

# FAIR GAMES - FAIR PLAY



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## EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING & WOOD WORKERS INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR DECENT WORK TOWARDS AND BEYOND 2010

DECENT WORK TOWARDS & BEYOND



Building and  
Wood Workers' International

GLOBAL  
UNIONS

Decent Work  
Decent Life Alliance

### CAMPAIGN PARTNERS:



**LRS**  
LABOUR RESEARCH SERVICE

Schweizerisches Arbeiterhilfswerk **SAH**  
Org. Suiça de Entre-ajuda Operária **OSEC**  
Swiss Labour Assistance **SLA**

**FRIEDRICH  
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**sask**  
Trade Union Solidarity Centre of Finland

LO-TCO  
**BISTANDSNÄMND**





## Message from Building & Wood Workers International

The struggle for decent work is not an easy road to travel!

BWI and its affiliates in the construction sector Building Construction and Allied Workers Union – BCAWU, National Union of Mineworkers – NUM and South African Building Workers Organisation – SABAWO, were courageous to undertake this road in South Africa from 2007 after the announcement by FIFA that South Africa will host the World Cup which involved development of infrastructure in the different cities.

This campaign saw all unions increasing their density, and gained a bigger voice to represent all workers in the construction sector in different foras including at FIFA level. The struggle for decent work continues at sites for the Euro Cup in Ukraine and Poland 2012 and the next World Cup 2014 in Brazil.

Our sincere gratitude goes to all the BWI affiliates globally but especially the South Africa construction unions SABAWO, BCAWU and NUM for their contributions in making the campaign a success, LRS for the action oriented research information, LO TCO and the Swedish Affiliates BYGGNADS, the Electricians and the Painters Unions, SASK and Rakennusliitto from Finland, SLA and UNIA from Switzerland, ACV and ACCG from Belgium, the 3F, LOFTF, & BAT-KARTEL from Denmark, CNV-Bouw and FNV Bouw from Netherlands as well as the project staff Eddie Cottle & Katrina Mseme.

As we say information is power we would not have done justice if we did not thank the media houses globally who saw the value of publicizing the BWI decent work campaign and the struggles of construction workers in South Africa.

Finally, we value the dedication and determination of all the South African construction workers, who saw the value of joining our affiliates, contributed in bettering their working conditions and uplifting the face of the construction sector. They have also constructed the best infrastructure the world have ever seen in a developing country and in a very big way contributed in the best World Cup being hosted, proudly on African soil.

Amandla!

**Crecentia Mofokeng**

Regional Representative

Building & Wood Workers International Africa & Middle East



## Preface

Over the past few years there has been much talk both nationally and internationally about the legacy of the 2010 FIFA World Cup that was held in South Africa. This legacy focuses mainly on the economic, infrastructural, tourist and sporting legacy. Through the media hype of mega sporting events the sporting spectacle itself is the centre of attention of some 27 billion viewers world-wide. All praise for the event organisers centres on Sepp Blatter's FIFA and the South African government and the Local Organising Committee.

Mega sporting events such as the FIFA World Cup are key drivers of globalisation and form part of a mega sports accumulation complex mainly benefiting FIFA's commercial partners who descend every four years onto a host nation. In a very short space of time the face of a city can be changed and those who live in it. Those that build the city and its infrastructure to host the meg-sporting event are rendered invisible. Their labour is required to build the infrastructure but their presence in the city is not. The value of labour power is dropped to its minimum and workers find themselves competing for precarious forms of work – and so super exploitation is maintained.

The trade union movement has generally not sought to use the opportunity of mega events such as the FIFA World Cup to make long-term strategic gains for the labour movement. The recent German World Cup showed a general absence of trade unions in using the opportunity to revitalise the unions and to increase trade union density. This external evaluation addresses the strengths and weakness, challenges and success of the Building & wood Workers International, "Campaign for Decent Work Towards and Beyond 2010". In particular, the evaluation talks of a model campaign for "linking construction related working conditions to mega sporting events while at the same time building a social development message" – this is our legacy, the legacy of labour.

It has been a moving experience to have been a key participant in this legacy project of labour and to have followed the workers struggle from the very beginning of the first strike at Green Point stadium to the national construction strike in July 2009 and finally, to handover to our comrades from Brazil.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the evaluators, Aisha Bahadur and Michael Koen for their excellent and succinct analysis of the campaign. Also, my predecessor Trenton Elsley of the LRS; Crecentia Mofokeng, Tos Anonuevo and Katrina Mseme from BWI; and the 2010 steering committee members, NUM, BCAWU and SABAWO with whom I worked very closely and did not always agree. Finally to our campaign partners, the SLA, SASK, LOTCO and the BWI affiliates who made an excellent showing of international solidarity – thank you for your contribution to making this World Cup a legacy for labour!

### **Eddie Cottle**

Coordinator for the Campaign for Decent Work Towards & Beyond 2010  
Building & Wood Workers International/Labour Research Service

## Note from the External Evaluators

This publication has been produced from the perspective of the external evaluators, Aisha Bahadur and Michael Koen of Civil Society Research & Support Collective. Unless otherwise stated, views contained in this report are those of the evaluators.

The evaluators wish to thank the following for their contributions to the campaign evaluation:

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- Crosby Moni, former National Union of Mineworkers – NUM representative and former Steering Committee Chair
- George Tyikana, National Coordinator, South African Building Workers Organisation – SABAWO and Steering Committee member
- Vasco Pedrina, Building & Wood Workers International – BWI Vice President, Unia National Secretary, Switzerland
- Joachim Merz, Swiss Labour Assistance – SLA Officer for “Fair Games – Fair Play”
- Katrina Mseme, Construction Project Coordinator, Building & Wood Workers International – BWI Africa & Middle East
- Crecentia Mofokeng, Regional Representative, Building & Wood Workers International – BWI Africa & Middle East
- Tos Anonuevo, Head Office, Building & Wood Workers International – BWI
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## Introduction

The Fair Games – Fair Play campaign promotes decent work in world football, focusing on the construction sector, in the build up to the FIFA World Cup 2010 in South Africa. FIFA, the South African government and the companies contracted to build or renovate the ten stadiums and other infrastructure projects required for the staging of the Cup, are targeted by the campaign to achieve secure and safe jobs under good working conditions and living wages for all workers. The campaign appeals to football fans, the general public and workers along with other trade unions and civil society organisations, both internationally and domestically.

The cyclical and mobile nature of construction, coupled with employer strategies to use flexibility to maximise profit, has created a very vulnerable workforce in the construction sector in South Africa. This is characterised by unusually low union density, low pay and poor working conditions. In

order to address this, trade unions would have to become stronger, increasing union density in the sector and organising non standard workers that make up a large section of the sectors workforce.

The World Cup offered a strategic opportunity to begin this process, and has created the challenge of organisational renewal to the participating South African trade unions in the process. The campaign also has a strong international dimension, framed in the broad international campaign for decent work.

Thus the campaign objective was defined as “The 2010 Soccer World Cup is used to facilitate growth of union density in the sector, through promoting decent work for non-standard workers in the construction industry.”

*Pictures: International launch of the campaign at the World Social Forum in Nairobi Kenya in January 2007*

## Participating Organisations

Building and Wood Workers' International (BWI), concerned with the decline in trade union membership worldwide in the construction industry, sought to increase the level of trade union density through engaging proactively in mega-projects such as the 2010 World Cup infrastructure development programme in South Africa. In September 2006 at the BWI Africa Regional Committee held in Dakar, Senegal agreed on the 2010 World Cup Campaign. The campaign "Fair Games – Fair Play: Decent Work towards and beyond 2010" was launched internationally at the World Social Forum in Nairobi, Kenya under an alliance between BWI, the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) and the organisations of the "Decent Work for a Decent Life" with South African labour support organisation, Labour Research Service (LRS) playing an instrumental role.

LRS was very closely tied to the initial conception of the campaign and was seen as an integral part of the campaign and not just as a service provider. They participated in the initial meetings and provided the background research into the South African construction sector and the plans by the South African Government to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup. LRS was brought on board as a campaign partner to provide research, education and technical support for the campaign and the campaign coordinator was located at this organisation.

The organisational identity of the campaign was to belong to BWI, who would involve its South Africa affiliates: the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Building Construction and Allied Workers Union (BCAWU) and the South African Building Workers' Organisation (SABAWO). On a national level, a steering committee was established, consisting of two members of each trade union, BWI staff and LRS represented by the campaign coordinator. SLA, SASK and LOTCO provided funding support for projects under the campaign. The campaign also received campaign support from Swiss union, UNIA and Swedish union Byggnads.

## External Evaluation Comments

The campaign has been characterised by multiple organisation participation, and cooperation and international solidarity has directly linked workers

in the global north and south.

In hindsight, the campaign began somewhat late and this created significant implementation pressures around project aspects of the campaign. Nevertheless, the impact of the campaign has been extremely significant.

The campaign was highly appropriate, given the dire need to reverse a long term decline in the level of organisation amongst construction workers in the country and poor wages and working conditions endured by workers in this sector. The campaign was generally efficient although it probably attempted to achieve too much, resulting in some project areas being somewhat diluted. Unless there were sound strategic reasons or a shortage of resources, all activities proposed were completed mostly in the agreed time frames. The campaign was most definitely effective, with the innovative use of a high profile event to address decent work. It also had a significant impact on the sector, participating organisations and the principle beneficiaries, workers.

This has been a very successful labour based initiative, but the sustainability of the impacts of the campaign still need to be secured. The campaign has created the platform for a significant, long term programmatic sector wide engagement, premised on significant infrastructural developments in South and Southern Africa in the next decade.

Whilst the 2010 World Cup projects have come to an end, there is opportunity in current large scale projects, like the electricity builds, that would allow the campaign to metamorphose into one that continues to keep links to large infrastructure development. This would promote social development and decent work in order to retain the gains made by the campaign and allow it to continue to work on transforming the construction sector.

The campaign has developed a model for linking construction related working conditions to mega sporting events whilst at the same time building a social development message.

Internationally, the South African experience has much to offer to European unions that are organising sites for the 2012 Euro Cup and to the Brazilian affiliates of the BWI as they take over the campaign for the 2014 World Cup.



## Campaign Achievements

A successful international launch of the campaign at the 2007 World Social Forum in Nairobi, with the involvement of ITUC, and the successful national launch several months later which profiled the combination of construction and decent work.

A solid partnership between BWI and LRS that provided a supportive environment for the trade unions to build strength and to take on campaign demands, as well as testing the usefulness of this kind of close cooperation.

A committed campaign coordinator who ensured the campaign had a voice, as well as steering the campaign towards making a meaningful impact.

The effectiveness of BWI regional office in engaging local trade unions and building solidarity between them, as well as ably managing the project and providing strong leadership and drive in the campaign.

A willingness of the three participating unions, SABAWO, BCAWU and NUM, to work together towards real gains in the sector not only at a structural level, as with the Steering Committee, but also on the shop floor where there are several examples of workers from different unions united in their actions towards employers.

Effective international solidarity with Swiss union, UNIA and Swedish union Byggnads as well as SLA, SASK and LOTCO that also provided financial support

Effective lobbying of FIFA, through the efforts in South Africa and Switzerland, that resulted in agreement in March 2008 where FIFA acknowledged labour and agreed to joint inspections. In March 2009, there was a "precedent setting" joint inspection after which FIFA issued a statement supporting 'decent work'. The campaign opened the door for future engagement of labour with FIFA.



Appropriate research that supported negotiations and the campaign messages.

Consistently getting exposure through the national media for the campaign, as well as assisting and participating in international media productions, which gave the campaign global coverage.

169 trade union participants took part in capacity building educational workshop, 24% of which were women.

Preparedness for negotiations and effective nationwide participation in sectoral determination processes, levels of which the unions had not attained before.

26 strikes by construction workers during the campaign period.

Various improvements for construction workers involved in the World Cup 2010 related builds, including bonuses, transport, better facilities and health and safety improvements.

Curbing the undercutting of wage rates by sub contractors and labour brokers.

The effectiveness of BWI regional office in engaging local trade unions and building solidarity between them, as well as ably managing the project and providing strong leadership and drive in the campaign.

The successful July 2009 national strike on 2010, which gained a 12% increase in wages and improved working conditions, along with a possible curtailment of the use of perpetual fixed term contracts to avoid employment responsibility by contractors.

The recruitment by the unions of nearly 27 459 workers by the end of 2009, equating to a 39% increase in union membership since 2006.

Building a model for campaigning around mega sporting events in the sector.

Improved health and safety on many construction sites in South Africa.

Increased gender related bargaining and organisation in the sector in South Africa.

A multistakeholder forum to expand the impact of the campaign into other sectors.

FIFA agreement to 40000 tickets for construction workers. A world first.

*Opposite page picture: striking workers at Green Point Stadium, Cape Town, August 2007*

*Picture below: striking workers at Soccer City Stadium, Johannesburg, July 2009*





## Campaign Demands

In May 2007, at the Kopanong Strategy Meeting, the campaign objective and a set of demands were developed by the trade unions involved.

Campaign demands were:

- **The right to work, to organize & to bargain** - Access to construction sites and to workers for the purposes of communicating their rights and recruitment, without fear of discrimination. Contractors and sub-contractors must respect core labour standards including the right of workers to collectively bargain and join a union.
- **Decent work** – agreements with companies must ensure that there is real improvement in wages, working conditions and safety for workers. Maximise the creation of quality jobs, especially for women and youth.
- **A living wage** – a wage that takes construction workers out of poverty. Workers must receive a decent wage and adequate social protection consistent with decent working conditions.
- **Zero accidents** – Enforcement of health and safety measures to make sure that work is undertaken in an environment which is free from occupational, health and safety hazards, and to gain fulltime health & safety union representatives on site.
- **No downward variation** – All subcontracting terms to reflect that of principle tender
- **Quality jobs** – Maximize the creation of quality jobs – especially for woman and youth so as to contribute to resolving unemployment.

- **Improve basic conditions** – Decent accommodation and improvement in working conditions for all workers
- **Health awareness** - Promote awareness on HIV/AIDS; provide voluntary testing, accessible counselling and treatment.
- **Skills development** - Effective skills development programmes that promote the future employability of workers.

The campaign demands were formulated by the primary implementing organisations, the three South African unions. This participatory approach facilitated relevance and commitment to the campaign.

The demands themselves did not touch on any specific social issues, but focussed purely on labour concerns. However the campaign as implemented networked with civil society organisations and raised awareness of social issues relating to the world cup in media and communication efforts. The campaign also played an important networking role bringing together many organisations from around the world in a conference focussed on the integration of labour and social demands around mega sporting events.

*Picture: Striking workers at Greenpoint Stadium in Cape Town, August 2007*

## Campaign Report Card

### The right to work, to organize & to bargain

Mostly present already although access to stadiums was a problem for the campaign in terms of inspections and speaking to workers. Organising rights are not outright denied but made unenforceable through employment mechanisms. Still an issue with some labour brokers and subcontractors

### Zero accidents

There were accidents and two deaths recorded in the stadium builds but good progress was made around safety and it was put to good use as an organising mechanism. Full time safety officers were put in place in some instances. Government capacity for inspection still needs improvement .

### Quality jobs

By the winding down of the 2010 focus some progress had been made particularly with regards tackling the labour broker issue. Labour broking has been placed in the spotlight and could potentially be done away with. The possibility of future engagements with government as the main client of the construction sector may hold hope for the creation of more quality jobs. Job security is still of particular concern.

### Skills development

Some skills development issues were raised and achieved especially at larger sites and dialogue opened with the skills authority. There is still a long way to go in adequately addressing this issue at a national level in the industry. The campaign has correctly identified particular problems that still exist in relation to short contracts and skills development

### Decent work

Progress was made in terms of popularising the concept and improvements more particularly for full time workers, but we cannot say at this point that decent work was achieved at the stadiums and certainly not in the broader industry. Many workers still don't have written contracts. Progress was made on pay and the issue of benefits and limited duration contracts have been partially curtailed. Growing networks and the platform put in place by the 2010 campaign gives hope for further progress in the future.

### A living wage

Labour demands for a living wage is R4500. The minimum in the sector is still over R1500 below this. This has not yet been achieved although a significant improvement was made.

### No downward variation

In principle, this was achieved and confirmed in national negotiations. However, many violations occurred and continue to occur at construction sites requiring union vigilance.

### Health awareness

NUM did specific training around HIV and in some stadium sites clinics were established.

### Improve basic conditions

This was achieved in that negotiations certainly did achieve an improvement and more employers are implementing these improvements. There is still much work to be done in the sector in terms of pension benefits, contracts, etc.



## Campaign Strategy

The strategic plan developed the goals, principles and an action plan for the campaign. The action plan was centred on four pillars of campaign strategy namely: organising, research, negotiating and campaigning.

### Campaign pillar 1: Organising

#### Recruitment

Recruitment was the main component of this campaign pillar. A pilot strategy was developed in 2007, and this was to be consolidated in 2008 and 2009, which was done at several levels and in several forums, at steering committee meetings, leadership forums with shop stewards and organisers and in individual sessions with the union. Strategic decisions taken were passed through the constitutional structures of the unions. Unions received financial support for recruitment activities but also contributed from their own resources. According to the Campaign Coordinator, The campaign made a big difference to the recruitment of workers at World Cup sites. The unions engaged in planned recruitment as part of the campaign and

this was driven by the Steering Committee, to which there was accountability for progress. Unions also engaged the campaign coordinator individually to develop recruitment plans and strategies and recruitment drives were partly resourced by the campaign.

BCAWU and SABAWO particularly benefitted from the assistance that the campaign provided on recruitment and they attribute the growth in their membership over the period to the campaign. For BCAWU, whilst the project focused initially on the stadiums, it was also beneficial for related projects such as Gautrain and roads projects and has also been applied to workplaces that do not relate to the World Cup. For SABAWO, the project assisted to develop alternative organising strategies given that there are other larger unions that are organising on these sites. SABAWO focused its attention on organising workers employed by sub contractors and labour brokers. Of the three unions NUM was better prepared to carry out recruitment, and already had presence at sites, but the project gave better focus nationally for targeted recruitment at 2010 sites.

It was estimated that 22000 workers were employed in stadium builds through the project period. The initial project concept was to focus activities on the stadiums being built, but this was changed as the unions did not have presence in all the regions. Thus the project took on more geographic focus on areas where union capacity already existed and was extended to include other 2010 infrastructure projects such as rail, airport and road development.

The unions recruited 27731 workers in the project period, increasing union membership by 39.4% from 2006 to 2009.

### Addressing the needs of non standard workers

Unions paid more attention to vulnerable workers than they had done in the past, especially those who are employed by sub contractors and those sourced from labour brokers. Unions were encouraged through the campaign to take up the issue of labour brokers, which is a central concern for the construction sector, and to take the issue to their federation for further address. The unions also became more aware and receptive to the legal and organisational transformations that would be necessary to address issues for these workers and for their incorporation into the union.

During an exchange visit in 2008, Swiss union UNIA shared their experiences with South African delegates on how the union had tackled the issue of contract workers. They had developed social movement unions that had transformed the union to focus on shop floor organising and redefined union members to better incorporate informal workers and those unemployed. This encouraged the unions to think out of the box.

SABAWO applied the shared lessons in their recruitment strategies, focusing on marginalised workers employed by subcontractors and labour brokers. Issues that SABAWO identified to be addressed were job security, low wages, poor working condition and health and safety concerns. In some cases, SABAWO has gained recognition and achieved agreements that stipulate wages and the process of layoffs and retrenchment. SABAWO has been able to negotiate wages with some employers, which has not happened before. BCAWU made some gains for non standard workers, where workers of sub contracting companies enjoy the same benefits as those of the main contractor.

For NUM, organising atypical workers is an important task and had been on the agenda for quite some time but more progress had been made in the mining sector. It was NUMs position that focusing on organising full time workers of construction companies would allow them to gain sufficient strength to take on the main contractors and ensure gains in the contractual arrangements with sub contractors and on the use of labour brokers. NUM's 2008 Campaign report stated "Our goal is to increase the membership to a point where at least 50% of the workers in the industry will be union members. It should be noted that out of the one million workers employed by the industry, about 60% of them are employed on a casual basis. Although we know and understand that the most exploited are casual employees, we believe that if we can organize the majority of the permanent workers, half of the battle will be won. So our target for 2008 will be the Big Five of the construction industry."

*Opposite page picture: BWI delegation meets FIFA LOC at Soccer City, 20 March 2009*

Recruitment Figures 2007 to 2009							
Union	2006 (Baseline)	2007 (% Increase)	2008 (% Increase)	2009 (% Increase)	Total Workers Recruited	Total Workers Recruited as % of 2009	Percentage Increase 2006 to 2009
NUM	44363	47263 (6.3%)	53402 (13%)	58984 (10.5%)	14621	24.8%	33%
BCAWU	25000	28887 (15.5%)	32167 (11.4%)	35000 (8.8%)	10000	28.5%	40%
SABAWO	1100	2610 (137%)	4010 (53.6%)	4210 (5%)	3110	73.9%	280%
<b>Total</b>	70463	78760 (11.7%)	89579 (13.7%)	98194 (9.6%)	27731	28.2%	39.4%



*Picture: BWI meets with workers at Nelson Mandela Bay Stadium, Port Elizabeth in 2008*

The campaign has contributed considerably to elevating the attention and focuses of unions on non standard work forms and has begun to look more closely at alternative organising forms. The campaign has actively promoted at national level the call for banning labour broking.

It was apparent that unions differ between themselves, and even within themselves, between different regions and probably even sites, as to how much focus is placed on these workers. As detailed there were sound strategic reasons for this, but the challenge remains. Whilst constitutional, operational and strategic orientations will have to meaningfully shift to really address this problem in the sector, the campaign could not delve to this organisational depth in the allotted time with available resources. A basis has been set to follow up beyond 2010.

### **Recruitment vs. organising**

Of course recruitment alone is not organising, but the fact that 70000 workers heeded the NUM and BCAWU call for a strike in July 2009 does suggest that there was a lot more than signing forms going on in the period running up to this call. Generally, unions in their planning were mindful to set up and or bolster workplace structures through the organising drive. Worker education has also taken place partly through the project and partly through the union training efforts. Unions were also able, through organising efforts, to integrate their efforts with a rising wave of new and spontaneous militancy that emerged from construction sites during the period, and organise workers around an interim increase supplement of 3% as well as drive particular site demands.

Workers spontaneously played a significant role in organising; Here, the willingness and ability of

the workers in South Africa to strike is the most important factor with the August/September 2007 wildcat strikes at the Green Point Stadium in Cape Town that got the ball rolling. Twenty of the 26 strikes were wildcat strikes. Union shop stewards were, however, represented in all the strike committees and communicated with their leadership structures. This meant that workers spontaneous action could be built on by unions in engagements with employers.

There were a number of reasons for worker led militancy. Firstly, a national agreement reached in 2006 between NUM/BCAWU and large civil construction contractors at a national bargaining forum tied the unions into a 3 year agreement, effectively making strikes pursuant of altering these terms illegal. Secondly, the level of organisation on many of the sites was quite low, particularly in 2007 when the wildcat strikes started. Lastly, workers themselves were fully aware of the temporary nature of their strategic advantage to gain concessions from companies. A number of the wildcat strikes were led by autonomous worker committees which, although to some unions may have seemed like a challenge, proved in fact to be strategically very useful organising points.

That, in a number of instances, unions were able to move in and build on these spontaneous uprisings is most definitely a positive indicator and a number of tactical lessons were learnt in the process.

### **Campaign Pillar 2: Research**

International campaigning has long recognised the importance of competent research and analysis forming the backbone of campaign strategies and messages. The principal example of this was the use of the remuneration research to form a constant message around workers conditions

as opposed to super profits. This was a a clever campaign strategy that was intended to ward off the inevitable accusations of being unpatriotic. Pedrina and Merz 2010 put this well in stating "Sympathy among journalists and media in South Africa was generated by exposing the growing gap between the soaring profits of the construction companies and the stagnant inflation-adjusted incomes of the construction workers; Thereby, public sympathy for the legitimate claims of "Fair Games - Fair Play was generated."

The research for the campaign focuses on the profiles of the construction companies involved in the World Cup infrastructure projects, the construction workers' wages and conditions, the institutional arrangements for collective bargaining and the transformation thereof, vulnerable forms of employment in the construction sector and how to challenge this situation to ensure more stable employment conditions. Information to support negotiations demands was also compiled, e.g. macro economic indicators.

Research included:

- 2010 Strike Barometer (August 2008)
- Analysis of Construction Company Profits (June 2008)
- Tabulating the costs of the World Cup
- Submission for the Sectoral Determination 2: Civil Engineering Sector, South Africa (March 2009)
- Profiles of 2010 Construction Companies, for 2010 and Beyond Project with BWI (October 2007)
- Construction Sector: Directors Fees Report 2009 (May 2009)
- Collective Bargaining arrangements in the construction sector (May 2009)
- Labour Broking and the Construction Sector (June 2009)
- (Research into procurement process, governance

*Picture: BWI inspection of scaffolding at Moses Mabhida Stadium, Durban March 2009*

and rights to access to information. Work towards this was passed onto IDASA)

The research that was conducted in support of the campaign and project objectives was carried out well and was relevant and effective. The research by LRS forms a significant part of the submission to the sectoral determination process (a national forum that sets industry minimum standards and wages) by NUM and BECAWU, as well as playing a role during the negotiations with the employer. NUM makes specific reference to the use of the BWI research in engaging the employers in an Article in the Jan/ Feb edition of NUM News. This was reiterated in the assessment process where NUM stated, "NUM felt it was important to acknowledge BWI role as the research/information was crucial and we caught management unaware, as they did not expect the unions to have such information."

### **Campaign Pillar 3: Negotiations**

For the campaign coordinator, the litmus test of the campaign boils down to "Did we prepare the unions, did they do the organising and did they achieve substantive gains?" The negotiations pillar was clearly a core pillar around securing gains for the ultimate project beneficiaries, the workers. Organising was the precursor to this process.

2010 campaign demands were first clarified at the Kopanong Strategy Meeting in May 2007 and preliminary organising and negotiations strategies were developed. In 2008 a more specific strategy development meeting refined the process.

Two construction negotiators workshops were held. The first workshop was held in March 2008 and the second in May 2009. Areas covered by the workshop included: resources on company information, negotiation skills and the legal





*Picture: Striking Workers at Green Point Stadium, July 2009*

processes of participating in a new civil engineering sectoral determination. A gender and collective bargaining workshops for BCAWU and SABAWO in 2008 complimented these processes and were aimed at placing gender related issues more firmly on the negotiation agenda.

Research that was conducted in 2007/8/9 fed into the strategy and preparations as well as into negotiation forums. Media and campaign materials were used to develop public support for negotiation demands and strikes.

Negotiations do not take place in a vacuum and the campaign and activities developed were all very well framed within the specific context of the construction sector in South Africa. Of particular significance to the negotiations processes and strategies was the division of the industry into civil engineering and building sub sectors. There are fragmented provincial councils in the building sector and no national bargaining forum.

A national bargaining forum exists in the Civil Engineering Sector and, in 2006, NUM and BCAWU had reached a three year wage agreement with the South African Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors (SAFCEC) in this forum. This agreement capped increases at 8% and effectively prevented unions striking over this, or other areas covered in the agreement, until 2009. Whilst in 2006 inflation was below 6%, it climbed rapidly above this point in the following years. This was one of the major reasons that many of the strikes during the campaign process were wildcat strikes. In October 2008, as a result of these strike actions and through union negotiations, an agreement was reached to increase the wage agreement by a further 3%.

Some hope emerged, with an announcement by the

department of labour in their call for submissions, that there was consideration of extending the scope of the up coming civil engineering sectoral determination to the building industry. Unfortunately the government did an about turn on this promising position.

Interim gains were made, prior to the 2009 national negotiations, by unions instigating actions or responding to spontaneous worker uprisings. The campaign coordinator comments, "The first strike recorded at a World Cup construction site broke out at Green Point Stadium in August 2007, thereby igniting a wave of individual site strikes and agreements with employers across the country. About 20 of the 26 strikes were wildcat in nature indicating an autonomous and spontaneous new militancy which was, to some extent, captured by the trade unions and ultimately led to widespread gains such as: project bonuses of R6000, ensuring no downward variation of working conditions, improved health and safety and increase in pay rates and so on."

### **The 2009 National Negotiations and Strike**

The campaign worked around the problem of the 2006 agreement by using the 2007/8 period to prepare and strategise an approach to the negotiations. Much of the behind the scenes discussions, along with formal activities such as the negotiation workshops, built to the point of the national strike in pursuit of a common set of demands that were tabled at the national bargaining forum and were intended to unify the sector.

At the point of negotiations, BCAWU and NUM historically stood behind the same set of demands and cooperated effectively at the point of deadlock and on the calling of a strike.



70 000 workers from both the building and construction subsectors responded to the call. This was the first national strike across all 2010 stadium sites but went far beyond this into building and construction sites across the country. This was incredibly significant in such a divided and fragmented sector that is heavily populated by vulnerable work forms. The strike lasted a week. This was also a significant indicator that the project and related organising efforts had had a significant impact on the industry as a whole well beyond the starting point of 2010 stadiums.

Opinions differ on the evaluation of the outcomes of the strike, from an outright victory to a qualified success with lost opportunities. Nevertheless when contrasted with the previous state of organising and negotiation outcomes the improvements achieved by the three unions and the contribution of the campaign process to these improvements is clear and significant.

Some important aspects of the 2009 collective agreement included;

- A 12% increase was agreed upon, which was above the 8% inflation level at the time and, the average increase being 9.7%, was also one of the highest sector agreements in 2009. This is a significant indicator of success for the unions and the campaign. Lost wages reduces the increase to 9.9% and, given workers major inflation components (transport 12.1% and food 14.6%), arguably it is still a real wage decrease.
- The minimum for civil engineering moves from R2618.78 to R2933.04. A “modest low-level standard of living” is currently at calculated as R3382. The minimum wage demand is currently R4500.
- A 12 month, and not a 3 year agreement, was reached which corrected a significant error that was made in 2006. However, phased-in benefits to 2012, such as annual bonus and inclement weather

*Picture: Workers walk out on strike at Moses Mabhida Stadium in September 2007*

provisions, smuggle in a 3 year framework.

- The framework agreement compromise saw a number of union demands diverted into a subcommittee for further negotiation, but unions sacrificed the right to strike in the process probably limiting gains on these other issues.
- A phased-in inclement weather provision, starting with 6 hours moving to 9 hours by 2012. (phased in is used here as an adjective and not a verb, and so is hyphenated)
- An annual bonus was phased in from 17 days in 2009 to 20 days in 2012.
- A provision for employment, and or pension and medical benefits, of limited duration contract employees with 18 months of service, starting from 1 March 2010. This comes too late for the World Cup stadia workers and is more a principled victory. The concern is that employers may well terminate prior to 18 months on the basis of avoiding the provision in the future.
- The agreement undermined the sectoral determination submissions.
- Building workers who supported the strike did not come to be covered by a single set of conditions.
- The 2009 negotiations were a significant improvement on the 2006 process and outcome, and is a significant indicator of the impact of the campaign.
- Union demands covered most of the areas of the campaign demands; again this is a good indicator of the campaign’s success.

### **Sectoral Determination**

The strategic intention for engaging in the Sectoral determination was essentially to improve coverage of regulation to more vulnerable workers, set a minimum level of wages and conditions for improvement in bargaining processes, and to unify conditions across the building and civil engineering sub divisions of the industry.





*Picture: The workers committee and trade union hold workers assembly at Green Point Stadium, August 2007*

Research was useful in documenting the multivariate bargaining arrangements and regulatory processes in the sector and in contributing to the strategic decision to attempt to transform the sector through campaign, legal and negotiated means.

2009 report: "After a national 2010 negotiators capacity building workshop, the three South African construction trade unions (NUM, BCAWU & SABAWO) agreed on common demands for the elaboration of a new Sectoral Determination for the Civil Engineering sector, and to negotiate them in common in 2009. The increased level of coordination amongst BWI affiliates is a manifestation of the impact of the campaign. Unions are engaging in provincial public hearings to intervene in the civil engineering sectoral determination processes that would extend minimum conditions of employment to all workers, especially in the provinces where there are no legally prescribed minimum wages and conditions of work. This is the first time that unions have unified and are working together to ensure a positive outcome."

The negotiations process did somewhat undermine the determination process. The coverage of the building subsector under one national extension of a determination, as raised by government in the call for submissions, was not achieved and remains a key item to achieve in the beyond phase of the 2010 Campaign.

The campaign did achieve a dramatic improvement in the nature of submissions and participation in processes relating to the sectoral determinations.

#### **Campaign Pillar 4: Campaigning**

The objectives of the campaign strategy were to

ensure that the issues of workers, construction companies and the unions are profiled on both a national and international level. Unions were to be united to give the campaign one voice and one set of demands, but each union would build their union through the campaign. Work done under the strategic pillar of campaigning included: the campaign launches, lobbying FIFA and engaging the media.

#### **Launching of the Campaign**

In January 2007, the campaign was launched internationally at the World Social Forum in Nairobi Kenya. This was done with the participation of ITUC and tied the campaign to the broader international campaign on decent work. The international launch contextualised international solidarity support for the campaign and set out clearly that, whilst the focus would be on South Africa for the 2010 World Cup, it is a global campaign. The foundations were laid to extend the campaign to the Euro Cup 2012 and the 2014 World Cup in Brazil in the future.

The campaign was launched nationally on 27 October 2007. About 300 workers participated in the launch, and campaign booklets and posters on campaign demands and on the 2010 companies were distributed. This provided the campaign with media attention carried by the growing interest around the World Cup in South Africa.

The national launch was to be followed shortly by site launches, to take the campaign to workers and to raise the profile of the unions. Time and resource constraints meant that the campaign could not be as comprehensive as was initially hoped. Site launches were therefore to focus on larger metros and construction projects. The unions were already involved in providing support to workers that had engaged in wildcat strike actions, and this set up

a difficult relationship dynamic with employers to gain access to the sites for the launch. Also, there were concerns that taking the campaign demands to the sites would cause confusion as these demands differed to the worker demands that the unions were supporting at site level. Finally it was decided in 2008 that the site launches would be dropped, as time had progressed for the campaign. Ideally they would have occurred at the commencement of construction but this was not possible due to the slow start of the campaign.

## Lobbying FIFA

The successful lobbying of FIFA was a great achievement and recognition must be given to the Swiss partners SLA and UNIA for their efforts on this. In South Africa, the strike waves at stadium sites in 2007 meant that FIFA could not ignore labour and senior officials of FIFA agreed to meet with a labour delegation.

A meeting took place in Zurich in March 2008 between FIFA and BWI, UNIA SLA and the South African affiliates. President Joseph Blatter committed FIFA to bring the workers issues before the government of South Africa and the FIFA Local Organising Committee (FIFA LOC). He also agreed to include trade unions in inspection visits to worksites and promised to continue the social dialogue and trade union engagements on other continents where major football events will be held. The Africa and Middle East representative of BWI, Crecentia Mofokeng, argued the BWI's stadium inspections "established a precedent that would complicate any FIFA U-turn in future...Although FIFA reneged on their promise of joint stadia inspections, they kept their promise of issuing a clear statement in support of the campaign".

FIFA and FIFA LOC despite having a memorandum of

*Picture: FIFA's Sepp Blatter & BWI's Crecentia Mofokeng at media conference, FIFA HQ, Zurich 11 March 2008*

understanding still attempted to avoid commitments made and generally remain as unaccountable as possible.

FIFA had made a commitment to have labour representatives with them on their site inspections done twice a year in the build period leading up to the World Cup. When they were approached in 2009 to put the agreement into practice, FIFA LOC raised obstacles claiming that they were not aware of the agreement, which then required much engagement of FIFA at the national level and in Switzerland by SLA. "The general feeling of the meeting was that the FIFA LOC does not respect us and does not take us seriously." Then there were claims of diary clashes that would make senior officials unavailable, stifling the agreement once again. So despite being denied access at the Green Point stadium site, whilst labour conducted its inspection at the same time as FIFA, the labour delegates were accompanied by lower level FIFA officials, the Head of Security and Head of Media whilst the Head of FIFA went in a separate team. Then despite agreeing on a joint press conference, FIFA held its own press conference, and FIFA LOC joined labour for its separate press conference. According to the coordinator, the point of the joint inspection and press conference was to have FIFA give progress updates on the stadia development and to have labour check and comment on labour standards at these sites.

It required dogged persistence to hold these groups accountable even after agreement was reached. Crecentia Mofokeng and the BWI regional office were key to profiling the issues and in achieving practical concessions from FIFA and the LOC. One of the lessons learnt for future engagements is that planning needs to include methods of ensuring agreements are honoured by FIFA and FIFA LOC.

Chairman of the Steering Committee at that





*Picture: Campaign Coordinator Eddie Cottle and BWI Construction Project Coordinator Katrine Mseme receive the Workers World Media Productions award for best poster. The poster can be seen on the back cover of this publication.*

time, Crosby Moni from NUM, said that “no firm commitments were achieved at the meetings with FIFA at a local and international level, only lukewarm agreements”. He goes on to say that beyond bringing these groups to the table the real achievement was for tickets to be given to stadium workers for World Cup matches.

The engagement with FIFA may not have played out as envisioned but this should not diminish the gains that were made. A joint inspection did take place and this was significant in the eyes of workers and the public. Following the inspection, FIFA presented a written statement in which it explicitly committed itself to the objectives of the trade union "Decent Work for a Decent Life" campaign. The securing of match tickets for workers is acknowledgement for workers and their contributions. SABAWO felt that inroads made with FIFA helped the union's visibility with workers and employers. BCAWU also felt that FIFA LOC had ignored the unions almost entirely until the memorandum of understanding with FIFA and the strikes started to gain momentum.

Most significantly, a precedent has now been set for future FIFA events that relate to infrastructure development which can be used to improve and extract firmer commitments from the organisation.

### **Engaging Media**

There were a wide range of articles published in the print media that drew attention to the 2010 campaign. Eddie Cottle, the Campaign Coordinator, wrote extensively based on the research and experience of the campaign. Articles written by him, or that he contributed to, mainly covered the following areas.

- The impact of a megaproject like the World Cup on South Africa as a developing nation and comparisons

with experiences of other countries, both in the developed and developing world, on sporting mega projects. Failure of the mega project to bring in promised economic benefit and promised jobs. Whilst some jobs have been created these are not sustainable, as jobs are shed at the completion of infrastructure builds.

- The World Cup infrastructure has come at a great cost to the South African taxpayer and the implication that this has on social infrastructure spending. Whilst billions has gone into development of the projects, these have not always been to develop infrastructure that would uplift communities that would have benefited from the investment e.g. the decision not to build the Cape Town stadium in one of the city's poor communities, Athlone, instead choosing the affluent Greenpoint for this development.

- The real beneficiaries of the World Cup infrastructure projects have been FIFA and the contracted companies. Construction companies have made huge profits and have rewarded their bosses with increasingly large salaries, yet most construction workers continue to earn poverty wages. Because media portrayed the strike action that demanded better wages negatively and as unpatriotic, the campaign always emphasised that actions were not against the 2010 World Cup but to ensure a fair share.

Direct media coverage for the campaign was also achieved through news articles that covered the BWI Multi-Sector Conference on Decent Work Towards and Beyond 2010 held in August 2009. There has also been media coverage of the free tickets for construction workers that worked on the stadia, which were secured through negotiations with FIFA as part of the campaign. However, this has been a missed opportunity by the campaign to draw attention to the retrenchment of workers as

infrastructure builds are completed. This link was drawn by an article in the national newspaper, The Star on 4 May 2010 titled 'Free tickets no consolation for workers'.

Indirectly, the unions mostly got to publicise the worker issues at World Cup infrastructure projects through articles on strike actions over the years. Articles have also covered NUMs calls for an end to the practice of using labour brokers in World Cup projects, as well as calls to safeguard jobs by absorbing workers coming off stadia build into new projects rather than retrenching these workers.

Print media included news articles and feature articles in publications such as the South African Labour Bulletin and Amandla!, a magazine prompting social justice. Some articles that covered the campaign were published outside South Africa. There was an article in the German press, following a visit of the campaign coordinator, and a feature article produced by a Finnish journalist on the 2010 Euro Cup that compared the situations of construction workers in South Africa, Ukraine and Poland in terms of wages, examples of housing and basic goods costs, working hours, accidents and unionisation. It concluded that whilst wages were much lower for construction workers in South Africa, there was better capacity for industrial action.

The campaign launch was covered nationally on television and several interviews on the campaign were conducted on local radio stations. The Workers World Media Productions (WWMP) made invaluable contributions and carried costs themselves, which assisted in documenting the Green Point Strike and the July 2009 strike. They ensured access to television and radio shows for the campaign. They also provided video footage for the Swiss campaign. Support from WWMP is ongoing, with assistance for the handover and photo exhibition as well as TV

*Picture: Workers at lunch break at Soccer City, 2009*

coverage on the campaign.

Several international documentaries used research from the campaign as background information and interviews with the Campaign Coordinator. These documentaries had a central theme of decent work and were produced by television teams from Australia, The Netherlands, Finland and France. Swiss campaign partners UNIA and SLA used media effectively to pressurise FIFA to engage labour and programmes aired on Swiss television gained sympathy from the public.

Media work aimed at workers was partially successful. The union negotiators found research publications useful for their negotiations. A special edition of the Bargaining Monitor on the construction sector, which was produced by LRS, contributed to the campaign. The poster designed for the site launches of the campaign won the WWMP labour media award for best artistic contribution because the poster "...not only made a good visual impression – it made accessible very important information on company profits and workers wages, made a historic link between current demands for a living wage and older demands of the labour movement but most significant was the fact that three construction trade unions of different ideological schools were united in the campaign and reflected on the poster..."

An initial concept of the project was to develop media cadres so that the unions could make effective use of the media attention on 2010 World Cup developments. Participants that attended media training were supposed to go through a series of training but the participants that attended the second workshop had not necessarily attended the first workshop, and it became clear that the concept would not be realised.

Thus, the campaign depended heavily on the coordinator to be the spokesperson for the





*Picture: Workers during lunch at Green Point Stadium, 2007*

campaign. Another concept was a website which never got underway as there were no funds available for this. Information was passed onto BWI for publication on the international website. A daily electronic newsletter was supposed to be set up but this also was not achieved as it was onerous to develop content on a daily basis, where the campaign coordinator would have to feed through articles from the mainstream press and information related to the stadia build and contractors when this became available. The coordinator felt that the campaign project would have benefited from a full time media coordinator

### **Broader Labour and Civil Society Engagement: Multi Stakeholder Conference**

The original strategy envisioned a construction sector summit being convened towards the end of the campaign. Government was slow to react and some employers were reluctant meaning that such a summit would be of limited value. Through support from the campaign many national issues were addressed in any event through submissions to parliamentary enquiries on labour broking and inputs to the national tripartite forum NEDLAC. At the point at which it was apparent that the construction sector summit was not going to take place in the 2009 funding cycle, the steering committee reached an important decision to redirect funds towards a multistakeholder forum and extend the nature of this forum. This strategic flexibility allowed a far wider engagement with civil society and a broadening of the scope of the campaign. In so doing valuable partnerships with civil society have been forged.

Organisations from around the world involved in struggling for better working conditions for workers in industries associated with major sporting events

like the 2010 World Cup, met in Johannesburg from the 26th to the 27th August 2009. This conference was important for a number of reasons:

- Although the campaign had been defined by its international character, it retained a very specific labour concern and it would seem to the external evaluators that it is at this point that this international character begins to complement the labour focus with a stronger social movement one. "The conference agreed that Mega-Projects such as the World Cup and the Olympic Games have not in any way improved the lives of workers whether in retail, textile, hospitality and construction sectors of the economy"
- The conference started to concretise some of the informal networks created by or related to the 2010 and beyond campaign.
- Construction alone was not the way to tackle labour broking in South Africa and broader cross sector attendance strengthened solidarity in this regard. COSATU, for example, gave a submission to the parliamentary hearing on labour broking in 2010 where NUM and some of the other unions present at the conference had their submissions attached as addendums.
- The conference agreed that "governments all over the world, where these mega-sporting events are to be held, should on condition be signatories to the ILO decent work declarations." This begins to set up the notion of social qualifying criteria for successful bids.
- One of the core aims of the conference was, "A campaign alliance is established by trade unions and other social movement partners based on a jointly formulated action plan" This should shape considerations moving into the beyond phase.
- The conference provided the opportunity to regionalize and internationalize some of the lessons and insights developed through the 2010 campaign work.

Whilst the reasons for the conference happening in late 2009 are idiosyncratic to project operational issues and the result of an organic and emergent process, reviewing the campaign with the benefit of hindsight suggests that the conference could have had a greater impact on the campaign had it happened earlier in the process. It would have fed into various components such as fund raising, establishing wider research networks and angles, building stronger civil society participation and support, greater media exposure, expressly surface developmental tensions and furthered the notion of limiting the opportunity costs of such mega events, and so on.

### **International Solidarity**

In March 2008, BWI Africa Region and affiliates involved in the project were invited to Switzerland on an exchange hosted by SLA and UNIA. Part of the exchange was to share ideas on organising and increasing union density in a highly fragmented, migrant and sub-contracted workforce. UNIA took the unions through the transformation of their union, from a more traditional form to a social movement union.

All the unions agreed that this was inspiring and that it proved that the union could effectively organise vulnerable workers. Adopting lessons from this example was easier for BCAWU and SABAWO which organise in one sector. They realised that organisational change would be needed to achieve this. SABAWO took on the strategy of union officials organising at workplaces everyday. SABAWO wants to make more progress towards the UNIA model but they experienced an organisational setback with the tragic passing of their General Secretary. BCAWU learnt a lot from the recruitment strategies and has made changes to the organisation; now even the General Secretary goes out organising and this has had positive results for the union.

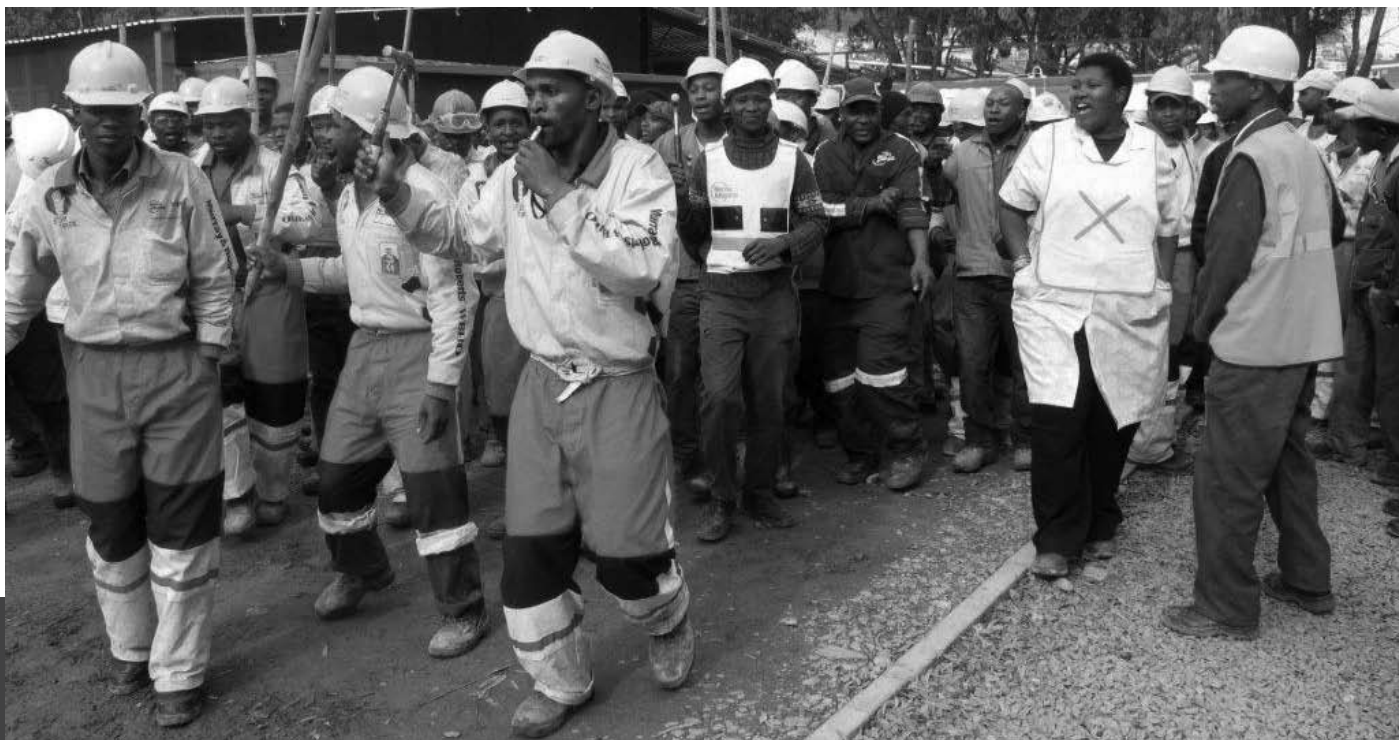
*Picture: Swiss comrades Hansueli Scheidegger, Joachim Merz, and Vasco Pedrina at a visit of Soccer City with Crecentia Mofokeng on 20 March 2009*

BWI Affiliates, Swedish Union Byggnads and UNIA from Switzerland, also carried out a highly effective internal sensitisation process to ensure secured funding and to build awareness of global solidarity. Both unions carried out rank and file campaigns that built awareness of the effectiveness of international solidarity. The international assessment of the campaign featured at the end of this booklet details some of these processes.

Additional capacity for the project was also through interns that were provided by SLA and Färnebo Folk High School, Göteborg, Sweden. Whilst their individual involvement was for a limited time, the campaign coordinator was able to utilise these resources, applying them in a focused way to certain aspects that needed development. Thus it is through the efforts of interns that some of the contractual documents for the stadia builds were secured, as some of their efforts were engaged in the lengthy and bureaucratic processes of the Public Access to Information Act. It was also an intern that produced the strike barometer providing some attempt to document these. Interns also produced reports of site visits and other campaign events that they participated in, reducing the burden on the coordinator for reporting.

The campaign also facilitated Dutch and Swedish unions that participated in site inspections on the BWI International Framework Agreement with Royal Bam of Netherlands. The company has a joint venture at Soccer City in Johannesburg and the Nelson Mandela stadium in Port Elizabeth. BWI affiliates, Union leaders from the Dutch and Swedish union made separate inspections to check the criteria of unionism, wages, health and safety and other working conditions. Such international engagement also reinforced the existing industrial relations mechanisms to enhance and implement corporate social responsibility.





## Key Factors contributing to the Success of the Campaign

The following points cover the areas considered by the interview respondents and the evaluators as factors significantly contributing to the impact of the campaign.

### Partnerships

The campaign was developed through an international multiple organisation partnership centered on a core partnership between BWI Africa and Middle East Region and Labour Research Services, driving the campaign through three South African Unions, NUM, BCAWU and SABAWO. This was complimented through prtner BWI affiliates in the global north and the BWI head office as well as solidarity support organisations. The partnering of a GUF and an Labour Service Organisation (LSO) gave a sound technical and strategic base as well as effective coordination to the campaign. Campaign coordination that was located in the LSO, with its own resources and networks to draw on, contributed significantly to the quality and relevance of the campaign outputs. BWI (regional) has a tremendous strength in understanding the region and affiliates, as well as the operational challenges faced by them. BWI has strong and respected leadership with vision and drive which contributes significantly to the impetus of the campaign.

### Effective coordination

The campaign correctly identified the gap in human

resources and succeeded in recruiting a campaign coordinator to streamline campaign actions and messages, and to build networks and provide technical assistance.

### Solidarity between South African unions

BWI played a pivotal role in developing national solidarity between her affiliates in South Africa which had been relatively absent before this. BWI did the initial groundwork in achieving cooperation and in establishing a joint and equal representation based steering committee to lead the project. This assisted in vesting strategic responsibility with the principle implementing organisations. Senior leadership included in the committee allowed the campaign to gain organisational support. The unions themselves are, of course, ultimately responsible for achieving and maintaining unity and cooperation, and for placing the interests of workers ahead of political differences amongst organisations. Quite simply, if unity had not been achieved, the campaign would not have passed begin; mature leadership is most definitively a contributing factor to its success. Lodging the campaign coordination with someone that does not have a direct union relationship proved to be useful, as a neutral reference point, once processes had started.

### Leadership support

Leadership support from unions locally and



internationally, as well as in the global union federation, was a key enabling factor in the successes achieved by the campaign. Added to this should be the vision demonstrated in the conceptualisation and creation of the campaign through BWI.

### **Flexibility and responsiveness**

The campaign did not reflect the typical mechanical activity implementation that is so common amongst funded projects. Instead, a dynamic and responsive campaign evolved and campaign support was responsive to this, as was the BWI international office. The steering committee played an important role in developing this responsive process. The campaign in 2010 did not look the same as it did when it was started in 2007 and this is a tremendously positive aspect. The campaign was bold enough to experiment. For example, the issue of tenders was identified and a learning curve ensued in an attempt to access tender documents through legal channels only to find the tenders incredibly difficult to interpret. This required the involvement of an organisation with more expertise in the area. These are invaluable lessons for future campaigns.

By allowing the campaign to evolve, take on a stronger social character, build networks and engage in key sector processes, a campaigning and organising model for mega sporting events has emerged. The same vision and flexibility will be needed again as the campaign now needs to evolve to find the right identity and focus for the 'beyond' phase.

### **Multiple funding model**

Having multiple sources of funding from various Solidarity Support Organisations was not without problems given the complexities of multiple organisation arrangements, but overall it must be considered as a key success contributor. Whilst the

*Picture opposite page: Striking workers at Greenpoint Stadium, August 2007*

*Picture: Workers at the Gautrain project, Johannesburg*

campaign objective remained the same throughout the duration of the project, project objectives were revised each year as the campaign progressed through the phases, which allowed for a more organic flow of the campaign that was tailored to meet the campaign needs within the limitations of available resources.

BWI held the master plan for the campaign but support for different aspects came from multiple sources. Multiple funding applications set up a variety of project objectives, expected results and indicators relating to the campaign strategy, but did differ depending on the focus of the application.

This could have created problems, confusion and a lack of focus but was well managed where BWI and the affiliates, along with LRS, were able to largely drive the agenda of the campaign. If anything, this should be seen as a strong point in the campaign, for where there is one funder there is often a tendency for the project to become more responsive to the requirements of the support organisation rather than the need that gives rise to the project. It was observed that using multiple funding sources is a positive approach, but one needs to consider that a campaign by its very nature tends to grow. Planning around this fact in a campaign environment is a necessity. Where this is not the approach, it is similar to planning for a limited campaign which is actually just a project.

### **Flexible and responsive international solidarity linked to workers**

The active involvement of other BWI affiliates in the global north was also a key aspect of global organisational learning and solidarity development achieved in the campaign. "Especially in Sweden, thanks to Byggnads, and in Switzerland, thanks to Unia, European construction workers' unions used "Fair Games - Fair Play" effectively to carry out a





*Picture: Workers discussing their grievances at Nelson Mandela Bay Stadium, Port Elizabeth, 2008*

broad rank and file campaign among their members. That not only secured the campaign's financial and organisational support for several years, at the same time it also raised many trade union representative's awareness of the meaning, purpose and effectiveness of international solidarity. .... "Unia was able to prove that linking football (very popular among members) with "decent work" and social development attracts a good response. There is a lot of potential in that link, also with a view to broadening awareness of the ways and means towards a globalisation of social justice."

The exchange between sister unions has also had a significant impact in forming the discussion around alternate organising forms that are more appropriate to the construction sector in South Africa. Within the short time span of the campaign this has not had sufficient time to mature into full organisational practice but will no doubt play a key part of discussions pertaining to the beyond component in South Africa.

"A further key to success was international trade union solidarity. FIFA was willing to make concessions only under pressure from the many strikes in South Africa and international lobbying by BWI, the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, Unia and Swiss Labour Assistance. The lobbying took the form of constant insistence at FIFA headquarters in Zurich, in order to move FIFA President Sepp Blatter to receive a South African delegation for a meeting and a press conference. That was finally achieved and became the catalyst for further FIFA concessions. But here the international media work of the BWI affiliates (though almost exclusively those in Europe) should be mentioned too, highlighting the campaign's global dimension and appealing to global public opinion. Also, without the financial contributions from European trade unions and labour support

NGOs, it would never have been possible to carry out "Fair Games - Fair Play".

### **Worker militancy**

Workers themselves have proved during this campaign period that they understand the issues and are willing and able to stand up for themselves. The strength of workplace structures helped unions integrate with and support spontaneous worker actions. The contribution by these workers to giving the campaign impetus and teeth can not be undervalued. These strikes paved the way to the national strike and assuredly shifted the perception of power relations at the negotiating table in 2009.

There is no documentation available as to what proportion of these workers were 'non-standard' workers but, given the level of participation, it is assumed that a good proportion of them were indeed 'non-standard' workers. These strikes revealed the possibility for combined action across different worker 'categories' and no doubt played a role in growing union engagement with these workers.

When union hands were tied on worker demands, wild cat strikes brought these issues to the fore and enabled unions to represent these issues in the campaign and take them to the table at the 2009 round of sectoral negotiations, where significant gains were made.

During the national strike in 2009 some 70 000 workers came out in response to the call, representing both civil engineering and the building sub sectors of the construction industry, despite the fact that negotiations were vested in the civil engineering national bargaining forum. Workers demonstrated their strategic understanding of the importance of unifying bargaining relations across the industry. The cessation of the strike due to outside pressures

before this key demand was met, has to be viewed as something of a lowlight in the campaign and a key objective for the future.

### **Tactically competent campaigning**

The steering committee and unions made some good tactical decisions around the timing and content of actions and communications in pursuit of the campaign objectives.

Examples include: the timing of public research releases which were delayed to support the 2009 negotiations process, strategic strikes such as the one in Durban ahead of the qualifying draw, building a message that shielded the campaign from accusations of being unpatriotic through painting the construction companies as the real winners and then personalising this through the directors remuneration report, and finally the use of FIFA to lever FIFA LOC.

### **Developing a model for campaign and organising in mega sports events**

The emergent nature of the campaign has developed a model for such actions that takes as its core points:

- Partnerships
- Expanding networks
- Working conditions and social priorities around sporting events
- Research and education support
- Union driven and organising and negotiations centred
- Dedicated campaign capacity
- Multiple funding models
- The targeting of difficult areas for organisation as these workers are the most vulnerable
- Leverage of bodies such as FIFA
- International solidarity and inter affiliate cooperation

*Picture: A construction worker at Ellis Park Stadium*

### **Managing competing demands between site issues and national issues**

This was a significant challenge to the campaign and perhaps reflects the duality of campaign and project. The implementing organisations however managed to make significant advancements in both areas. The focus of 2007/8 tended to be on the sites whilst preparing for a larger sector wide national takeoff in 2009. The focus of the efforts of 2009 however was not about the 2010 related builds per se, but shifted to transforming the sector. This is seen as a key strength and achievement, as it effectively moved the campaign into the beyond component using the World Cup as a lever.

Significant progress has been made particularly in: engaging labour brokers, shifting negotiations to a 12 month and not 3 year period, mobilising workers in a national construction sector strike, growing union density and movement towards sector level engagement as well as broadening the scope of the 'decent work' framework in a multi stakeholder forum. This is in a strategic context where infrastructural spending in South Africa will reach well over R2 trillion in the next ten years. This absolutely dwarfs the total R40-50 billion spent on infrastructure towards 2010.

A response that sees a long term, broader programmatic approach and increased support complemented by a campaign orientated approach in the beyond period, will be critical in avoiding a reversal of campaign achievements.

### **Sound use of research and media**

The campaign dealt well with the central challenge of soccer fans and the public who may see the actions of workers as unpatriotic and self serving through profiling the real beneficiaries in the form of the construction companies. Research fed directly from key engagements, in terms



of negotiations and sectoral determination submissions, as well as from strategic and multi stakeholder forums. The research body has certainly improved the understanding of the sector and the options for organising therein. Key research was made accessible to the media and, combined with media networks, resulted in a significant uptake and publication of the key research findings and the message behind them. This went a long way to balance the one sided monopoly that bosses normally have in this arena.

### **A consistent social message was developed**

The campaign has served to highlight the union role in socioeconomic debates and issues beyond 'bread and butter' trade unionism. Campaign related articles carried a consistent and effective message targeting key social issues. The same message was repeated, demonstrating a sound grasp of building public understanding over time. The core of the social message was...

- Beneficiaries of the 2010 project have been construction companies and their executives, and not workers that have earned poverty wages, endured poor working conditions and have had no job security.
- The cost of the World Cup for the South African government is equal to the amount spent on housing delivery over ten years
- The multiplier effect of expenditure would have been greater if the public funds had been invested in socially viable construction, where the funds invested and skills developed could have been measured.
- ROI measured in expected foreign visitors, is already lower than original figures
- Job creation was guesstimated at 564 650 jobs for construction and tourism but the World Cup 2010 sites only created 22 000 jobs. No consideration was given to the short term nature of these jobs and the quality of these jobs.

Research supported and strengthened the campaign messages. BWI and her affiliates should be proud of raising this socially conscious approach to campaigning which most definitely rebuffs accusations of a self serving labour aristocracy that is so easily levelled against union organisation in sectors with a high proportion of vulnerable workers.

### **Efforts towards banning labour broking**

The application of efforts to press for the removal

of labour broking is another example of how appropriate and effective the campaign was. Labour broking has long been in the sights of the South African labour movement. Whilst it is a stretch to assume that labour broking will cease in South Africa because of this particular campaign alone, it has certainly contributed largely to a movement in that direction.

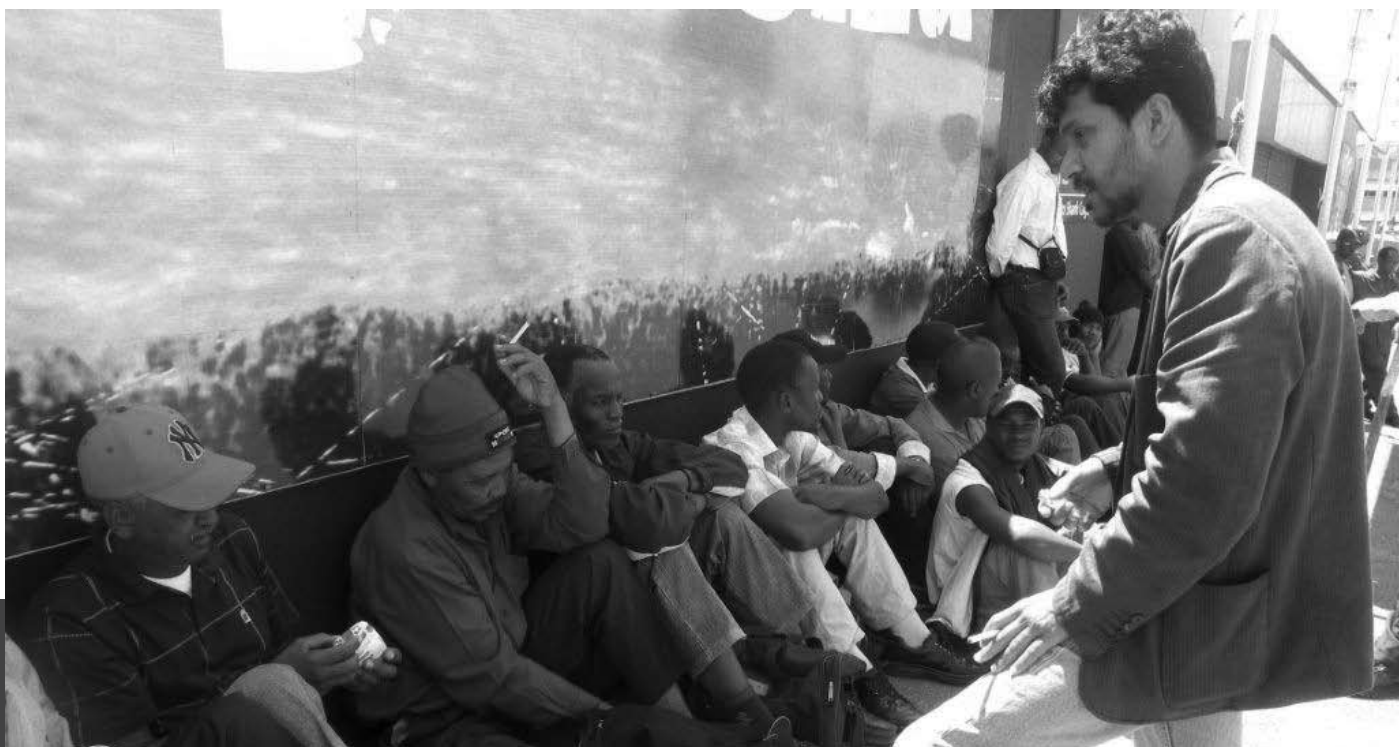
The downside is that ending the legal sanction of such a system will not in itself create decent work nor will it end vulnerable work forms. However, it should make the achievement of these slightly easier. Labour legislation is no panacea for union struggles as the much heralded 1995 LRA has taught us. Organisation and astute strategic and tactical engagements by organised labour is still the most effective approach.

### **Did not use a "one size fits all" approach to union support**

One of the distinctive features of the campaign is the union level focus of the activities which reflects different needs and priorities. It is certainly not a one size fits all approach to organisational renewal and this tendency has strengthened in the project cycle. This in itself is a credit to a flexible multilateral partnership between unions, GUF and solidarity support organisations. It also suggests a shift to the kind of analytical framework that uses notions of strategic accountability coupled with strategic responsibility to frame planning and implementation.

*Picture: A worker with correct safety gear ensures the reinforcements ties are in place before pouring concrete for the the stadium pillar.*





## Campaign Challenges and Lessons

The central challenge for the campaign was that it, quite simply, started too late. This is not a criticism; the conception and birth of the campaign was an organic process. As stated in a report to the SSOs by BWI, "An important lesson learned for future campaigns is that trade unions need to start their campaigns even earlier than that was the case in South Africa. In South Africa, they missed the opportunity to influence the tenders for the construction projects and therefore the public procurement award criteria."

Stadium builds and renovations in the actual construction phase were very short. Given that the campaign coordinator was only brought in towards the end of 2007 and many stadiums completed work in mid 2009, there was limited time to use these builds as a lever, to profile working conditions in the construction sector as a whole and to have direct impact on the workers building the stadiums. The window of opportunity to do this was therefore only one year to one and a half years.

So in hindsight, when should the campaign have started? In an ideal world, a long term programme towards building organisation in the construction sector in South Africa would already have been in place. The 2010 focused campaign would, on the back of this, kicked off soon after the successful bid announcement and indeed engaged with the bid

committee even prior to this to influence for social criteria to be part of the bid.

### **A slow start by South African unions**

Developing union cooperation and unity took time and, given that in retrospect the campaign needed to start a lot earlier, this placed added pressure on subsequent phases. After the initial launch of the campaign, it was felt that a lack of trust between unions and the failure to see the real value of the campaign may have resulted in the unions 'dragging their feet a little.' To assist the process, BWI organised joint strategic meetings with the union leadership and flexibility in their approach saw individual unions develop their own plans for the campaign. Trust issues were dealt with by agreeing to establish a joint steering committee chaired by an agreed chairperson and with BWI as the secretary of the committee. Once these problems were addressed the campaign really took off. Whilst this took time it was most definitely time well spent as had the issues remained unaddressed the outcomes of the campaign would have fallen far short of what was achieved.

### **Information flows and communication**

Getting information from the unions to draw into the campaigns was difficult, and unions often did not articulate their particular needs to the campaign structures and support organisations.



*Picture previous page: Campaign coordinator Eddie Cottle speaks with workers at the Greenpoint strike in August 2007*

*Picture this page: workers attend the national launch of the campaign on 27 October 2007.*

### **Joint fund raising and resource constraints**

Whilst the original MOU between LRS and BWI envisaged that both partners would source additional funding, probably with the above approach in mind, there was a more limited application of this for various strategic and organisational reasons and in all likelihood because of the short duration of the 2010 component of the project. On this last point it should be remembered that whilst a strategy was drawn up in May 2007, the campaign only really started to swing into action in late 2007 and early 2008. Funding requires fairly long lead times and generally solidarity support organisations seem to favour 3 year time frames. By the time the campaign ran into significant resource constraints in 2008/9 it was already very late.

This could have contributed to the resource constraints that limited the extent of media and campaign materials and some activities towards the end of the project. Time was the most critically scarce resource and generally the only way to deal with this is to raise more funding so as to increase the human resources available.

Given that this was an adventure into the unknown, there was no conception of a campaign that, from the start, envisaged a fully staffed campaign process that would incorporate the key functions of media, education and research. This was evident in the need to outsource research and education activities and the extent and nature of the campaign media that was developed. There was, in essence, a resource gap between BWI/LRS and the three unions. This was felt more acutely as the campaign escalated towards 2010.

Examples of the implications of the resources gap could include; engagement with recruitment and organising tended to be at a national and inter organisational level, and not at construction sites. As such, research tended to be broader and theoretical and lacked a solid tactical component which can only be achieved through engaging workers directly. The narrative of workers engaged in constructing

Membership data was generally not disaggregated by gender, employment type and location which made assessing the progress towards campaign objectives and strategic decision making more difficult. This was largely a result of the need for improved organisational systems which could be addressed through a longer term union building programme.

### **Campaign activities penetration to all work sites**

Resource constraints meant that campaign activities did not reach all 2010 related construction sites. Whilst appropriate tactical decisions were made then to focus on more key sites ideally all sites should have been launched, inspected, and workers meetings conducted to explain the nature and intent of the campaign. There was however, still union presence on most sites which was, in itself, an achievement.

### **Skills engagements**

Skills were identified as key strategic demand. However, limited progress was made in fundamentally transforming the nature and equity around skills development in the sector. Whilst the skills authority for construction (CETA) was engaged and a certain amount of 'buy in' was achieved, this has thus far achieved a limited impact. Partly, unions seemed ill equipped to engage in the complex area of skills development and to some extent, the project elements of the campaign needed to be reconceptualised to first build such capacity before further engagement. Towards the end of the project an innovative pilot approach, to developing skills for women in the sector, has emerged and should prove a useful pilot for future engagements in the area.

these sites along with proper documentation and lessons from the multiple strike actions would have strengthened the campaign. Research which is focused on workers in subcontracting and other vulnerable working arrangements, could have more concretely contributed to discussions around alternate organising strategies as well as serving to mobilise and organise such workers. Properly conducted action research, with genuine union buy in and support, is an underestimated recruitment and organising tool. More resources and time could have used such an integrated approach.

### **Too many facets to the campaign**

Given the very short duration of the campaign as it related to directly impacting on working conditions at target sites, the very multifaceted nature of areas for engagement significantly stretched the human resource capacity allocated to the campaign from BWI/LRS and the unions. Skills seem to require a stronger engagement, for instance, and the intended regionalisation of the campaign and lessons and practices has not really taken off as yet.

The fact that so much was achieved by the campaign in so many different areas is a testament to the commitment of all who were involved. However there are several instances where efforts in certain areas could not be taken through to conclusion. For example, a key aspect of developing the organising of 'non-standard' workers could be to engage more bilaterally with unions at an organisational level and directly addressing issues such as constitutionally enabling mechanisms, leveraging internal resources, structures and organisational forms and so on.

### **Site access**

Site access was identified as a critical issue for the campaign and frequent problems were noted. Unions could perhaps have dealt with employers more firmly in this area. This probably needed closer cooperation between the campaign and the union organising teams on a site by site basis. Lack of time and resources again proved a barrier here.

### **Solidarity at site level**

Whilst cooperation between unions at a national level was achieved, and workers of different unions went on strike a number of times, direct ongoing cooperation and coordination at site level was more limited. The link between organising and campaigning could have been strengthened through more shop floor based activities that essentially

involve workers in the campaign, thus increasing worker ownership and ensuring that their burning issues came to the front. The leadership forum that drew in many worker delegates attempted to address this to some degree.

### **Building a stronger campaign identity and long term campaigning**

A campaign is created purposefully with its own identity (logo's, slogans, etc) and therefore has a life beyond the organisations that support and initiate it. When tied too closely to funding modalities there is a natural competition between the campaign identity and the different needs and perspectives of the various organisations that are involved.

Thought will need to be given as to the future direction of engagements in the sector in South Africa as post 2010 the '2010 and beyond' will seem less relevant. Of course if a campaign modality is to be retained in South Africa, it will no longer have a sporting event focus and there is urgent need to consider a new set of focal points and levers in the framework of achieving decent work. Once this has been identified, a consistent and core focus and message will need to be put out over a sustained period.

The social message that emerged from the campaign tended to be driven a bit more by the campaign office where the unions themselves tended to focus their public statements specifically around worker interests. While this is an entirely understandable focus, a common message from all partners ultimately has a greater impact. This aspect also suggests that there may be a need for unions to develop more concrete policy around construction and development.

### **The construction summit did not occur**

The construction summit was identified as a key component to developing a legacy for the sector. Whilst events outside of the control of the campaign meant that this has not been achieved as yet, it is still a key engagement and indications are that unions will still pursue this. The national strike has no doubt strengthened the hand of the unions in this process and consideration should be given to using campaign methods into the beyond phase to further contribute to this strength. The logic is simply, "make enough noise and summit will follow". The more noise made the greater the control over the agenda.



## Organisations and Structures of the Campaign

### Building Workers International and Labour Research Services

LRS and BWI entered into an alliance partnership contract in 2007 with an agreed set of outputs, activities and responsibilities for carrying out the campaign. BWI would lead and define all organizing, mobilisation and advocacy aspects of the campaign. LRS would provide support to the campaign through coordination, research, capacity building and fundraising assistance.

BWI is responsible for all planning, administrative, resourcing, monitoring, financial and logistical support for the campaign. LRS, through the employ of the Campaign Coordinator, is responsible for the implementation of campaign activities and has provided the institutional base for direct support on research and negotiation queries. LRS has also involved volunteers to supplement technical support staff.

### The Campaign Coordinator

It became clear early in the campaign that a dedicated coordinator would be necessary to achieve success. The coordinator needed to be someone that had campaigning experience beyond project coordination. Campaign partner LRS was more geared to provide this capacity. Thus the campaign coordinator, Eddie Cottle, while employed by LRS was accountable to BWI.

His task was also structurally challenging as he had to coordinate the campaign with specific reference to a number of projects that relate to preparations for the 2010 World Cup. He had to carry out activities to meet the objectives of these projects as well as aligning them to the campaign objective. He also had to perform several functions as coordinator which included spokesperson, educator, researcher, project manager and facilitator.



Working through the multitude of campaign demands on one hand and project objectives related to the campaign that provided the financial support on the other, the coordinator did an excellent job of focusing the campaign on decent work in the construction sector, which supports trade union efforts to organise in the sector and to raise the standards of employment and work generally. This broad focus definition allowed the coordinator to converge the interests and attentions of the multiple partners to work together on the campaign, as well as direct the campaign message to the broader public through the media.

Having the campaign coordinator belong to an external organisation was advantageous for the campaign. He was able to draw from the resources of LRS and BWI to strengthen the campaign. He also was able to keep clear of ideological wrangling and had the flexibility to relate to all three union partners, gaining access to the internal workings of the union to assist in building organisational strength and develop appropriate strategies that ultimately benefitted the campaign. This arrangement was seen as beneficial by BWI: "Although the campaign co-ordinator, Eddie Cottle, "was recruited by the unions, he was not an official, directly subordinated to the union leadership. Rather, he was responsible primarily to BWI, and secondarily to NUM, BCAWU and SABAWO. That external position gave the coordinator the necessary space to promote the campaign in consultation with the South African trade union leaderships, but sometimes also through proactive initiatives, supported by BWI. It's an arrangement that could benefit future campaigns as well."

The campaign coordinator must be commended for the excellent job that he did in performing his roles and responsibilities. BWI acknowledges his contribution in the international evaluation: "Eddie Cottle met the necessary conditions for the job: a political

activist, very familiar with South Africa's trade union movement and the political landscape, with great experience in campaigns and public relations work, and with the necessary integrating skills. He made a considerable contribution to the campaign's success".

### **The BWI Regional Secretary Position**

In the context of the South African and international components of the campaign, this is a campaign critical position. The BWI Regional Secretary, Crecentia Mofokeng, played a pivotal role in the campaign and should be seen as a key source of energy, wisdom and vision driving the process. The campaign demanded a lot of time and many skills in terms of: drawing affiliates together, encouraging action, honouring independence, communicating a vision, networking and motivating all who were involved. She commands great respect from all audiences and was highly effective in delivering the campaign message at key events and significant moments. Good leadership relies on the ability to retain control and direction whilst creating the space for innovation and independent thought, and this comes through as one reviews the documents and processes of the campaign and speaks to those involved.

A lesson here is that aside from competent leadership, a campaign needs someone that engenders its soul. Crecentia is just such a person.

### **The Steering Committee**

The Steering Committee was made up of two representatives from each union, the BWI construction coordinator and the campaign coordinator. It was responsible for operational planning, the implementation of campaign activities and monitoring and evaluation in South Africa, usually meeting three times a year.

*Opposite page picture: BWI inspection at Soccer City, March 2009*

*Picture: Maurício Rombaldi and Edison Bernardes, Sindicato Solidariedade- Construction and Furniture Workers' Union, Brazil in discussion with Zwelenzima Vavi, COSATU General Secretary, while Campaign Coordinator Eddie Cottle listens in.*





*Picture: View of internal works to Ellis Park stadium*

While the international evaluation says of union participation in the steering committee that “ideological differences were left outside”, there was some wrangling in the steering committee but more importantly, unions were able to unite under the leadership of BWI and in the interest of workers. Mature leadership in the unions meant that workers’ interests prevailed over organisational interests. BWI provided a supportive environment in the campaign for this unity. As the campaign coordinator was employed by LRS, an external organisation, and was responsible to BWI, the coordinator was not threatening to the unions and could be called on for assistance and support. He enjoyed better access to all the unions through the union steering committee members than if the coordinator had been sourced from one of the unions.

By giving each union equal representation on the committee, regardless of the union size, meant that they participated on equal footing and in fact learnt from one another. Campaign decisions were reached through consensus and all unions say that they learned a lot from each other on the internal workings of the union organisation.

The steering committee enjoyed the stability of having the same members from the start of the campaign up until mid 2009. At this late stage of the project, there were a number of changes and partners needed to work hard for continuity. The fact that members that had left were still open to share time with the evaluators is a good indicator of the commitment to the endeavour.

### **Leadership Forum**

The leadership forum was attended by shop stewards, officials and office bearers. Mainly it tried to ensure that in some way the representatives were

involved either directly in 2010 construction or indirectly as organisers of the union. The aim of the forum was to ensure broader union buy in into the campaign strategy and planning on an annual basis.

Some of the initial planning in the steering committee got fleshed out in the leadership forum. The leadership forum also served as a space where the union leadership would be updated on progress and where evaluations were made. Thus the leadership forum played an important strategic role in deepening and democratising planning processes and in engendering greater and deeper union commitment in the campaign process. Some participation was drawn from the provinces but budget constraints prevented this from extending to all provinces and even more importantly, to all sites.

### **Solidarity Support Organisations**

SASK, SLA and LOTCO provided assistance and backing in the campaign and must be commended for providing support beyond the rigid confines of project applications that ultimately allowed the campaign to develop organically. SSO and BWI affiliates Byggnads and Unia played pivotal roles in the success of the international campaign aspects.

### **BWI Head Office**

BWI head office played the role of overall coordination and resource mobilisation as well as contributing to the conceptualisation, strategy and implementation of the campaign. Flexible and insightful management of these processes, mainly from Tos Anonuevo ensured adequate support for local implementation as well as global campaigning.



## Views on the Campaign of Participating Unions

### National Union of Mineworkers (NUM)

National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is the largest union participating in the project, with about 350,000 members. NUM's organising in construction is relatively recent, after its amalgamation with COSATU's Construction and Allied Workers Union in 2000. Membership in the construction sector has been growing steadily in the case of NUM; in 2000, figures for membership was at 12,000; by 2007, at over 47,000 and in 2009, 58,000. NUM already had capacity on the ground and was recruiting on a number of stadium sites by the end of 2007.

At the start of the campaign, NUM wished to increase its construction sector membership to 100,000 and targeted organising in the big five South African construction companies. Whilst NUM recognised casual workers as the most exploited in the sector, the plan was to organise permanent workers to gain strength first before tackling this issue. There

are numerous difficulties with organising limited duration contract workers and casual workers, but there was a strategic opportunity to improve employment conditions for these workers in the sector through profiling employment practices on the 2010 sites.

We were working towards developing a legacy of the World Cup which would transform the sector for the better. The campaign gave us better focus for targeted recruitment. It was also through the campaign that we adopted the decent work concept."

NUM did not join the campaign to build capacity, as we have our own educational programmes and research and media skills in the union. NUM's participation in the project was premised on the importance of cooperation between unions organising in the sector to fight against exploitation of construction workers. Important areas of the



*Picture on previous page: Crecentia Mofokeng addresses workers at Nelson Mandela Bay during lunch hour meeting, March 2009*

*Picture on this page: Bongani Ngcobo, Construction Coordinator (NUM) addresses striking workers at Moses Mhabida Stadium, July 2009*

campaign identified by NUM were: membership growth, better and uniform working conditions and transformation of the sector.

For NUM, the major accomplishment was worker unity on the ground that was achieved through the campaign. When workers went on strike on a number of occasions at the stadiums, they stood together regardless of which union they belonged to. This strengthened the union's position in bargaining.

The campaign assisted in the scope and representation of issues for negotiation. By preparing with the other unions for negotiations, NUM learnt that there are many approaches to issues that were put on the table. Whilst it was difficult sometimes for the three unions to work together as we come from different ideological backgrounds, we succeeded because of the leadership provided by BWI.

With the infrastructure builds complete and all our work disappears, conditions of employment will go back to as before as the numbers of unionised workers drops, thus resulting in a loss of union power. To prevent these gains from rolling back, we needed engagement with government. The NEDLAC Sector Summit will be very important as it is more binding than our discussions elsewhere. Employers make commitments in front of government and government makes commitment in the presence of employers and labour.

In 2007, NUM felt it was a good time for us to achieve the goals that were identified for the decent work campaign. NUM was not only looking at the construction industry up to 2010, but beyond it. The country is in the process of building new power stations. Government has invested a

lot of money in the infrastructural development of the country's transport system, including further development of some ports. Linking the campaign with these developments shows clear correlation in the strategic thrust of the campaign and union goals.

We also have a responsibility to engage other unions in Brazil and share what we have learnt from this campaign so that they can bring benefits from these infrastructure builds to workers and improve job security and working conditions. We also encourage Brazil to get going on the campaign as soon as possible. We thought that there was enough time but this proved not to be the case, Brazil must learn from this.

*(Based on an interview with Crosby Moni, Steering Committee member 2007-2009)*

### **Building Construction and Allied Workers Union (BCAWU)**

BCAWU is the oldest construction union in South Africa. It is a medium size union by South African standards that, at the start of the campaign, had 25 000 members. BCAWU used the opportunity presented by the campaign to focus attention on recruitment and the union grew by 10 000 members to 35 000.

While the recruitment strategies were useful to the stadia sites, BCAWU also applied them to other 2010 related sites and non related sites. Some of these unrelated sites are the new power plant builds for Eskom, giving BCAWU a natural flow into the current national mega infrastructure development projects.

Participation in the steering committee provided a mouth piece for the unions on the campaign.

It facilitated our progress on the campaign and the evaluations that we conducted helped with strategising, and so we were able to provide feedback to the union on the campaign.

BCAWU found occupational health and safety to be the most useful tool in recruitment, as it provided a simple way to gain access to companies for organising, telling the companies that our education programme would be supplementary to that of the companies. BCAWU found that the education on OHS, provided by companies, was limited and that the unions were able to fill in the gaps especially on rights regarding OHS. BCAWU sent 10 organisers and shop stewards to the OHS training under the campaign which allowed them to use OHS in their recruitment and organising.

The support provided by the campaign on negotiations was invaluable. We were well capacitated through training on negotiations as well as having research and support to formulate demands. Negotiations at a sectoral level were a particular highlight. As a result of the research available to the union, we were able to strengthen our position and confront the employers catching them off guard as they did not expect us to be so well prepared. Whilst there were some gains, other issues were left out to be dealt with under a task team. Attention must be maintained to see these issues, through the negotiation table, be resolved favourably for workers.

Media training had limited impact on the union, although one unionist that attended the workshop did feature on a radio programme on SAFM, after which the phones at the unions rang for quite some time. Workers wanted to know more about the union and some were recruited this way, showing the potential of media use to raise the profile of the union and make gains.

*Picture: Crosby Moni, first chairperson of 2010 steering committee addresses press conference at SAFA House, 20 March 2009*

We learnt much about our sector from the campaign. The most important thing we learnt was that build projects are done under time limitations and employers tailor their process of work to maximise profit at the expense of workers. Retention is difficult in limited duration projects but BCAWU pushed for some of the workers that would have been laid off, retrenched or had contracts terminated to be retained on other projects.

The research done under the campaign showed us that workers were underpaid and allowed us to formulate arguments for better pay and with this knowledge we were able to represent striking workers. Another strategic lesson was that our agreements with companies had not been well considered because we were inexperienced, now we pay much better attention and this has improved recent agreements.

The support that the unions received from BWI for the campaign was good, as was the guidance and assistance of the campaign coordinator. A lesson to share with the Brazilian unions for their 2014 campaign is that they must not get caught out by time. We took the campaign through phases and were slow to articulate issues; if we had been faster we would have made more gains.

*(Based on an interview with Daniel Konyane, Steering Committee member 2007-2009)*

### **South Africa Building and Allied Workers Organisation (SABAWO)**

SABAWO is a small union who had just over 1000 members at the start of the campaign. The campaign has been most useful for membership growth and the union has increased fourfold in size. The union received assistance on our recruitment





*Picture: George Tyikana – SABAWO addressing workers at the campaign launch 27 October 2007*

*Opposite page picture: Vasco Pedrina, BWI Vice President, Unia National Secretary addressing a press conference at SAFA House, 20 March 2009*

and organising strategies which have helped to shape the identity of the union.

Given that the larger unions are organising mainly permanent workers of the main contractors, through the campaign processes, we decided to focus our attention on workers that work for sub contracting companies and labour brokers. The union recognises that these workers are the most vulnerable and exploited; they are underpaid, have poor working conditions and health and safety concerns. The union also focused more on 2010 related projects rather than the stadia builds, such as road development.

Participating in the steering committee provided SABAWO with the opportunity to learn from the other unions and exposed the union to new issues that it had not tackled before. Through the opportunity given to the union by BWI, SABAWO was able to take part in sectoral negotiation preparations and even though we cannot participate, we were able to give suggestions to the other two unions that sit at the negotiations table. These unions represented the issues for workers in the sector well and we are happy with their progress, although not all the issues we discussed in the preparations were tabled.

Under the campaign in 2008, SABAWO was able to run educational activities to build the union such as organising workshops and we also learnt from the integrated union workshops. Training better equipped us on how to go about negotiations and what information would be useful to collect and prepare beforehand. The union has achieved recognition in some instances and has even negotiated, which had never happened before the campaign.

The OHS training made us realise that we needed to get involved on this issue and it was not just the responsibility of the employers. This was especially relevant with regard to safety representative, which we should ensure that employers do not appoint but rather workers elect those that would stand up for their interests. Media training was the least useful as the union does not have a media desk at this stage.

Being involved in the lobbying of FIFA and the joint inspections allowed workers to get to know the union. The exchange visit to Switzerland was a real eye opener and we took back the lessons learnt from UNIA that showcased a model of organising that the union could adopt. The union continues to make progress toward the UNIA example.

The union has suffered a great loss of Saul Shabalala, the General Secretary of SABAWO and a steering committee member who died tragically in an accident in April 2009. The union lost its guiding hand to implementing the organisational vision. We are recovering from this difficult period and are once again making progress on building our structures and strength.

The campaign exceeded our expectations and we have done what we should have done on all fronts except to end the practice of using labour brokers which is really not good for workers. We must continue to make progress on this issue. Even though the World Cup is here we must not relax, there is work to be done - monitoring our achievements and ensuring the standard of work that we fought for with employers are maintained.

*(Based on an interview with George Tyikana, Steering Committee member 2007-2010)*



## International Assessment of the Campaign

**Vasco Pedrina, BWI Vice President, Unia National Secretary**  
**Joachim Merz, SLA Officer for “Fair Games – Fair Play”**

The “Fair Games - Fair Play” campaign in the run-up to the 2010 Football World Cup in South Africa was launched at the 2007 World Social Forum, in Nairobi. The campaign leaders were the Building and Wood Workers’ International (BWI) and its South African affiliates, the construction workers’ unions NUM, BCAWU und SABAWO. The campaign also received support from some European construction workers’ unions (especially the Swedish Byggnads and the Swiss Unia) as well as from NGOs.

“Fair Games Fair Play” in South Africa was the first large-scale and systematically implemented BWI campaign in connection with a mega sports event. It was a part of the global “Decent Work for

a Decent Life” campaign, launched also in 2007 by the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), together with the Global Progressive Forum and the NGO Solidar alliance. The campaign’s achievements have encouraged BWI, building on the experience gained in South Africa, to implement similar campaigns ahead of such events in the future, like the UEFA EURO 2012 in Poland - Ukraine, the London 2012 Olympic Games, or the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil . It is therefore all the more important to assess “Fair Games - Fair Play”, to identify keys to success, and to define best practices, providing guidelines for future trade union practice.

### Campaign Objectives

The campaign’s central objective was to enforce fundamental labour standards on the World Cup construction sites, as well as to improve the workers’

wages and working conditions and occupational health and safety (OHS), and to promote vocational training. The international interest in this mega sports event, the first on this scale on the African continent, was to be used also to strengthen the South African construction workers' unions organisationally, boosting the low unionisation rate in the construction industry and, in a sustainable manner, the trade unions' bargaining power and capacity. Only through a sustained strengthening of trade union power can social standards be raised.

## **Campaign Components**

"Fair Games - Fair Play" consisted of five strategic components:

1. Organising: trade union development.
2. Negotiating: strengthening the negotiating skills of trade union representatives.
3. Campaigning: aggressive media and public relations work.
4. Research: backing up the campaign with solid research.
5. International solidarity: trade unions and union-friendly organisations - mainly in Europe - supported the struggle of the South African workers.

## **What was achieved: in South Africa ...**

The campaign's achievements speak for themselves. For an analysis, it is useful to distinguish between two levels: the results attained in South Africa itself, and the successes at the international level.

The construction workers' unions NUM, BCAWU and SABAWO have made great progress in trade union development. In three and a half years, they recruited more than 25,000 new members - not only on World Cup sites - amounting to a quarter (!) of their total membership. The July 2009 nationwide strike for the renewal of collective agreements in the civil engineering and building industries brought the biggest boost, with about 8,000 new members. As a result, union density in the whole South African construction sector - in which temporary or precarious employment relationships dominate, which severely hinders union organising - has increased to (a nevertheless still weak) 10%. In some stadiums (Soccer City, Moses Mabhida), union density rose to over 50% during the campaign. Now the unions are

confronted by the daunting challenge of how to maintain these membership numbers, and that in the context of the global economic crisis, which has had a massive impact also on South Africa. Upon completion of the stadiums' construction, many of the construction workers lost their jobs. Some of them will also no longer be trade union members. The next task of our campaign is to help limit those member losses.

The campaign has also strengthened the system of workplace shop stewards, which is based on a sound statutory basis (even a very good basis compared with some European countries like Switzerland). In the 26 strikes and work stoppages between 2007 and 2009, the shop stewards played an important role as activists and links between the union leadership and rank and file membership. That also applies to the enforcement of negotiated agreements, particularly as regards health and safety at work.

NUM, BCAWU and SABAWO, which are affiliated to different South African trade union confederations, presented joint demands to the construction consortia, the employers' association SAFCEC and the South African labour ministry, and they co-ordinated their mobilisation and negotiation strategies. They carried out their campaign in constructive co-operation rather than in hostile rivalry, enabling them to increase their bargaining power substantially. Contributing to that was a clear division of tasks, defining which union took the lead on which stadium site or how actions were to be co-ordinated where there was double representation (for example, in Cape Town between NUM and BCAWU). The collaboration between the three unions is a milestone, to build on towards greater co-operation, leading to a possible future merger. Within the internal structure of the largest of the three unions, NUM, traditionally a mine workers' union, the status of the construction sector - which had previously been in a minority position - was considerably upgraded. Due to this campaign, NUM leadership seems to have become aware that their greatest member potential lies in construction and not in mining.

For the workers on the World Cup construction sites, whether organised or unorganised, the campaign improved working conditions; in some cases, considerably. Although from the outset those conditions had already reflected higher



standards than on the many informal sites in South Africa, there was still a need for improvement. Occupational health and safety, one of the main concerns of the unions, were further enhanced. On some of the sites, the unions had their own safety representatives, engaged solely in this task. In Durban, that was attained after a 12-day strike in November 2007.

Crucial were the wage increases on the construction sites. On some sites, the workers succeeded in gaining transport allowances (e.g., in Cape Town) or bonus payments in addition to the wage rates (e.g., in Durban). Almost everywhere, the unions opposed wage undercutting by sub-contractors and labour brokers, some of whom paid only half the statutory minimum wage, and pressured management to discipline such companies. Up to 70% of workforce on the stadium sites were employed by sub-contractors, which highlights the large extent of informal work. However, one of the biggest successes was that the minimum wage set in the Sectoral Determination was raised from ZAR 2,200 in 2007 to ZAR 3,000 (about CHF 430) in 2009. The industry-wide collective agreement for civil engineering negotiated in 2009 was declared to be generally binding by the labour ministry in the form of the new Sectoral Determination. However, ZAR 3,000 are still well below the ZAR 4,500 (CHF 640) aimed at by the trade unions as a living wage, and the unions are having to cope with the charge that they failed to translate all the negotiating power built up in the July 2009 nationwide strike into corresponding results at the bargaining table.

An important lesson learned for future campaigns is that trade unions need to start their campaigns even earlier than was the case in South Africa. In South Africa, they missed the opportunity to influence the tenders for the construction projects

*Picture: Workers form a human chain at the ceremonial handover of the BWI campaign to Brazil, 22nd May 2010*

and therefore the public procurement award criteria. Another weak point of the campaign was that up to mid-2009, the unions focussed their action more on the local level, on the different construction sites, than on the national level. Also, on some construction sites there were hardly any campaign activities. A common, nationwide list of claims was not drawn up by the trade unions before the run-up to the 2009 collective bargaining negotiations – more than two years after the campaign had been launched.

### **... and at the international level**

The outstanding success at the international level was achieved in connection with the lobbying at FIFA, the World Football Association, and the concessions that the unions managed to win from FIFA. On the one side, the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions (SGB), the Trade Union Unia and Swiss Labour Assistance (SLA) through persistent lobbying, and, on the other side, the colleagues in South Africa through successful strike action, opened FIFA's doors for dialogue with the trade unions and cleared the way for stadium inspections by an international trade union delegation. Following the inspections in March 2009, FIFA presented a written statement in which it explicitly committed itself to the objectives of the trade union "Decent Work for a Decent Life" campaign; i.e., to fair working conditions. The stadium inspections – tolerated rather than supported by the FIFA Local Organising Committee (LOC) and widely covered by the media – have created a precedent, and it will not be easy for FIFA to step behind in future campaigns.

With "Fair Games - Fair Play" we all succeeded in establishing a link between football – a mass sport and commercial magnet - and social development, and in appealing to the social responsibility that





*Picture: Addressing workers at the national launch of the campaign on 27 October 2007*

FIFA so likes to boast about. BWI, together with the active trade union participants, helped to raise awareness among fellow trade unionists as well as among a wider public that the economic benefits from such mega events should not fill only the coffers of FIFA and the construction companies, but be more fairly distributed and benefit those who through their hard work make such events possible. Through “Fair Games - Fair Play”, BWI recorded a big boost in its image, and among the Global Union Federations (GUFs) became the leader in international sports campaigns.

“Fair Games - Fair Play” was also used for an international exchange of experience, in this case between Swiss, Swedish, Dutch and South African trade unions. The visits between each other’s trade union reps revealed best practices (as regards concerted action / strikes, collective bargaining, the integration of migrants, shop stewards, media work), and added real content to international solidarity, beyond mere slogans.

### **Seven Keys to Success**

The campaign was not an automatic process and had to confront various problems in its implementation phase. That it would be successful was by no means clear from the start. Success required not only the solid foundation of a clear strategic focus (see the five components above), but also frequent adjustments to context changes and revisions.

One can distinguish seven key factors for success:

#### **1. Create good organisational pre-conditions**

Decisive for the outcome of such a campaign is the

creation of good and promising initial conditions. In the initial phase - i.e., till August 2007 – things did not look at all good: there was no sign among the three competing South African construction workers’ unions of a commitment to real, constructive co-operation; the campaign lacked a leader personality as well as a functioning campaign structure. Trust still had to be built up between the partners involved, along with co-operative rather than competitive behaviour. After a first crisis in mid-2007, it was possible, with pressure from the BWI and the co-financing Western European trade unions, to bring about the necessary clarification and to take the appropriate decisions:

- The NUM, BCAWU and SABAWO leaderships succeeded in committing themselves to co-operate fairly with each other as well as with BWI and the supporting partners in Western Europe.
- That determination manifested itself in the creation of an operational leadership, a Steering Committee, with high-level membership, and the election of an external co-ordinator with a strong and relatively independent status.

The Steering Committee was responsible for operational planning and the implementation of campaign activities in South Africa. The Committee’s membership: NUM, 3 representatives; BCAWU, 2; SABAWO, 2; BWI Regional Office, 1; plus the campaign co-ordinator as secretary. The Steering Committee normally met three times a year. A crucial point: top-level trade union leaders were represented in the committee, so that decisions enjoyed the necessary organisational support and were therefore also implemented. Ideological differences were left outside. The Steering Committee was responsible for co-ordination between the unions, the harmonisation of demands, and the assignment of tasks on the

construction sites.

Although the campaign co-ordinator, Eddie Cottle, was recruited by the unions, he was not an official, directly subordinated to the union leadership. Rather, he was responsible primarily to BWI, and secondarily to NUM, BCAWU and SABAWO. That external position gave the co-ordinator the necessary space to promote the campaign in consultation with the South African trade union leaderships, but sometimes also through pro-active initiatives, supported by BWI. It's an arrangement that could benefit future campaigns as well. Eddie Cottle met the necessary conditions for the job: a political activist, very familiar with South Africa's trade union movement and the political landscape, with great experience in campaigns and public relations work, and with the necessary integrating skills. He made a considerable contribution to the campaign's success.

## **2. Effectively use bottom-up pressure**

Here, the willingness and ability of the workers in South Africa to strike is the most important factor. Almost forgotten is that it was the August/September 2007 wildcat strikes at the Green Point Stadium in Cape Town that got the ball rolling. Twenty of the 26 strikes – most of them limited to a single World Cup construction site – were wildcat and spontaneous, and were not staged by the unions. Union shop stewards were, however, represented in all the strike committees and communicated with their leadership structures. So it was bottom-up pressure that prompted the unions to take over leadership of the strikes and to channel them into orderly negotiation processes. Without this bottom-up pressure, the campaign would have been in danger of being choked by the logic of trade union coalition-building. As a reminder: the biggest construction workers' union,

NUM, is affiliated to the national confederation COSATU, which, in turn, is an official coalition partner of the ruling political party, the ANC. At the beginning of the campaign, the union leaders were reluctant to expose themselves politically because that meant political conflict with the government and the ANC. From all directions, there was heavy pressure on the unions to keep quiet, and especially in such an iconic project as the first World Cup on African soil, no-one wanted to be considered "unpatriotic".

## **3. Top-down pressure and skilfully using the international framework agreements with construction multinationals**

Bottom-up pressure was complemented by top-down pressure through BWI who was the campaign leader. Both from Geneva and from the BWI Regional Office in Johannesburg, activities were publicised at the international level and closely accompanied by the necessary know-how – and, where necessary, by the appropriate pressure on the South African affiliates. That made it possible for BWI to stake an early position among the Global Unions and play a leading role in campaign activities surrounding the 2010 World Cup. Logically, it was the BWI that in August 2009 organised a Multi-Stakeholder Conference in Johannesburg.

Not to be forgotten is the value added by the International Framework Agreements that BWI has concluded with globally operating multinational companies. The agreement with the Netherlands' Royal BAM Group, involved in joint ventures to build the stadiums in Johannesburg ( Soccer City) and Port Elizabeth (Nelson Mandela Bay Stadium), opened the door to trade union inspections of those two stadiums. Those international framework agreements, which set minimum social standards

*Picture: Meeting of workers at Bloemfontein Stadium April 2008*





*Picture: Workers preparing stadium pillars at Bhomebela Stadium, Nelspruit*

and rules regarding workers' and trade union rights, create commitments upon which the South African trade unions were able to build.

#### **4. Effectively combine research and public relations work nationally and internationally**

A fourth factor was the very good media and public relations work in South Africa and internationally. This was an essential condition for the campaign's success, and it was based on solid research. Sympathy among journalists and media in South Africa was generated by exposing the growing gap between the soaring profits of the construction companies and the stagnant inflation-adjusted incomes of the construction workers. And thereby also public sympathy for the legitimate claims of "Fair Games - Fair Play" was generated. Many media reports came from the pen of the campaign co-ordinator himself, who has very good relations with the press, radio and television in South Africa. The campaign's poster won one of the prestigious Labour Media Awards 2010, South Africa. That goes to show that a successful campaign requires more than traditional trade union work, which focuses on recruitment / organising and collective bargaining. Campaigning in the full sense of the term is necessary, i.e. aggressive media work that attacks political opponents where they are most vulnerable, namely in their image, and that, with sound social justice arguments, wins over public support.

But also the campaign's international media work was an important factor, and given the global nature of the campaign, one that should not be overlooked. BWI publicised "Fair Games - Fair Play" through its own channels. In Switzerland, the headquarters of FIFA, Unia and SLA were

responsible for media coverage (e.g., on the occasion of the talks with FIFA President Blatter in March 2008 and the stadium inspections in South Africa a year later).

#### **5. Choosing the right time and the right means to achieve trade union demands**

The trade unions chose the right occasions, the right means and the right places to press their demands. They exploited the national and international media spotlight on South Africa as well as the pressure on FIFA, the builders (cities and provinces) and the construction companies to complete the stadiums on time. A prime example was the November 2007 strike in Durban. Just before the World Cup qualifying draw in Durban, transmitted worldwide by television, the unions went on strike. They dragged out the strike over twelve days, until a few days before the draw, and threatened disruption actions. Result: the construction company yielded and met a large proportion of NUM's claims (wage supplements in the order of more than two months' wages, union OHS reps, control of on-site sub-contractors).

#### **6. Deploy international trade union solidarity as a supportive lever**

A further key to success was international trade union solidarity. FIFA was willing to make concessions only under pressure from the many strikes in South Africa and international lobbying by BWI, the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, Unia and Swiss Labour Assistance. The lobbying took the form of constant insistence at FIFA headquarters in Zurich, in order to move FIFA President Sepp Blatter to receive a South African delegation for a meeting and a press conference. That was finally achieved and became the catalyst for further FIFA concessions. But here

(though almost exclusively those in Europe) should be mentioned too, highlighting the campaign's global dimension and appealing to global public opinion. Also: without the financial contributions from European trade unions and labour support NGOs, it would never have been possible to carry out "Fair Games - Fair Play".

## **7. Anchor the campaign broadly in the rank and file of the supporting trade unions**

Especially in Sweden, thanks to Byggnads, and in Switzerland, thanks to Unia, European construction workers' unions used "Fair Games - Fair Play" effectively to carry out a broad rank and file campaign among their members. That not only secured the campaign's financial and organisational support for several years. At the same time, it raised many trade union reps' awareness of the meaning, purpose and effectiveness of international solidarity. "Fair Games - Fair Play" has become an important point of reference, and evidence that another, fairer world is possible. Brochures, two short films, folders, etc. were produced and fundraising activities carried out. With good response and success: in Switzerland alone, already over 40 well attended meetings organised by Unia in the run-up to the World Cup. Further meetings are planned, also in the form of public viewings during the World Cup itself. Unia was able to prove that linking football (very popular among members) with "decent work" and social development attracts a good response. There is a lot of potential in that link, also with a view to broadening awareness of the ways and means towards a globalisation of social justice.

## **Conclusions**

One of the most important lessons from "Fair Games - Fair Play" is to confirm that one needs to build on one's own strengths and on the strengths of one's partners. Those strengths were put to effective use in the campaign:

- Among the South African trade unions, including the BWI Regional Office and the campaign co-ordinator: a trade union leadership taught politically and organisationally by the struggle against the apartheid system, willing and able to strike, and able to build on an effective shop stewards' system.
- At BWI: good know-how in international campaigns as well as the leverage of the international

framework agreements with multinational construction companies.

- At Byggnads, Unia, SLA and other European partners: broad-based experience in campaigns and media work, as well as in best practices in organising, for example, of migrant workers. And, of course, the partners had the financial resources to support the campaign for several years.

"Fair Games - Fair Play" demonstrated not only trade union strengths but also their weaknesses. The challenge will be to adapt and review trade union organisations, structures and strategies – in South Africa and elsewhere – so that they are able to stop membership losses and the erosion of historically won workplace rights, caused by increasing informal employment relationships and deregulation. Exchanges of experience between trade unions in the North and the South are an essential contribution to this debate that trade unions must face up to.

## **What's next?**

"Fair Games - Fair Play" is coming to an end in South Africa. But BWI is already looking towards the UEFA EURO 2012 in Poland / Ukraine as well as to the next FIFA World Cup, in 2014 in Brazil. A last highlight in South Africa will be the symbolic transfer of the campaign from the South African to the Brazilian trade unions: on 22 May 2010 in Soccer City Stadium, shortly before the World Cup's kick off at the same stadium, and hopefully with extensive media coverage. BWI's message will be clear: also in future sports events, trade unions will be putting labour rights before profit-making by the organisers FIFA, UEFA or IOC and by companies. Or as a trade unionist put it when the campaign was launched at the 2007 Nairobi World Social Forum: Another World Cup is possible!

*Picture: BWI campaign for Decent Work Handover Trophy to Brazil, May 2010*



## Campaign Timeline

2007	<b>January 2007</b> International launch of the Campaign in Nairobi, Kenya
	<b>August 2007</b> Strikes in Cape Town set off a wave of 27 strikes around the country
	<b>October 2007</b> Local launch of the Campaign under the leadership of NUM, BCAWU and SABAWO
2008	<b>November 2007</b> Workers at Moses Mabhida stadium achieve R6000 project bonuses and full time safety officials after 11 day strike
	<b>March 2008</b> Unions meet FIFA in Zurich; negotiate better conditions for workers
	<b>April 2008</b> Workers at Mbombela Stadium strike for 13 days, win pay increase from R10 per hour to R12.11 per hour, plus extra 18 hours bonus
2009	<b>July 2008</b> Soccer City workers win transport allowance and project bonus
	<b>February 2009</b> 400 workers dismissed from Mbombela stadium after 10 day strike
	<b>March 2009</b> First inspection of stadiums by local and global unions
2010	<b>July 2009</b> 70 000 workers win 12% increase after seven day national strike
	<b>May 2010</b> Workers to get free tickets for matches
	<b>May 2010</b> Through the campaign, unions recruited over 27000 new members
	<b>May 2010</b> Handover to Brazilian unions for decent work towards World Cup 2014

The campaign aimed to mobilise football fans worldwide to put pressure on FIFA, the South African government and the companies contracted to build stadiums to form agreements with the workers employed to ensure that:

1. Work undertaken in environment free from occupational, health and safety hazards;
2. Workers receive decent wage, adequate social protection and other standards consistent with decent working conditions;
3. Contractors respect core labour standards including the right of workers to collectively bargain and join a union.

Unions managed to ensure that the subcontractors complied with the statutory minimum wages across the 2010 stadiums. Other demands unions achieved included the election of health and safety representatives.

Together with the BWI, Swiss General Workers Union (UNIA) and Swiss Labour Assistance (SLA), the South African affiliates successfully lobbied FIFA on decent work at a meeting in Zurich in March 2008. President Joseph Blatter committed FIFA to bringing workers' issues before the South African government and FIFA local organising committee. He agreed that trade unions should inspect the worksites. As an outcome of discussion with FIFA, free tickets were handed over to all World Cup stadium workers.

For the first time ever, Swiss and South African unions went on an inspection of 2010 stadium building sites.

We pay tribute to Dumisani Koyi (21) who died on 15 August 2008 of injuries sustained building the Peter Mokaba Stadium; Sivuyele Ntlongotya (26) who died building the Cape Town stadium on 15 January 2009; and also to Saul Shabalala, General Secretary of SABAWO who died in a tragic accident on 17 April 2009.



# CAMPAIGN FOR DECENT WORK TOWARDS AND BEYOND 2010



## R30BN. MAKE PUBLIC MONEY WORK FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD!

### Did you know?

The salaries of the CEO of Murray & Roberts, increased by 40% totalling R7,4m and the CEO of Aveng, increased by 47% totalling R4,7m for the 2006 financial year.

The current minimum wage of R11 per hour for a general worker for a 44 hour week amounts to R484 per week or R1936 per month!

The current minimum wage for a skilled artisan is R26 per hour or R1144 per week or R4576 per month.

It will take a general worker 139 years to earn the average income of a construction sector executive in one year!

Workers at Green Point went on two strikes in September and won their demand for transport.

Workers at the Gautrain project went on strike in September and won their demand to remove racist managers.

## DECENT WORK CAMPAIGN SITE LAUNCH

**Where:**

**Date:**

**Time:**

### Trade unions united in the construction sector will lead campaign launches at all sites

Building Construction and Allied Workers Union (BCAWU)

National Union of Mine Workers (NUM)

South African Building and Allied Organisation (SABAWO)

### What are our Demands to ensure Decent Work?

1. **The right to work, to organise and to bargain** – access to construction sites and to workers for the purposes of communicating their rights and recruitment, without fear of discrimination.
2. **Decent work** – agreements with companies must ensure that there is real improvement in wages, working conditions and safety for workers.
3. **A living wage** – a wage that takes workers out of poverty.
4. **Zero accidents** – enforcement of health and safety measures and full-time health and safety union representatives on site.
5. **No downward variation** – all subcontracting terms to reflect those of the principal tender.
6. **Quality jobs** – maximise the creation of quality jobs, especially for women and youth so as to contribute to resolving unemployment.
7. **Improve basic conditions** – decent accommodation and improvement in working conditions for all workers.
8. **Health awareness** – promote awareness of HIV/Aids; provide voluntary testing, accessible counselling and treatment.
9. **Skills development** – effective skills development programmes that promote the future employability of workers.

### How do we achieve Decent Work?

- Join a trade union at their construction sites.
- Be active in launching the campaign at the site.
- Be active in campaign activities.
- Stand united in ideas and action.



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