principles were understood to be a set of ideas to modify workers but more so to generate production rapidly while using time sparingly and 'constructively' (Watson, 1987:33). The scientific management principles are important in this particular context because they allow one to obtain a critical assessment of the extent to which trade unions appear to be willing to protect the rights of workers. Trade unions do so, given their responsibility to represent employees against employers and/or the state where the state is the 'employer' such as in the public sector milieu. Therefore, it is helpful to understand trade unions' stance and what constitutes trade unionism and its existence.

The literature review attempts to build an argument and narrative demonstrating theories linked

to public sector unions as significant parts of public administration. Various authors have extensively covered the work of trade unions and employment relations in the private and the public sector (Freeman & Medoff, 1984; Goldfield, 1987; Bennett & Kaufman, 2002). In addition, apart from work by Adler and Webster (2000), Buhlungu (2006; 2010) and Budeli (2012) focus on the prospects for the revival and rebirth of trade unions, although their work covers the activities of trade unions in the private rather than the public sector (Tillman & Cummings, 1999; Turner, Katz & Hurd, 2001; Milkman & Voss, 2004; Francia, 2006). Based on this background, one could concur with Kearney (2010:89) that, in spite of all the work done, the literature on this topic covers unionisation and collective bargaining in the private sector but with minimal coverage of public sector. An overview of the role of trade unionism in the public sector will be presented in order to portray an understanding on how unionisation is linked to the public sector. The discussion will take into account employment relations as it applies globally and locally focusing on effective management and the roles of unions in the public sector. Also, to be addressed is the issue of the governance in the public sector and importantly as a standpoint of this article, a narrative of theory linked to public sector unions and

their operation is discussed. In conclusion, observation is drawn on the stance of public sector unions' relevance.

2. The Context and Rationale of Employment Relation in the Public Sector

Trade unions are involved in decision-making that affects the well-being of their members and the public at large. Section 23 of the South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996, herewith referred to as the *Constitution*) and Section 27 of the *Labour Relations Act (Act 66 of 1995)* promulgate on the role of trade. Maree (2014:2) argues that trade unions can still play a positive role in advancing and defending democracy in Africa. Maree (2014) further emphasises that only where trade unions are strong, can effective employment relations advance democratic practices in the public sector. Based on this view, trade unions can help ensure that the governing principles of a country are legitimate and so help enhance service delivery. In this regard, good governance is not the sole responsibility of the government officials, but the trade unions and society also have a role to play (Ahule, 2014:1).

In a preamble to his annual report, Mr Zola Skweyiya, the former Minister of the Department of Public Service and Administration, argues that, public administration should adhere to principles of governance. He further states that such principles include encouraging the public and the trade union organisations to participate in policymaking (Department of Public Service and Administration [DPSA], 1997:4). That is in accordance with the *Constitution* and it is against this background that an overview of the context of trade unionism in some Southern African countries is scrutinised below.

3. The Global Perspective and the Development Epochs of Trade Unions

Nel and Holtzhausen (2008:5) emphasise that, in general, the focus of industrial relations has been mostly on rule-making and work-control processes. Steadily, different perspectives developed and subsequently in the 1980s the definition and scope of industrial relations have attracted new interest and debate. This has led to the invention of a new term, 'industrial relations' as part of employment relations. This implies the need for good working relations between the management of an institution and the

trade union in an attempt to avoid and manage conflict (Nel & Holtzhausen, 2008). Koçer and Hayter (2011:26), Nel *et al.* (2012:40) and (Trebilcock, 2013:5) concur that there are three classic actors identified as the key role players in employment relations system, namely the state, employers' organisations and employees' representatives.

According to the theory of socialism as argued by Marx and Engels (1948:16), employee relations could be interpreted as part of an extensive analysis of industrial society, in particular the production and the dynamics of capital accumulation. The Marxist view is predominantly concerned with the historical expansion of influential relationships between the wealthy and the workforce for whom employment relations are important. Then, worker participation has a role (ILO, 2011:5) either through a representative, which is a trade union or direct worker participation. According to Trebilcock (2013:10), trade unions stand for worker's rights, wage negotiations and better working conditions. This could be regarded as the classic definition of the nature of trade unions and what trade unions have stood for since their inception in the early years of the 18th century during the initial stages of industrial revolution.

4. Trade Unions and the Infringement of Human Rights

Service delivery is a basic human right which citizens have to be granted or which they receive from government. The World Health Organisation (WHO) is amongst the main organisations which stand for human rights. WHO took a lead in 1948 by recognising that health is a primary human right which all people deserve. It is stipulated in the WHO's constitution that "the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being, without distinction of race, political belief, economic or social conditions and religion" (WHO, 1948:10). This implies that health is recognised as essential towards the attainment of peace and security for the state and its citizens (Ngwena, 2006:79; WHO, 2006).

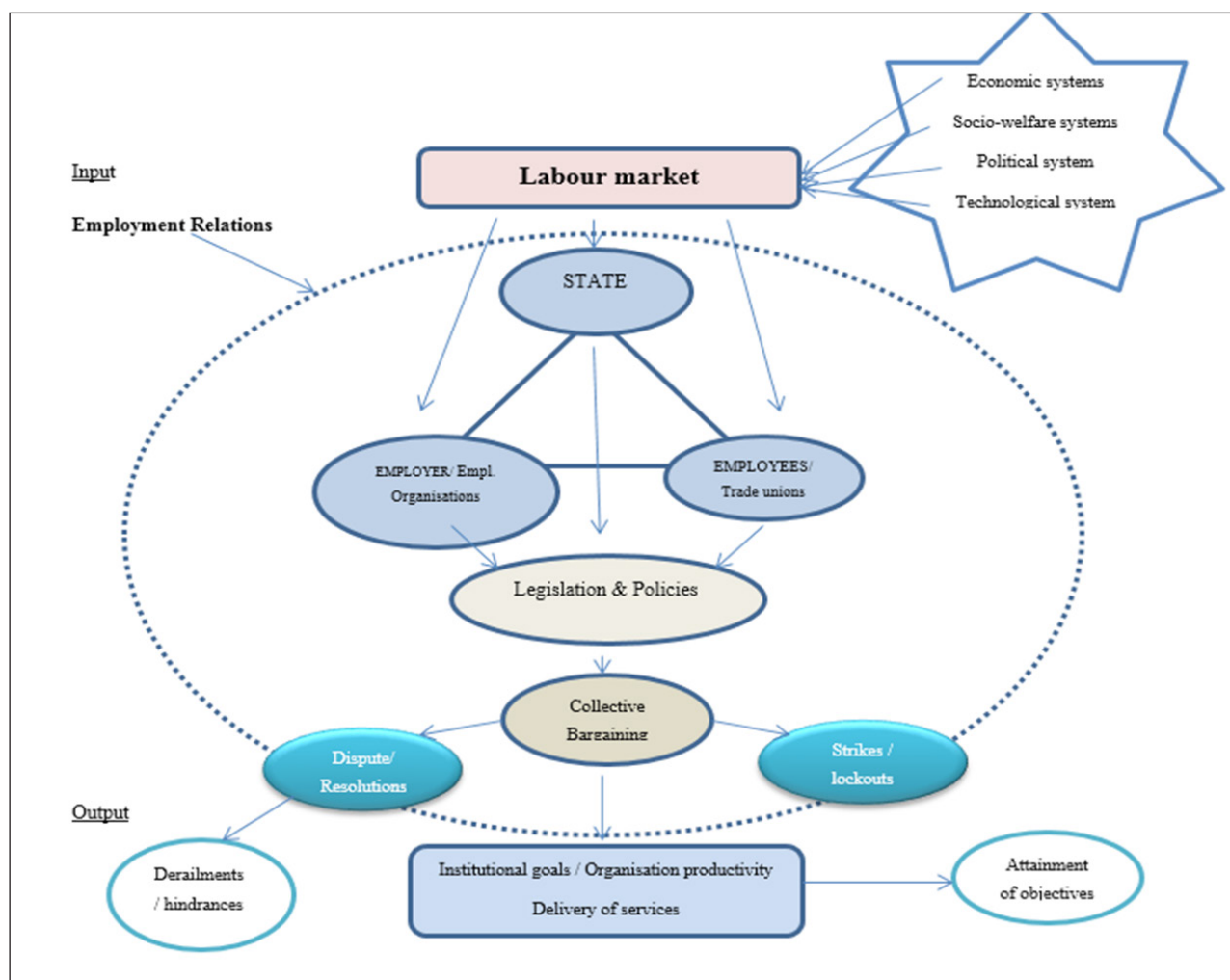
On one hand, the state needs businesses, employers or creators of employment for its citizens to survive and sustain their lives. Employers or employer's organisations therefore, play a major role not only by being owners of business or

employment industries, but their involvement aims to promote participation for social being instead of unilateral decision-making. On the other hand, trade unions do not act as observers but serve in appropriate platforms to raise issues which concern labour, most importantly issues that could hinder workers' operations or expose workers to exploitation (Friedman, 2002:52). Trade unions and employers' organisations are not the only role players in employment relations since most authors in industrial relations concur that the state forms the primary actor in employment relations of any institution or organisation (Michael, 1992; Wood, 1998; Pitcher, 2007; Koçer & Hayter, 2011; Stirling, 2011; Nel *et al.*, 2012). Figure 1 below depicts employment relations as observed and practiced by various institutions where the participants, namely the state, employers or employers' organisation and the employees or the trade unions,

are all regarded as the primary input factors (Nel *et al.*, 1998:12).

The legal framework, comprising legislation and policy, which regulates and guides the actions of the participants in employment relations, is supplied by the state. The roles of employers and employees are based on conditions of the labour market, which are influenced by factors such as the economy, social welfare, political and technological drives (Ehlers, 2002:106). The output components of employment relations mainly refer to the harmoniousness of operations leading towards organisational productivity or delivery of service and attaining the intended goals of the organisation. Of course, there are also disagreements trade unions and employers which lead to disputes or strike actions and derail deliverables (Ehlers, 2002:107).

Figure 1: Reflection of Employment Relations' View in the Labour Market



Source: A condensed model of the South African employment relations system (Ehlers, 2002)

5. Literature Review

Based on literature, it can be argued that were it not for the trade unions' support for the liberation struggle in Africa, there might not have been democratic change in Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa (Baskin, 1991; Innes, 1992; Kalusopa *et al.*, 2012). As Lenin, in Sharkey (1959:59), so aptly said: "Without the trade unions a revolution is impossible." In South Africa, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) support was crucial in the struggle for democracy. South African democracy was obtained in 1994, the year which marked the end of the apartheid regime and the beginning of a new era and governance (COSATU Today, 2009). In its nature, governance implies that society or the public also has a major role to play since they form part of the larger scope of actors other than just government officials (Tshiyoyo, 2014:134).

The principles could be subsumed under one main objective which determines what public servants are expected to do since the principles are solely based on delivery of service whether unionised or not (Ahule, 2014). Ahule (2014:1) argues that good governance is not the solitary responsibility of the public from a specific social group, but trade unions as authoritative representatives of collective workers' coalitions have a major role to play.

5.1 The Influence of Trade Unions in Africa and in South Africa

Trade unionism had taken root around the 20th century in Africa and played a major role in shaping democracy, good governance and economic justice on the continent as unions were involved in the political liberation of their own countries (Kalusopa *et al.*, 2012:14). Furthermore, there is a growing international recognition of the right to freely associate with unions and to engage in collective bargaining as a fundamental human right (Adefolaju, 2013:98). Adefolaju (2013:98) emphasises that the unions' right to associate freely was affirmed by the *International Labour Organization* (ILO), in 1995 and by the *World Trade Organization* (WTO).

Budeli (2012:3) argues that trade unions in Africa were created during colonisation. Trade unions were designed and followed a similar functional track or were a representation of those unions which operated in the European countries. During

the emergence of trade unions in Africa, the membership or workers were denied to claim the right of belonging to a trade union. In simple terms, Africans were denied the right to form unions or claim to be under trade unions as workers based or appointed under the system of colonisation as Sachs (1952:139) and Budeli (2012:3) further elaborate. Trade union membership was strictly reserved for Europeans only. Despite these barriers, unionisation was associated with civilisation and with the rights of skilled workers as expressed by European colonial masters (Budeli, 2012). Trade unions were essentially political since the workers realised that through unionisation they would gain and enjoy the right to freedom of association and could fight colonialism (Webster, 2007). Trade unions have grown in relevance over the years, especially in the light of the belief that a healthy, independent labour movement is essential to democracy (Godard, 2003). Furthermore, there is a growing international recognition of the right to associate freely in unions and to engage in collective bargaining as a fundamental human right. Ratification was prompted by ILO and WTO as Adefolaju (2013) and Godard (2003) maintain.

Wright (2011:1) avers that the role of trade unions has changed significantly over the years owing to a number of factors. Some of the factors include global competition which forced some industries to hire more employees as they (industries) grew. Some include outsourcing as a means to shift some responsibilities. In this argument, Wright (2011) raises questions about how trade unions would respond to the challenges (loss of membership, for instance in Britain) in the upcoming years and/or how they would react to the opportunities where they (trade unions) grow. In Wright's (2011) view, the coming years could be regarded as very crucial and will determine the level of influence and the future relevance of trade unions at work. The most important role of the state is the establishment of institutions for consultation and coordinating processes between labour and employers as a means to ensure that economic growth and sustainability are maintained countrywide (Friedman, 2002:52). Based on elucidation of the employment relations as derived from scientific management principles, the operation and link of trade unions in the public sector, the theoretical perspectives as discussed below need to be considered. The aim is to provide some fundamental principles of unionisation and to locate the reason why employment relations

between trade unions and management of institutions are important.

5.2 Discussion and Illumination of Theories Linked to Public Sector Unions

There are three main theoretical perspectives applied in employment relations in any organisation or institution (ILO, 2011:1). These three theoretical perspectives differ in the manner in which they are applied and by how they are analysed in a workplace environment. Based on the ILO (2011:2), these three theoretical perspectives, listed in sequence, are the unitary, pluralist and radical perspectives. While the radical perspective appears to be adversarial in a unionised environment, it is understood to be a conflict model where employers and employees do not find each other (Mzangwa & Madue, 2015:43). The pluralist perspective is viewed to be applicable in a unionised institution since conflict is viewed as normal and cannot be avoided in the workplace. However, both the employer and the employees work towards a common goal to achieve their objectives as elaborated by the ILO (2011:1). A brief elucidation of the three theoretical perspectives in employment relations is presented starting with the unitary perspective, followed by the radical perspective and then the pluralist perspective. The way in which the pluralist perspective is relevant was shown before discussing context of trade unionism.

5.3 The Unitary Perspective

In explaining the unitary perspective as applied in employment relations, Van Gramberg (2002:208) posits that it assumes that employees and the employer function in co-operation towards achieving a common goal in an organisation. In accordance with the unitary perspective, an 'assumption' is that an organisation is considered a collective section where employees and employers have an equal understanding. Through this perspective, there is no recognition of a third party or representative of employees (viz. The trade union) outside of the employer/employee co-operation (ILO, 2011:6). In essence, trade unions are viewed as 'outsiders', which are unnecessary, and which compromise the loyalty of the employee to the employer causing tension and division between the two parties.

The only significant aspect considered in this approach is that it aims only to achieve the business

objective. The objective is to complete the said tasks, thereby conforming to the notion of Taylorism, as argued by Watson (1987) and Abrahamson (1997). It is against this perception that the unitary perspective disregards the role and any significance of involvement and actions of trade unions in the workplace (Mzangwa, 2015:186). Based on the unitary approach in employment relations, the employer simply lays out operation rules and principles for doing the tasks to his or her employees. The employees must cooperatively carry out the task strictly complying with the employer's rules and nothing more, as Van Gramberg (2002:208) elaborates. Furthermore, in a case where conflict and/or disagreement occurs between the employee and the employer, such conflict is viewed as a problem of poor communication. Sometimes it is regarded as a matter which could be addressed by management or the employer. There is no 'engagement' between the parties to find a solution (Van Gramberg, 2002).

In support of Fox's (1974:249) analysis of the unitary perspective, Van Gramberg (2002) emphasises that this approach considers the nature of the employment relationship from a one-sided principle. Such principle gives preference to the powers of the employer rather than to the views of the employee. Incidentally, any possible conflict and/or misunderstanding which might occur in the workplace is eliminated. A conflict and/or misunderstanding is viewed as disruptive in that it jeopardises 'harmony' as well as loyalty of the employee towards the employer in the work environment (Van Gramberg, 2002:208). The basic factors of the unitary perspective take into account common interests between the employer (which in most cases happens to be the owner of an industry or organisation) and employees who render the work at a given wage and given terms of operation. There are few acknowledgements of other environmental elements resulting from social, economic and political concerns which could happen in the workplace (Huczynski & Buchanan, 2001:772). In its nature, the unitary perspective is perceived as an approach existing in denial of antagonism, which could occur in the workplace.

5.4 The Radical Perspective

Following the unitary perspective, the radical perspective carries a belief that conflict always exists as the result of day-to-day operations between employees and the employers in the work environment (Williams & Adam-Smith, 2005:14). The terms

and conditions of the workplace and some basic disparities are found at the workplace. Based on this approach, employees and the employers remain opposed to collaboration without some elements of antagonism, which prevails between these two parties, as Van Gramberg (2002:209) claims. The hostility always leads to disparities, which imply the separation of employees from employers and vice versa thereby depicting an attitude of resistance against teamwork or working together (Williams & Adam-Smith, 2005).

Van Gramberg (2002:209) maintains that the radical approach is referred to as the 'Marxist approach' as articulated by scholars like Watson (1987) and lately Chand (2015). Based on Van Gramberg's (2002) view, according to the Marxist approach (referring to the radical perspective), employees' representative bodies, such as trade unions are perceived as channels which perpetuate the social revolution of the workers (trade unions). Furthermore, Van Gramberg (2002:209) argues that the radical perspective is a rejection of the pluralist approach, which could work better towards the employer-employee's common goals.

Based on the radical approach, on the one hand, trade unions maintain their fundamental conservative custom of engaging management through negotiation, which relates to work processes, wage increases and conditions of employment. On the other hand, the management of organisations (the employers) perceive themselves as being confronted and entangled by the trade unions. This then appears as an element of not negotiating in good faith. Trade unions are rather viewed as promoting strong militant workers instead of being compliant and allowing 'smooth' employment relations in the work environment (Hyman, 1989; Williams & Adam-Smith, 2005).

5.5 The Pluralist Perspective

Korpi and Shalev (1979:166) are of the view that the pluralist perspective has dominated employment relations of public institutions in the United Kingdom and has found its deep roots in changing employment relations. Furthermore, most trade unions operating in Britain, at some point realised that the main causes of industrial action were mainly brought about by the lack of employment relations. Contrary to the unitary and the radical tenets, pluralist theory is recognised as the platform

where diverse and conflicting interests between employees and employers are harnessed with an aim to reaching consensus for the betterment of the work relationships within an organisation (Ndala, 2002:4; Swanepoel, Erasmus, Schenk, Van der Westhuizen & Wessels, 2005:404).

In an organisation, the pluralist approach observes the partnership and working together of one group (trade union) with another (employer or the employer's association) maintaining their diverse objectives, values and interests for a common purpose as elaborated by Swanepoel *et al.* (2005:404). The underlying assumption within this perspective is that individuals in an organisation combine into a variety of distinct sectional groups, each group with its own interests, objectives and leadership. However, based on this perspective, the significance and contribution of each group's participation lie in the degree of loyalty and authority attached to the leadership role it carries in the employment relations within the organisation (Swanepoel *et al.*, 2005:404). Certainly, trade unions operate according to the pluralist perspective since this is how they exercise their rights. Based on the discussion above, the pluralist perspective works in the opposite way to the other two perspectives. In a unitary approach, the employer dominates, whilst in the radical approach, the trade union's voice and actions subdue those of the employer. The latter two theoretical perspectives result in inefficient employment relations between the workers and the employers (Nel & Holtzhausen, 2008:7).

Nel and Holtzhausen (2008:7) further observe that, apart from taking cognisance of the mutual gain between the employer and employee work relations, the pluralist perspective acknowledges the possible existence of conflict which could occur between management (the employer) and the employees (represented by trade unions). However, both parties work towards finding common ground and solution. Hence, negotiations through bargaining councils come into play in organisations and institutions which apply the pluralist theory. In a pluralist-based institution, management (employer) is perceived as taking the role of promoting and stimulating togetherness within the institution. In that regard, the employee organisation (the trade union) is viewed as the representative of the workers who are within their rights to raise employee concerns collectively. Therefore, that happens where collective bargaining prevails (ILO, 2011:4).

In support of this view, the Donovan Commission (1968:54) strongly contends that "collective bargaining is the most effective means of giving workers the right to representation in decisions affecting their working lives and it is a right which should be a prerogative of every worker in a democratic society".

In this regard, elements of obligation and dominance by either management or the trade unions do not come to play causing antagonism and conflict (Budeli, 2012:5). Organisational rules and national legislation are highly regarded and always guide a pluralist-based employment relationship (Ackers & Wilkinson, 2003:7). According to Flanders (1975:172), the practice of the pluralist perspective which enables the existence of collective bargaining, is an appropriate platform where employees find a space to voice their views, concerns and issues. Conflict remains limited since it is controlled by the notions of the 'pro-worker' and 'non anti-employer' approach (Flanders, 1975). The main emphasis in establishing bargaining structural platforms in employment relations is to develop and try to maintain procedures of resolving conflict given the fact that employers (management) and employees (trade unions) all have an interest in the organisation (Ackers & Wilkinson, 2003:7). Stronger bargaining relationships between the workers and the employers are strongly encouraged bearing in mind that such bargaining work relations or platforms create effective procedures which are helpful in regulating processes and mechanisms to handle conflict (Flanders, 1975:172).

The pluralist frame of reference is especially influential in the development of employment relations as an academic field of study (Ackers & Wilkinson, 2003; Hyman, 1989). The emphasis on employment relations as the "study of the institutions of job regulation" (Flanders 1975:174), noted above, is informed by a belief in the legitimacy of trade unions. It accords a special role to collective bargaining as a means by which trade unions secure their goals, something that has become the 'dominant paradigm' (Ackers & Wilkinson, 2003:7). Undoubtedly, the pluralist perspective is one that draws the attention of two opposed but interested parties (employers and workers) in the work relationship. However, both parties hold a common view, which promotes a balance for working together for mutual benefit. Fox (1974) specifies the three theoretical perspectives explained above as ideologies of management which influence employment relationships.

5.6 Pluralist Perspectives and Assimilation Comparative to This Article Review

The pluralist perspective suggests that employment relationships, as subsystems of society, are the appropriate platforms where different and conflicting interests of the workers and employers are bound to settle employment negotiations and reach consensus (Mzangwa, 2015:189). Since the pluralist perspective accepts the bargaining relationship between employers and trade unions as part of a negotiating principle (Fox, 1974:28), in cases where negotiations do not seem to secure or stop the level of strike actions in the public sector, it could be assumed that the alliance for instance between trade unions such as COSATU and the African National Congress (ANC) is grounded in a compromised agreement. The possibility is that, there are some operational changes which affect the alliance. Primary because the ANC is a ruling party in government and COSATU is a trade union federation.

Any negative reactions which occur as a result of strike actions by unionised public servants in the public service has a negative effect on society. This has adverse consequences for the nation or the public because the differences held by government officials and trade unions in the public service do not only affect government officials but also have negative implication for society. This raises a concern on issues of labour and employment standards as well as economic conditions of the country, which could become volatile as a result (Mhango, 2014). A mutual benefit, which could be attained if both parties (trade unions and the employers) adhere to the principles of the pluralist approach, does not seem to be applied by the involved parties in the public service, thus showing a lack of concern for the public. The political party, government officials and trade unions do not seem to be working towards a common goal when interruption of service delivery occurs owing to strike action.

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

In essence, the trade union plays an essential role in safeguarding the continuation of industrial peace and the maintenance of social progress between workers and the employer, hence their recognition in the Constitution of South Africa. Public sector unions have a role to play in operations of institutions applying principles of governance. However, due to the fact that pluralist perspective gives public

sector unions a role in bargaining councils. They tend to be influential on matters which are only in their favour and disregard the importance of other role-players in employment relations.

It is clear that the state, the employers and the employees' organisations as the three role players in employment relations could work for the betterment of the members (people) they represent. However, trade unions capitalises on the pluralism perspective and they tend to be radical as opposed to be open for robust and genuine discussions which seek to strike a balance between their (trade unions) role and that of the employees' organisations and the state. Thus, for a well-organised and governable public sector environment even where trade unions operate, the principles of administration remain significant.

Drawing from this argument, the contribution of trade unions to the workplace should not end up solely on the side of workers without being courteous toward the stance of the employer. Thus, trade unions exist to represent workers and promote resolutions leading to a conducive working environment. Such resolutions are reached between the management of an organisation and themselves (trade unions) following fair and correct procedures without degrading work. When management prioritises proper communication and employees participate effectively, such organisations have an opportunity for open criticism whereby a broad-based understanding on various issues ranging from political to public and economic issues is in evidence. Failure to do this, exposes and eventually result in organisational conflict and leads to an increase in hindrances and employee resistance to cooperation.

References

- Abrahamson, E. 1997. The emergence and prevalence of employee management rhetorics: The effects of long waves, labor unions, and turnover, 1875 to 1992. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 40(3):491-533.
- Ackers, P. & Wilkinson, A. 2003. *Understanding work and employment: Industrial relations in transition*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Adefolaju, T. 2013. Trade unions in Nigeria and the challenge of internal democracy. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 4(6):97-104.
- Adler, G. & Webster, E. 2000. *Trade unions and democratisation in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Ahule, B.G. 2014. The role of trade unions in good governance for sustainable development in Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 1(3):1.
- Baskin, J. 1991. *Striking back: A history of COSATU*. Johannesburg: Raven Press.
- Bennett, J.T. & Kaufman, B.E. 2002. Introduction. In J.T. Bennett & B.E. Kaufman (eds.). *The future of private sector unionism in the United States*. Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 1-8.
- Budeli, M. 2012. Trade unionism and politics in Africa: The South African experience. Inaugural lecture delivered at Department of Mercantile, College of Law, Unisa, 26 July, Pretoria.
- Buhlungu, S. 2006. *Trade unions and democracy: COSATU workers' political attitudes in South Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC Press.
- Buhlungu, S. 2010. Trade unions and the politics of national liberation in Africa: An appraisal. In B. Beckman, S. Buhlungu & L. Sachikonye (eds.). *Trade unions and party politics: Labour movements in Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Chand, S. 2015. *The Trade Union Act 1926: Advantages and causes of weakness*. Available at: <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/trade-unions/the-trade-union-act-1926-advantages-and-causes-of-weakness/26116/>. Accessed 8 February 2016.
- COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions). 2009. Cosatu press statement. *COSATU Today*, 25 May.
- Donovan Commission. 1968. *Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations report*. London: HMSO.
- DPSA (Department of Public Service and Administration). 1997. *White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (WPTPS). The Service Delivery Principles of Batho Pele*. Pretoria.
- Ehlers, L.I. 2002. A validated model of the South African Labour Relations system. Unpublished PhD thesis. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Flanders, A. 1975. *Management and unions: The theory and reform of industrial relations*. London: Faber.
- Fox, A. 1974. *Beyond contract: Work, power and trust relations*. London: Faber.
- Francia, P.F. 2006. *The future of organized labor in American politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Freeman, R. & Medoff, J. 1984. *What do unions do?* New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Friedman, S. 2002. Where to for an economic CODESA? *South African Labour Bulletin*, 26(2):53-56.
- Godard, J. 2003. *Industrial relations, the economy, and society*. Ontario.
- Goldfield, M. 1987. *The decline of organized labor in the United States*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Huczynski, A. & Buchanan, D. 2001. *Organisational behaviour: An introductory text*. Fourth edition. Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall Europe.
- Hyman, R. 1989. *The political economy of industrial relations: Theory and practice in a cold climate*. London: Macmillan.
- ILO (International Labour Office). 2011. *Working effectively with trade unions – Acas – Training*. Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Industrial_relations. Accessed 23 January 2012.

- Innes, D. 1992. Labour relations in the 1990s. In D. Innes, M. Kentridge & K. Perold (eds.). *Power and profit: Politics, labour, and business in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 184-193.
- Kalusopa, T., Otoo, K.N. & Shindondola-Mote, H. 2012. *Trade union services and benefits in Africa*. African Labour Research Network.
- Kearney, R.C. 2010. Public sector labor management relations: Change or status quo? *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 30(1):89-111.
- Koçer, R.G. & Hayter, S. 2011. *Comparative study of labour relations in African countries*. Working paper no. 116. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies, University of Amsterdam.
- Korpi, W. & Shalev, M. 1979. Strikes, industrial relations and class conflict in capitalist societies. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 30(2):164-187.
- Maree, J. 2014. Do trade unions in Africa have an impact on employment relations and democracy? Presentation at the 7th African Regional IRASA Congress, 15-16 September, Gaborone.
- Marx, K. & Engels, F. 1948. *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Transl. S. Moore. Chicago, IL: Henry Regnery, (Originally published 1848).
- Mhango, M. 2014. Is it time for a coherent political question doctrine in South Africa? Lessons from the United States. *Journal of Legal Studies*, (7):457-493.
- Michael, G.M. 1992. Role of trade unions and employers' organizations in the social and economic development of Africa. In T. Fashoyin (ed.). *Industrial Relations and African Development*. New Delhi: South Asian Publishers, 28-51.
- Milkman, R. & Voss, K. (Eds.). 2004. *Rebuilding labor: Organizing and organizers in the new union movement*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Mzangwa, S.T. 2015. Descriptive analysis of the theoretical perspectives in employment relations. *Corporate Ownership & Control*, 13:184-194.
- Mzangwa, S.T. & Madue S.M. 2015. The perceptions of unionised employees on grievance and disciplinary matters at a higher education institution in South Africa. *Journal of Governance and Regulation*, 4(2):41-48.
- Ndala, V.S. 2002. *The effective management of a diverse workforce in South Africa*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Nel, P.S., Erasmus, B. & Swanepoel, B. 1998. *Successful labour relations: Guidelines for practice*. Second edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Nel, P.S. & Holtzhausen, M.M.E. 2008. *South African employment relations: Theory and practice*. Sixth edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Nel, P.S., Kirsten, M., Swanepoel, B.J., Erasmus, B.J. & Poisat, P. 2012. *South African Employment Relations: Theory and Practice*. Seventh edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Pitcher, M.A. 2007. What has happened to organized labor in Southern Africa? *International Labor and Working Class History*, 72, Fall: 134-160.
- RSA (Republic of South Africa). 1995. *Labour Relations Act (Act 66 of 1995)*. Pretoria: Government Printers.
- RSA (Republic of South Africa). 1996. *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996)*. Pretoria: Government Printers.
- Sachs, E.S. 1952. *The choice before South Africa*. London: Turnstile Press.
- Stirling, J. 2011. Trade unions in a fragile state: The case of Sierra Leone. *Industrial Relations Journal*, 42(3):236-253.
- Swanepoel, B., Erasmus, B., Schenk, H., Van der Westhuizen, E.J. & Wessels, J.S. 2005. *South African human resource management for the public sector*. Cape Town: Juta.
- Tillman, R.M. & Cummings, M.S. 1999. *The transformation of U.S. unions: Voices, visions and strategies from the grassroots*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Trebilcock, A. 2013. *Labour relations and human resources management: An overview*. Available at: <http://www.ilocis.org/documents/chpt21e.htm>. Accessed 6 June 2015.
- Tshiyoyo, M. 2014. The role of the state in ensuring sustainable development. In C. Thornhill, G. van Dyk & I. Ille (eds.). *Public administration and management in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Turner, L., Katz, H.C. & Hurd, R.W. (Eds.). 2001. *Rekindling the movement: Labor's quest for relevance in the 21st century*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Van Gramberg, B. 2002. *Employee relations management*. Sydney: Prentice Hall.
- Watson, T.J. 1987. *Sociology, work and industry*. Second edition. London: Routledge.
- Webster, E. 2007. *Trade unions and political parties in Africa: New alliances, strategies and partnerships*. Briefing papers no 3. Available at: <http://www.fes.de/gewerkschaften> Accessed 27 June 2012.
- WHO (World Health Organisation). 1948. Constitution of the World Health Organization. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- Williams, S. & Adam-Smith, D. 2005. *Contemporary employment relations: A critical introduction*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Wood, G. 1998. *Trade union recognition*. Johannesburg: Thompson International.
- Wright, C.F. 2011. What role for trade unions in future workplace relations? Acas, Future of Workplace Relations. Discussion paper, Research September 2011, University of Cambridge.