

**MEANINGS OF MARIKANA COLLOQUIUM:
THE RISE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PLATINUM
MINING INDUSTRY AND THE NATURE OF THE
POST-APARTHEID ORDER**

11 & 12 SEPTEMBER 2013

***PARTICIPANT
ABSTRACTS AND BIOGRAPHIES***

Wednesday, 11 September 2013

Day 1:

Platinum's Ascent

OPENING REMARKS

09H15 – 09H45

Raymond Bush

Mining and Imperialism: moving beyond the mining box

These opening remarks to the colloquium assert the importance of re-examining 12 themes linked to but often overlooked in the debates about mining in Africa. It asserts the need to explore the significance of mining companies as outriders for capitalism and the need for analysis of the impact of mining to be understood in the context of communities and contested interests that surround mine (under)development. Amongst these is the role played by artisanal small scale miners of which there are more than 10 million in Africa, should they be regularised and if so by whom and in whose interests do they operate? The context for contemporary debate about mining is optimism for economic growth in Africa but 80% of all exports remain linked to hydro carbons or agriculture thus the failures of diversification remain.

Biography

Raymond Bush is Professor of African Studies and Development Politics at the University of Leeds, UK and a member of the editorial working group of *The Review of African Political Economy*. His most recent book is an edited collection with Habib Ayeub, *Marginality and Exclusion in Egypt* (Zed Books 2012).

T. Dunbar Moodie

Biography

T. Dunbar Moodie is Lloyd Wright Professor in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Hobart and William Smith Colleges in Geneva, NY. He is also an Honorary Research Professor at SWOP. He is author of two books, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom* and *Going for Gold*, as well as numerous articles, mostly dealing with the lives of black gold miners in South Africa. He is currently writing a social history of the rise of the National Union of Mineworkers from its inception in 1982 until the present.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PLATINUM

09H45 – 11H30

Samantha Ashman

Abstract

Title: The MEC, the Political Economy of Platinum, and Post Apartheid Economic Development

South Africa's first 'post-colonial' massacre shines a strong light on the economic and social issues in South Africa today, highlighting how many features of the apartheid system have not been so much preserved as reproduced since 1994. Significantly the strike wave and massacre brought to the forefront of debate the lack of transformation in the mining sector, the migrant labour system, rising indebtedness, and inadequacies in social and economic provision. This paper will focus on what the rise of platinum reveals about the continuing realities of South Africa's system of accumulation, what Fine and Rustomjee have characterised as the Minerals-Energy Complex (MEC). The paper looks at the centrality of platinum to the post-apartheid MEC and its reproduction of classic features of the MEC despite some important changes.

The notion of the MEC highlights the extreme concentration of the South African economy in two senses. First the concentration in specific economic sectors and sub-sectors (mining, minerals processing and energy) which have strong linkages with each other and weak linkages with the rest of the economy. The expansion of one sector in the MEC therefore has a strong "pulling effect" on other MEC sectors but this occurs in relative isolation from non-MEC sectors and for this reason the economy has skewed and relatively undiversified industrial structure. Second the concentration in terms of patterns of ownership and control. The latter concentration was so extreme that by the 1980s the economy was dominated by six diversified conglomerate groupings which brought together both industrial and money capital. The MEC core integrated within and rested upon state support through the development of energy parastatals both dependent on mining inputs and providing inputs into mining.

Since 1994 and South Africa's reintegration into the global economy, these conglomerates have undertaken extensive restructuring (deconglomeration *and* reconglomeration); internationalization

(including overseas relisting and extensive capital export from South Africa) and financialization of their operations. But this has not reduced the levels of concentration within the economy, with most sectors remaining dominated by one or two firms that are often highly vertically integrated whilst financialization has directed capital away from the investment necessary to diversify the industrial base towards short term financial reward. Combined with trade liberalisation and other neoliberal policy measures, financialization has increased the dependence of the South African economy upon mining and its MEC core. Since the early 1990s, platinum has been the fastest growing sub-sector within mining, replacing gold's historical dominance. Notwithstanding important changes, particularly the co-option of emerging black capital, the platinum industry exhibits the central features of South Africa's political economy, both in its past and its present: monopolistic industry structures; vertical integration;; and the continuing emphasis on exporting minerals over local beneficiation, the diversification of the economy, and greater employment generation. In this context the paper examines:

(1.) The concentrated ownership structure of platinum and how, whilst corporate restructuring has been significant, apartheid era players remain central.

(2.) The platinum supply chain and how the manufacture of platinum, critically auto-catalysts, medical applications, chemical catalysts and PGM jewellery, is dominated by three European firms: Johnson Matthey (GB); BASF (Germany) and Umicor (Belgium).

(3.) The challenges posed by this supply chain for industrial policy and measures to keep a greater part of downstream secondary industries within the domestic economy in order to achieve a more employment generating and equitable development trajectory.

The paper thus points to some of the key features of South Africa's development.

Biography

Samantha Ashman is an NRF-funded Post-Doctoral Research Fellow at the University of Johannesburg and also a Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the University of the Witwatersrand. She is currently working on the changing Minerals-Energy Complex for a new edition of *The Political Economy of South Africa* with Ben Fine, Susan Newman and Zavareh Rustomjee.

Abstract

Title: Accumulation and Mineral Property in the Post-Apartheid Platinum Story

The rise of the platinum industry in the new South Africa has been nothing short of spectacular. Between 1994 and 2009, platinum output grew by 67%, while gold production declined by 63%. By 2010, the platinum industry had become the single largest component of the national mining sector in sales value terms and employed over 24,000 more workers than gold. However, over the past two years profit margins have eroded, projects have been put on hold and mines have been threatened with closure. As with other commentaries seeking deeper explanations of the industry's current condition, this paper argues that platinum should be conceived as a specific subsector of what Fine and Rustomjee (1996) have termed the Minerals-Energy Complex (MEC), and hence as subject to the broader tendencies and contradictions of this system of accumulation as it continues to evolve in post-apartheid South Africa. However, it also suggests that MEC-style analyses of the platinum subsector can be considerably enhanced through the integration of Fine's (1992, 1995) earlier (and lesser known) contribution to a general theory of mining, which emphasises the importance of exploring the interrelationship between the accumulation dynamic of a given mining industry and the system of landed property that conditions its access to mineral resources. This approach is of particular relevance to the platinum story since the South African producers historically sought to deal with the challenge of vast domestic reserves and limited global demand by controlling the rate of supply, the fundamental juridical condition of which was a particularly favourable mineral-rights regime that enabled them to monopolise the resource-base under apartheid, and hence erect a powerful barrier to competitive entry. The trajectory of the platinum industry in the post-apartheid dispensation should, therefore, not only be explained in terms of the broader developments in the MEC, as critical as these are, but also with reference to the fate of this mineral property system and the distinctive accumulation strategy that it underpinned.

Deploying this mode of analysis, the paper suggests a rough periodization of the platinum industry in the 'new' South Africa that is divided into three phases. In the first, from the mid-1990s to 2000, the white platinum corporations were able to secure the conditions of the reproduction of their strategic mineral property relations in South Africa's democratic transition. This combined with a MEC-wide process of 'globalised restructuring' to position the industry to take full advantage of an unprecedented surge in world platinum demand, and launch onto its new growth trajectory. In the

second, from 2000 to 2002, the platinum corporations were locked in a struggle with the ANC government and its allies over the final form of new legislation which sought to simultaneously accelerate accumulation in the minerals and mining core of the MEC by abolishing the apartheid-era mineral property system, while transforming the racial structure of mine ownership ('Black Economic Empowerment' – BEE) alongside other social policy goals. These goals were to be achieved through by combining the effective nationalisation of mineral rights with the attachment of social and economic conditions (including a 'use it or lose it' principle) to a new mine licensing system, with the platinum industry the primary target due to its unique concentration of unutilised resources and growth potential. In the final phase, 2002-present, there has been a complex pattern of change and continuity in the platinum subsector, in which the three major producers – Anglo Platinum, Impala and Lonmin - have managed to retain control of the bulk of their mineral resources, in exchange for the entry of a limited number of BEE partners, mainly through joint-ventures. At the same time, a handful of new international players have established a foothold on the platinum belt, with many others clinging to the margins of survival or being absorbed through mergers and acquisitions. This heightened competition, combined with the 'use it or lose it' principle, has undoubtedly eroded the major's capacity to control the rate of global supply, and is thus a contributing factor to the current crisis of overproduction. Nevertheless, the main cause lays with the frenetic scramble by the established players to expand production during the boom years, while, at the same time, the continued dominance of the industry leader, Anglo Platinum, is being reflected in its current efforts to 'realign' the global platinum market by placing two of its Rustenburg shafts on 'care and maintenance', while laying-off thousands of workers. The major's historic accumulation strategy is therefore being revisited at the heart of the contemporary platinum industry, albeit under new and more challenging jurial and political conditions.

Biography

Gavin Capps received his Ph.D in Development Studies from the London School of Economics in 2010 and joined SWOP as a Senior Researcher in January 2013. He is leader of the Mining and Rural Transformation in Southern Africa (MARTISA) project, a six-year research programme funded by the Ford Foundation, and co-convenor of the Mining and Social Transformation research cluster in SWOP. His current research investigates and seeks to connect three thematic areas: the political economy of the platinum mining industry; the formation of 'tribal' land and political relations in South Africa's racial-capitalist development; and the contemporary dynamics of rural class differentiation and struggle in the mineral-rich areas of the North West and Limpopo Provinces. He

was previously a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Cape Town, and has taught Development Studies at the London School of Economics, School of Oriental and African Studies, Open University and University of Central Lancashire. Gavin is currently working on a book-length study of the political economy of the Bafokeng chieftaincy in South Africa's democratic transition (based on his Ph.D and subsequent research), and is acting as an expert witness for the Legal Resources Centre in a major community land claim against the Bafokeng chieftaincy. He is co-editor (with Prodromos Panayiotopoulos) of *World Development: An Introduction*, Pluto (2001), and has been publishing a series of articles in the *Review of African Political Economy* on the post-apartheid trajectory of the platinum industry.

Dick Forslund

Abstract

Title: Coping with unsustainability: Lonmin 2003-2012

The British company Lonmin is the world's third largest producer of so called platinum group metals (PGM). It has not been known for being an especially negligent or ruthless mining employer. In a response to the report on the dire social and environmental conditions in South African platinum mining issued by Bench Marks Foundation in August 2012, Lonmin argued that it acts *more* socially and environmentally responsible than other mining companies. In another strident response to the defamatory Public Eye nomination in 2013, Lonmin commended itself of having a "best in class safety record in the country". Lonmin's corporate responsibility performance has indeed been acknowledged by the business community several times. And in a 2010 corporate reporting competition, Lonmin was awarded "The Lang Communications award for Most Improved Narrative" by the Strategic Planning Society.

It is Lonmin's own "narrative" that this study critically examines. Mainly how it appears in the so called "Sustainable Development Reports" (SDRs). I will make a close reading of Lonmin's texts from 2003 to 2012 and assess the sustainability of Lonmin's operations through them. I will hold Lonmin to account against the company own promises, stated goals, regulations and laws, but as they are referred to by Lonmin in their own texts.

Judging from them, Lonmin fails to live up to its sustainability goals. If it is true that the company performs better or much better than most of its mining company peers, which I have no reason to question, Lonmin's failure indicates that South Africa mining in general is not sustainable.

If a project isn't "sustainable", this should mean that it is heading towards a future breaking point or break down, from which point it cannot go on any longer or at least not "like this". The development in SA mining industry since 2012 points to that the break down or a Stop with capital letters is political: At one point the socially and environmentally unsustainable project becomes *politically* unsustainable: people revolt.

However, this doesn't mean that a project is politically unsustainable in relation to the controlling authorities. A tentative conclusion is that a mining operation can go on for as long as the company in

charge of it displays awareness of its failures, negotiate new agreements with the authorities, expresses respect for the laws and promises to correct its failures in the coming years.

With nature, no negotiated deals are however possible.

Lonmin's SDRs cover a wide range of social and environmental problems connected to the excavation and processing of PGM ore in SA. The paper focuses on a limited number of issues, which appeared to me as crucial. The use of contract workers to reduce company costs and the problem of providing decent housing for mineworkers and their families are examined in the first part of this paper. Lonmin's reporting on "community perception" of its operations, the emissions of sulphur dioxide, of dust and some related environmental issues will be examined in the second part.

Biography

Dick Forslund works at the Alternative Development Information Centre in Cape Town since 2010 as an economist, researcher and facilitator of political economy literacy workshops. A report on personal income taxation in SA was published in 2012 (www.amandla.org.za). He is currently working on a report on corporate taxation in SA. The paper he is presenting on Lonmin builds on a report for Bench Marks Foundation. The abstract is an abridged version of that report's introduction. Forslund graduated from Stockholm University School of Business in 2008. His PhD thesis on savings propaganda and the financialisation of everyday life was titled "Give Me the Money!"

PLATINUM AND THE ANC'S NEW RESOURCE NATIONALISM

11H45 – 13H30

Ben Fine

Abstract

Title: The Enigmas of Beneficiation as Industrial Policy

Over the past few years, mineral beneficiation as a strategic element of industrial policy has gained considerable prominence. Generally, this has been met with strong support with at most some reservations expressed by business as well as academics over the virtues and capacities of the state in pursuing what is promised to be a more substantial and committed degree of interventionism, and at the core of the economy. Such misgivings have to be set against what has been offered by proponents of beneficiation in terms of more general policy goals and shifts and the institutional and political shifts that are presumed to underpin them, although here there are mixed messages in terms of NGP and NDP and their corresponding parallel tracks as policy programmes. Further, the rise of beneficiation has been associated with an acknowledgement of a minerals-energy complex, MEC, as underpinning the South African economy, bringing policy analysis closer to economic realities. This all, however, begs the question of why it has taken twenty years for beneficiation and its associates to get onto the policy agenda. To some extent an answer can be located in terms of the restructuring that has taken place over the past two decades, centring on internationalisation, financialisation, unbundling and BEE, against which policy debate and posturing have been a smokescreen far removed from underlying dynamics. This raises the issue of whether the turn towards beneficiation is itself a smokescreen, with more grounded attention to mineral value chains complemented by a continuing neglect of the political economy of the interests to which they are attached and the broader context in which they are situated. Some attention will be paid to the issue of public ownership, not only as a matter of policy but also for the light it sheds on understanding of policy process and potential.

Biography

Ben Fine is Professor of Economics at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. He was a contributing editor to the MERG policy book, *Making Democracy Work: A Framework for Macroeconomic Policy in South Africa*, and co-authored with Zavareh Rustomjee, *South Africa's Political Economy: From Minerals-Energy Complex to Industrialisation*, London: Hurst, and Wits University Press, 1997. He served as international expert on the Presidential Labour Market Commission, South Africa, 1995/1996. In 1999, he was awarded a two-year UK ESRC research professorship to study the shifting relations between economics and other social sciences. He currently serves as a member of the Social Science Committee of the UK Food Standards Agency and chairs its subcommittee considering reform of meat slaughtering regulation. His publications over past twenty years include *Social Capital versus Social Theory: Political Economy and Social Science at the Turn of the Millennium*, Routledge, 2001; *Development Policy in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond the Post-Washington Consensus*, Routledge, co-edited with Costas Lapavistas and Jonathan Pincus, 2001; *The World of Consumption: The Material and Cultural Revisited*, Routledge, 2002; *Marx's Capital*, fifth edition, 2010, with Alfredo Saad-Filho, and many foreign editions; *The New Development Economics: A Critical Introduction*, edited with K. S. Jomo, Delhi: Tulika, and London: Zed Press, 2005; *Privatisation and Alternative Public Sector Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Delivering on Electricity and Water*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, co-edited with K. Bayliss, 2008, pp. 272; *From Political Economy to Economics: Method, the Social and the Historical in the Evolution of Economic Theory*, with Dimitris Milonakis, 2009, London: Routledge, awarded the Gunnar Myrdal Prize for 2009; *From Economics Imperialism to Freakonomics: The Shifting Boundaries Between Economics and Other Social Sciences*, with Dimitris Milonakis, 2009, London: Routledge, awarded the Isaac and Tamara Deutscher Memorial Prize for 2009; *Theories of Social Capital: Researchers Behaving Badly*, Pluto, 2010; *The Political Economy of Development: The World Bank, Neoliberalism and Development Research*, Kate Bayliss, Ben Fine and Elisa Van Waeyenberge (eds), Pluto, 2011; *The Elgar Companion to Marxist Economics*, edited with Alfredo Saad-Filho and Marco Boffo, 2012; *Developmental Politics in Transition: The Neoliberal Era and Beyond*, co-edited with Kyung-Sup Chang and Linda Weiss, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012; and *Beyond the Developmental State: Industrial Policy into the 21st Century*, co-edited with J. Saraswati and D. Tavasci, London: Pluto, 2013.

Abstract

Title: Resource Nationalism and the Challenge of Environmental Externalities

All environmental externalities emanate from the economy as they also reflect the evolution and moment at which societal values are at. In reality as people's income and levels of education grows so does their preferences for better environmental standards and quality. In effect these preferences drive new types of economic activity and opportunity as there is a greater willingness to pay for these preferences as China is beginning to experience with a growing increase in its per capita income. These new preferences can often be also driven by resource scarcity or rising input costs like we see with the growth of plastic bottle recycling as petroleum prices go up or the high energy requirements for aluminium smelting. Harm to the environment can have immediate or long-term economic consequences as we have seen with the Deep Water horizon incident in the Gulf of Mexico. There are both anthropocentric and eco-centric reasons as primary motivations that determine the extent to which environmental values get incorporated within the mainstream economy. The extent to which environmental externalities can be incorporated within an economy is not only determined by a national setting but also international. Some of these dynamics will be described in more detail later in this chapter. Environmental externalities that have immediacy also tend to overlap with environmental health issues as it impinges on saving life in the workplace and ensuring workers health are not detrimentally affected that its affects productivity. It would seem that the further the distance we are from the harmful activity and the work place the lesser environmental impacts consume the attention and mind, especially if it is happening in somebody else's backyard. What is at a distance from sight does not disappear from nature nor the economy. These problems have to often be socialised by society, essentially, either through the vehicle of the state (ultimately the tax-payer) and philanthropy if these problems are not adequately addressed at the level of the activity or the original source of the environmental impact. The question then remains as to how much we are prepared to tolerate and how do we design an economic policy regime that takes into account the immediate impacts and future impacts without eroding the sustainability and income growth of a nation collectively. Industrialised economies are not a free lunch. They have benefits as they have side-effects. Eventually, the side-effects have a regressive influence on the economy and its performance. Delays can be more costlier than not dealing with these problems progressively. This burden will have to be shared between state, private enterprise

and citizens as the share of income grows with the growth of the economy. I want to argue that an economic policy that allows for income growth, reduction in inequality and has a fair distribution mechanism should be able to afford higher environmental standards and should factor this in as a central feature of its economic planning. There are both material and non-material benefits with better economic policy design that is inclusive of environmental externalities. There is a need for such a far-sighted and enlightened policy regime.

Biography

Saliem Fakir is the Head of the Living Planet Unit at the World Wildlife Fund South Africa. The Unit's work is focused on identifying ways to manage a transition to a low-carbon economy. He was previously (2007-2008) a senior lecturer at the Department of Public Administration and Planning and associate Director for the Center for Renewable and Sustainable Energy at the University of Stellenbosch where he taught a course on renewable energy policy and financing of renewable energy projects. Saliem previously worked for Lereko Energy (Pty) Ltd (2006) an investment company focusing on project development and financial arrangements for renewable energy, biofuels, waste and water sectors. He also served as Director of the World Conservation Union South Africa (IUCN-SA) office for 8 years (1998-2005). Prior to the IUCN he was the Manager for the Natural Resources and Management Unit at the Land and Agriculture Policy Center. Saliem has served on a number of Boards. Between, 2002-2005, he served as a chair of the Board of the National Botanical Institute. He also served on the board of the Fair Trade in Tourism Initiative, and was a member of the Technical Advisory Committee of the Global Reporting Initiative, based in Amsterdam. He currently serves of the advisory board of Inspired Evolution One – a private equity fund for clean technology. He is also a columnist for the South African Center for Civil Society where he writes regular columns on a range of issues (see www.sacsis.org.za) and Engineering News. Saliem's qualifications are: B.Sc Honours molecular biology (WITS), Masters' in Environmental Science, Wye College London, and did a senior executive management course at Harvard University in 2000.

INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS: SOUTHERN AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA

14H30 – 16H15

Miles Larmer

Abstract

Title: Resource Nationalism in Zambia's Copper Mining Industry

This paper analyses relations between mining companies, the Zambian state and mining communities since privatisation in the early 2000s. It explores the extent to which political democratisation has enabled Zambians to hold foreign-owned mining companies to account for their activities and ensure their activities benefit the country and the communities where those activities take place. It explores the rise of the Patriotic Front (PF) party since the mid-2000s and its articulation of populist criticism of the mining companies, which can be understood as a form of 'resource nationalism'.

Biography

Dr **Miles Larmer** is Senior Lecturer in International History at the University of Sheffield in the UK and a Research Fellow in the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies at the University of Pretoria in South Africa. He has written extensively about Zambian history and politics.

Richard Saunders

Abstract

Title: Policy, Practice and Realities of Indigenisation in Zimbabwe's Minerals Sector

This paper examines evolving policies and practices in the minerals sector in the 2000s with special consideration given to the cases of Marange diamonds and new platinum investments. While 'indigenisation' has emerged as a key instrument of policy reform, the paper assesses its shifting goals and accompanying promises in the light of recent experiences of community participation, elite benefits, development outcomes and broader transparency deficits in the restructuring of resource management. Parallel questions are raised over the role of regional actors in helping to shape the boundaries of mining indigenisation and empowerment and the implications for elite consolidation.

Biography

Dr. **Richard Saunders** is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at York University, Toronto, where he teaches African political economy and development. His current research is focused on questions of conflict minerals in the southern African context and the emergence of regionalised political, economic and security networks in the mining sector.

César Rodríguez-Garavito

Abstract

Title: "The commodities super cycle and its impact on states and societies: A comparative view from Latin America"

Biography

César Rodríguez-Garavito is Associate Professor of Law and founding Director of the Program on Global Justice and Human Rights at the University of the Andes (Colombia). He is a founding member of the Center for Law, Justice, and Society (Dejusticia). He has been a visiting professor at Stanford University, Brown University, the University of Pretoria (South Africa), the Getulio Vargas Foundation (Brazil), the Åbo Academy of Human Rights (Finland), the Andean University of Quito and the Irish Center for Human Rights. He serves in the Editorial Board of the Annual Review of Law and Social Science and writes regular columns and articles for *El Espectador*.

He holds a Ph.D. and an M.S. (Sociology) from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, an M.A. from NYU's Institute for Law and Society, an M.A. (Philosophy) from the National University of Colombia, and a J.D. from the University of the Andes. His publications include "Ethnicity.gov: Global Governance, Indigenous Peoples and the Right to Prior Consultation in Social Minefields" (*Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*); "Beyond the Courtroom: The Impact of Judicial Activism on Socioeconomic Rights in Latin America" (*Texas Law Review*); *Law in Latin America: A Roadmap for Twenty-First Century Legal Scholarship* (ed.); "Global Governance and Labor Rights: Codes of Conduct and Anti-Sweatshop Struggles in Global Apparel Factories in Mexico and Guatemala" (*Politics & Society*); *Courts and Social Change: How the Constitutional Court Transformed Forced Displacement in Colombia* (coauthor); *The Global Expansion of the Rule of Law*; and *Law and Globalization from Below: Toward a Cosmopolitan Legality* (coed.).

NEW RURAL TRANSFORMATIONS ON THE PLATINUM BELT

16H30 – 18H15

Gavin Capps

Abstract

Title: Contrasting Configurations of Platinum Capital and Tribal Authority: Bafokeng, Bengwenyama and Langa Mapela

By virtue of the geopolitical location of the bulk of its reserves in the former homeland territories of Bophuthatswana and Lebowa, the boom years have seen the platinum industry dramatically expand over communal land under the local administrative jurisdiction of traditional authorities. This process has been both facilitated and shaped by the Minerals and Petroleum Resources and Development Act (2002) and its adjunct regulations, which has sought to reconcile the imperatives of promoting mining growth, Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and rural development by encouraging platinum corporations to offer equity stakes to local communities occupying mineralised land, as a condition of attaining or retaining the rights to prospect or mine. In practice, such 'communities' are invariably identified as the 'traditional authorities' defined by the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act (2003) and are thus based on apartheid-era tribal authorities, and their chiefs treated as the sole representatives of the 'community interest' in relation to all mining-related decisions. The consequence is the emergence of new configurations of mining capital and tribal authority on the platinum belt, which can be both the loci of substantial accumulation and a driving force of popular dispossession. This, in turn, has generated intense conflict and competition over legitimate political authority, land ownership and resource distribution within and between these tribal authorities, which are typically expressed through struggles over custom, group-boundaries and decision making, and different versions of history. Drawing on the cases of the Bafokeng (North West Province), Bengwenyama (Limpopo) and Langa Mapela (Limpopo) tribal authorities, this paper identifies three distinct ways in which mining capital is expanding on the rural platinum frontier under these new conditions of resource access, and highlights some of the contradictory outcomes of this process. It suggests that, in each case, due attention must be paid to the historically specific configurations of property and power that mining

capital confronts in given localities, the changing legislative conditions that shape the terms of these encounters, and the complex forms of class, gender and other social differentiation that this is setting in motion.

Sonwabile Mnwana

Abstract

Title: A united struggle with divided interests? The battle over mineral revenues in the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela tribal authority area, North West Province

Struggles over political power cannot be separated from contestations over 'communal' property and resources, particularly in South Africa's mineral-rich tribal authorities. In this paper, I draw empirical evidence from an on-going fieldwork in the platinum-rich Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela tribal authority area in North West province to argue that, since claims and rights over tribal property are politically mediated, disputes over political power cannot be separated from contestations over resources. The heightened popular resistance against the ruling chief and the prolonged succession disputes are inextricably linked to the struggles over control of 'tribal' properties and resources (mineral revenues, in particular). Such struggles are mainly fought on the terrain of custom and expressed through competing versions of 'correct' and 'legitimate' succession history and custom by various social agents. Another emerging finding is that of contrasting definitions of 'community' and identity, including new forms of social differentiation at village level. Thus, the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela tribal authority area is not only at the centre of the new rural-based wave of extractive boom in South Africa but is also experiencing new forms of mining-related social and political transformations.

Biography

Sonwabile Mnwana is a researcher in the Mining and Rural Transformation in Southern Africa (MARTISA) project based at Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP), Wits University. He holds a PhD in Social Sciences from the University of Fort Hare. He specialises in the area of large scale mineral resource extraction and rural social change, and is currently conducting fieldwork in the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela traditional authority area (North West Province).

Abstracts

Title: Platinum City Deferred: The Bengwenyama Tribal Council's Experience of Mining and Transformative Constitutionalism

In 1998 North American legal scholar Karl Klare published an article in which he described the South African Constitution as entailing a project of “transformative constitutionalism”, a concept connoting an enterprise of inducing large-scale social change through nonviolent political processes grounded in law. This concept has gained considerable traction amongst South African constitutional and human rights lawyers in their framing of the extensive law-making that ensued after 1994. Legal scholars see in the Constitution a call for deep structural transformation and evince a faith in the capacity of a range of legal regulatory frameworks to contain and channel the associated tensions and conflicts through, amongst others, their affirmation of the rule of law, procedural fairness, parity of participation, transparency and accountability. Three of these containing legal frameworks most pertinent to mining and rural transformation are the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act 28 of 2002, as regards access to the nation’s mineral resources; the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994, as regards restitution of land rights to communities dispossessed of land after 1913 as a result of racially discriminatory laws and practices; and the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act 41 of 2003, as regards the recognition and support of traditional systems of leadership and authority. The paper will firstly seek to capture the transformative vision of each legal framework and how it seeks to channel large-scale social change through legal process. It will then bring into focus the experience of the Bengwenyama Tribal Council’s almost decade-long quest to obtain a prospecting right for platinum in respect of land they deem to be their own. Their attempts have been frustrated by multiple obstacles including the land administration’s failure to process their land claim, challenges to the integrity of their traditional leadership structures, and granting of the prospecting rights on the property to a black empowerment company connected to another tribal grouping. What is noteworthy about this case is the Bengwenyama Tribal Council’s almost exclusive reliance on the legal process to wage their struggle. Their story, however, highlights the limits of transformative constitutionalism in its critical dependence on the mutually supporting administrative processes of multiple administrative agencies. In particular, the three legal frameworks highlighted above have not been able to contain or resolve deep-seated perceptions of ethnic discrimination and conflicts over land and tribal authority. The seemingly paralysed land

claims process, together with the protracted legal battle over prospecting rights between competing tribal authorities and their investment backers has also opened the door for global players to obtain the lion's share of the mineral resource.

Biographies

Tracy Humby (B.Mus, B.Proc, LLB, LLM, PGDip [tertiary education], PhD) is an associate professor in the School of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand. Her research interests and teaching responsibilities lie in the socio-environmental impacts of mining and the resilience of linked social-ecological ecosystems. She has published extensively in national and international legal journals and is a *Mail & Guardian* "Thought Leader".

Thursday, 12 September 2013

Day 2:

Questions of Labour

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE PLATINUM MINE-LABOUR REGIME

09H00 – 11H00

Kally Forrest

Abstracts

Title: Migrant labour: disrupted but not discarded - A Rustenburg recruitment case

It appeared from commentary following the strike and massacre of mineworkers at Marikana that the migrant labour system on the Rustenburg platinum fields is still intact. But is this the case? Migrancy is still a large factor but there have been substantial fractures in the traditional migrant labour system. By researching the current recruitment system in Rustenburg it is possible to examine the departures from the migrant labour system as well as the continuities. Recruitment patterns have changed and the centralised monopoly of Teba has been eroded by new competition in particular by labour contractors. Post-apartheid legislation has also impacted and has resulted in a decline in foreign migrant labour, internal migrant recruitment and an increased use of local labour all of which point to big changes. However a wilful confusion about the definition of what is local and what migrant has meant that some of government's transformation efforts have been undermined including through the back door employment of both foreign and internal migrant labour. Notwithstanding, an increase in the employment of local labour is an important objective for mine companies which will ultimately fundamentally disrupt the migrant labour system. The question of who the winners and who the losers are in this fractured system and whether the ideology underpinning the traditional migrant labour system has also been ruptured is also addressed.

Biography

Kally Forrest is a former trade unionist and editor of the *South African Labour Bulletin*. She holds a PhD in labour history from the University of the Witwatersrand, is a former SWOP researcher and is currently the Ruth First Fellow. She recently published *Metal that will not bend: National Union of Metalworkers 1980 – 1995*.

Micah Reddy

Abstract

Title: The Rural Dynamics of Contemporary Labour Migrancy

The paper examines certain structural changes that have contributed to the recent unrest on the platinum mines of the North West, which continue to rely on large contingents of relatively unskilled migrant labourers from impoverished rural hinterlands, most notably the Eastern Cape, but also Mozambique, Lesotho and elsewhere. That quintessential colonial-apartheid institution - the migrant labour system - has proven remarkably persistent, but has also undergone important changes. In the flurry of analysis that the Marikana massacre has elicited, much has been made of a 'crisis of migrancy'. This recent analysis tends to focus on changes in the urban side of the migrant labour cycle, especially with regards to the demise of the single-sex hostels and the transition workers have made from the hostels to the shacklands. This, it is claimed, has exposed them to all manner of new wage pressures associated with having to maintain two homes - one urban and one rural. However, little attention has been paid to changes in the political economy of rural catchment areas. The paper represents an attempt to shift the analytical focus somewhat by situating contemporary Eastern Cape migrants in historical perspective and examining recent changes in the political economy of the labour-sending sphere of migrancy. It will examine, inter alia, the decline in subsistence farming, changes in the cost of living, and rurally-rooted identities and 'moral economies'.

Biography

Micah Reddy is a freelance researcher and writer. I hold a BA (Hons) degree in History from the University of the Witwatersrand and recently completed an MSc in African Studies at Oxford University.

Asanda Benya

Abstract

Title: Women Underground: Evidence from Rustenburg

One of the biggest shifts witnessed by the mining industry in recent years has been the inclusion of women in underground mining occupations. Previously, women were forbidden from working underground. In post-apartheid South Africa, and in keeping up with democratic ideas of non-sexism, policies to redress the exclusion of women have been adopted. While legislatively women have been included in the underground workplace, their experiences tell a different story. This presentation will look at their experiences underground and, from their perspectives and through a gendered lens, share what is happening with women in mining. While popular studies seem to present a single side that often perpetuates and justifies their exclusion from underground, through this presentation I hope to show other sides and the heterogeneity of women working underground. The focus will be on women's experiences and understandings of their work, unionization and how they negotiate the underground space. The inclusion of women in mining has also made clear the links between the home and work space. In this presentation I hope to create a conversation between these two spaces. Data to be presented was collected through the use of participant observation where I worked underground in a platinum mine as a winch operator and lived with the workers for over a year in Rustenburg.

Biography

Asanda Benya is a Ph.D candidate in the Sociology Department at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and a fellow at the Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP) based at Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa. Her Ph.D research looks at women who are working in underground mines. Through the use of participant observation, Asanda investigates how women entering this labour market have responded to the mining environment, how they understand themselves against the prevailing masculine mining culture and what meanings they attach to their experiences at work. Through her research, she analyses issues of power, gender and subjectivities of women who work in mines.

Abstract

Paul Stewart and Gavin Hartford

Title: The structural causes of Marikana: Inflexible economics, the changing socio-economic conditions of labour migrancy and the special roles of the rock drill operators and the trade unions.

This paper examines the structural causes and events behind Marikana. It starts by showing how the fixed-cost economic constraints of platinum mining places enormous pressure on the sector's single core area of competitive advantage. This advantage lies in enhancing the organisation of the underground production process by maximising the advance per blast and the number of blasts in any shift cycle. Those performing this crucial productive role have historically been migrant workers, with the rock drill operators (RDOs) playing the central role. The living conditions of this migrant labour force have undergone significant change. To break the single sex hostel system, negotiated living out allowances fueled the emergence of informal settlements. This led to significant additional costs of social reproduction for workers increasingly caught up in local household, loan shark and retail store debt as evidenced by increasing numbers of garnishee orders. Often managing a dual family structure, falling remittances point to fewer return visits to the rural areas and the accelerated collapse of the rural family. Within these changed socio-economic conditions, at work the RDOs had long established themselves as an elite occupational group, historically given preferential treatment by mining companies. The post-democracy establishment of a sophisticated industrial relations system temporarily eclipsed the traditional social power and status of the RDOs. Indeed this sophisticated new industrial relations dispensation fuelled the deep alienation of the RDO's towards both their companies and their unions. Ultimately the socio-economic conditions and deep distrust for established institutions propelled the migrants into industrial action when the RDOs were overlooked in a unilateral wage adjustment. Negotiating outside the established institutional arrangements, mines concerned to retain scarce skills had agreed with the established trade unions to pay increases for miners, but excluded the RDOs and other workers. Against the background of exclusively RDO strikes at Anglo Platinum in 1999 and 2004, in February 2012 the Implats RDOs led workers out on strike as did the Lonmin RDOs at Marikana in August. This series of factors and chain of events, the paper argues, provide the basis of any social explanation of the causes behind what happened at Marikana.

Biography

Gavin Hartford is an industrial sociologist and the founder of The Esop Shop - a corporate advisory firm specialising in designing, implementing and managing employee ownership and empowerment solutions. Gavin has spent the last three decades of his professional life working for organised labour, business and government as a strategic transformation professional. The headlines of his career are:

- He became active in the labour movement in the mid-eighties as an official of National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), where he held the office of National Negotiator for the automobile assembly and motor components industry through the turbulent years of the eighties and nineties. He is best known as a unionist for negotiating both the first ever industry wide three year wage-grade-skills and training collective agreement and the Motor Industry Development Plan, which together set the industry on a new growth path.
- After more than a decade in NUMSA Gavin was appointed to the CCMA as a National Senior Commissioner in 1996. In this capacity he successfully facilitated and mediated numerous major industry and company wide industrial disputes.
- In 2001 Gavin went into private consulting practice as a corporate HR strategy advisor, mediator and facilitator specializing in multi-stakeholder negotiation of change processes at firm and industry level. Through this work Gavin founded The Esop Shop to assist clients with the design and establishment of employee ownership and broad based empowerment schemes in multi-stakeholder environments. Today The Esop Shop enjoys the confidence of many mining and manufacturing clients that include major blue chip listed and unlisted companies in which Gavin and his team have successfully established some of the largest Esops in the country, many of which are now independently managed by the The Esop Shop.

Gavin has developed substantial strategy, advisory and negotiation skills in the broad arena of industry and enterprise transformation, industrial and employee relations, employee benefits and remuneration, as well as innovative profit sharing and ownership solutions. At the heart of this work is a singular strategy to assist corporate clients and their stakeholders enhance the productivity of their enterprises and align the stakeholder interests in sharing the rewards that flow from sustained economic growth.

**REGULATING REPRODUCTION: THE STATE, INFORMAL SETTLEMENT AND
HEALTH AND SAFETY**

11H15 – 13H00

Andries Bezuidenhout

Abstract

Andries Bezuidenhout and Sakhela Buhlungu

Title: Evaluating Marikana in the context of the broader mining landscape

In this paper we explore changes on the broader post-apartheid mining landscape in order to understand the events at Marikana. In addition to Rustenburg, we look at the decline of gold mining on the Free State gold fields and in Carletonville, as well as the emergence of iron ore mining in the Northern Cape. We argue that a focus on these areas, in addition to Rustenburg itself, allows us to better understand post-apartheid corporate, state and social formations.

Biography

Andries Bezuidenhout is an associate professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Pretoria. He holds a BA, BA (honours) and MA degrees from the same university and a PhD from the University of the Witwatersrand, where he worked as senior researcher and acting director of the Society, Work and Development Institute, before joining the University of Pretoria in July 2010. One of his books (co-authored with Edward Webster and Rob Lambert), *Grounding Globalization: Labour in the Age of Insecurity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), was the winner of the Distinguished Scholarly Monograph Prize, awarded by the American Sociological Association's Labour and Labour Movements section in 2009. His research interests include the sociology and geography of labour markets, specifically segmented labour markets and casual labour; development, manufacturing and industrial policy; labour movements and trans-national campaigns; codes of conduct, corporate social and environmental responsibility; labour rights and changing notions of citizenship, with specific reference to the South African mining industry; nationalism and popular music. He has published a range of academic articles and book chapters on most of these topics.

Joseph Mujere

Abstract

Title: From *Matebeleng* to *Ikemeleng*: Informal settlements, community protests, and insurgent citizenship in Rustenburg

This paper explores the social transformation of informal settlements that have emerged on the margins of platinum mines in Rustenburg. It uses Matebeleng (the name was recently changed to Ikemeleng) informal settlement located ten kilometres to the east of Rustenburg town as a case study. The paper analyses the centrality of community protests in residents of informal settlements' strategies to have the mining companies recruit workers from their communities and also to have both the local municipality and the mines deliver services such as water, electricity, roads, refuse collection, and sanitation among others. It argues that the reality of being marginalised and living in the shadow of a booming platinum mining industry has seen such communities resorting to violent protests and other insurgent practices to force mines into providing them with jobs and basic social services. The paper also analyses the internal dynamics within the community and examines how discourses of insiders and outsiders have impacted on the community's articulation of its demands to both the local municipality and the mining companies.

Biography

Joseph Mujere holds a PhD (History) from the University of Edinburgh. He is currently a Research Associate in the Society, Work, and Development Institute (SWOP) at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. He also teaches history at the University of Zimbabwe. His research interests are in migration, citizenship, urban violence, and politics of belonging. His current research investigates the impact of mining on informal settlements that have emerged on the margins of platinum mines in Rustenburg. It also explores issues such as power, order, control and the construction of the 'local'. Joseph's publications include 'Land, graves and belonging: land reform and the politics of belonging in newly resettled farms in Gutu, Zimbabwe 2000-2009' (*Journal of Peasant Studies*, 2011, Vol. 38, No.5, pp.1123-1144), and 'Land, Graves and Belonging: Land Reform and the Politics of Belonging in Newly Resettled Farms in Gutu, 2000–2009' (in L. Cliffe, J. Alexander, B. Cousins and R. Gaidzanwa eds. *Outcomes of post-2000 Fast Track Land Reform in Zimbabwe*, London: Routledge)

Andrea Shaw

Abstract

Title: Same rules – different games: OHS regulation in the South African and New South Wales mining industries.

The Australian and South African mining industries are closely linked – the key players in the Australian mining industry are also present in South Africa and the global market for skilled mining professionals has resulted in considerable professional labour mobility between the two countries. Mining occupational health and safety (OHS) legislation is also similar, with the basic principles of risk-based regulation common on both sides of the Indian Ocean. And yet the health outcomes could not be more different. Even before Marikana, the stark contrast between rates of occupational fatalities from trauma and disease provided tragic evidence that the same rules with the same players were not resulting in the same game. This paper uses the frame of regulatory character to address this seeming paradox in order to suggest possibly more effective approaches to engendering change.

“Regulatory character” describes the ways in which social norms interact with the formal rules of a given context and, further, how individuals interact with both social norms and the formal rules (Haines 2005: 34) as a means to understand how different regulatory contexts might operate and change. This paper will apply the concept of regulatory character to analyzing two specific mining regulatory regimes: South Africa (SA) and one state of Australia, New South Wales (NSW). It examines the ways in which the formal rules of OHS regulation interacted with norms of place and how individuals responded to the formal rules and to the norms of place in both countries. Given the similarity between the formal rules in each context, why have the outcomes been so different? What differences in the norms of place and individual interactions appear to have been critical and how could the interactions between these social relations and formal rules be changed to address the serious problems besetting labour regulation of the SA mining industry?

My analysis rests on two studies of OHS management in the mining industry that investigated the role of OHS regulation and enforcement in creating high performance in OHS. In Australia, the Digging Deeper project was commissioned by the NSW Mine Safety Advisory Council (MSAC), a multipartite body that advises the NSW government on OHS in mining. This project collected data on OHS management from a representative sample of 53 sites from across NSW, collecting data from 1,667 individual workers at all levels of the industry. In South Africa, the Changing Minds, Changing

Mines project, commissioned by the tripartite Mine Health and Safety Council (MHSC), collected qualitative and quantitative data on OHS and organisational culture from a representative sample of 32 sites. The project obtained survey responses from 3078 workers from across the sites, as well as conducting over 100 detailed interviews with key industry stakeholders, such as CEOs and national union officials. A similar methodology and similar data collection tools were used in both studies and, given the global nature of the industry, many of the same companies were involved in both projects.

The NSW mining industry tends to exhibit a hierarchist administrative style by having a socially cohesive, rule bound approach to OHS management, which is congruent with dominant social norms. In contrast, norms of place in the South African mining industry have resulted in significant but largely unacknowledged tension between the formal rules of OHS regulation and the ways in which individuals are expected to behave in mining workplaces. The South African mining industry exhibits both fatalistic and individualistic characteristics with the formal rules often seen as open to negotiation and bargaining at the minesite. Indeed, negotiating rules in practice was essential for mineworkers to earn a living wage which depended upon attaining production targets unachievable if the formal rules were applied. As this suggests, norms of place continued to treat black mineworkers as essentially a disposable army of workers who could not be trusted to work diligently without a largely contingent wage. Failing to address the racist history of the industry in South Africa has meant that such norms were not sufficiently challenged and, rather than engender change, regulatory reform has possibly reinforced an approach which idealizes the individual as both the source of and solution to risks in the industry.

Biography

Andrea Shaw is an ergonomist who specialises in Organisational Design and Management (ODAM). She works with enterprises in the private and public sector to build effective management structures, systems and processes, leading and facilitating efforts to improve organisational performance through health, safety and environment. This work has included a number of Australian and international projects involving organizational and institutional capacity building, with a particular focus on governance of the oil, gas and mining industries. More recent international work includes a number of recent scoping and design projects for AusAID, developing proposals for projects dealing with mining sector governance in Liberia, Rwanda, Mozambique, Zambia, Nigeria, Ghana and South Africa. Previously, she undertook a project for South Africa's Mine Health and Safety Council, preparing an organisational culture transformation strategy for the mining industry in

the Republic of South Africa. This Culture Transformation Framework now forms part of the Mining Charter. Andrea led the team that was awarded the 2008 International Ergonomics Association/Liberty Mutual Award for outstanding research in occupational health and safety – this was for the *Digging Deeper* project in the NSW mining industry.

THE GREAT STRIKE WAVE: NUM'S CRISIS AND NEW FORMS OF WORKER

ORGANISATION

13H45 – 15H30

T. Dunbar Moodie

Abstract

Title: 'Igneous' Means Fire from Below: The Tumultuous History of the National Union of Mineworkers on the SA Platinum Metal Mines.

From the time Impala dismissed its entire workforce in 1986 up to the Marikana massacre in 2012, the NUM has struggled to organize the platinum metal mines of the Bushveld Igneous Complex. Initially a sideshow compared to the major effort on gold, platinum has become a generator of mineral wealth for the South African state and the largest employer of mine labour in the country. Since soon after the turn of the century, the Rustenburg branch of the NUM has churned out more income for the organization than any other branch. Now all that is in question. Many of the papers for this conference will deal with the current chaotic situation and its broader context. This is as it should be. For my part, I shall try to provide an overview of the turbulent history of NUM organizing in the Rustenburg region. While the union now seems seriously at risk, it has never had an easy time in Rustenburg. Worker committees are not a new phenomenon on the platinum metal mines. Mineworkers in South Africa, like mineworkers world-wide, have never been passive recipients of direction from above. Whatever the future may hold, there is perhaps something to be learned from the past, whether one sees the present as tragedy or as farce.

Crispen Chinguno

Abstract

Title: Fragmentation and solidarity in the 2012 platinum belt strike wave

This paper draws from an ethnographic study of the 2012 platinum belt strike wave and explores the complex and contradictory relationship between worker fragmentation and solidarity. The South African platinum mining sector was hit by a violent and militant strike wave which culminated in the Marikana massacre. The strike wave had deep systemic roots in exploitative working conditions. This particular strike wave was paradoxically characterised by both increasing worker fragmentation and solidarity. Solidarity refers to a community of interests and realisation by the workers that their interests could be advanced collectively. This was eroded by worker fragmentation and division partly resulting from managerial strategies (such as casualisation and use of labour brokers) as well as differential wage increases and partly from ideological rivalries between different groupings of workers. Conflict between the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), the largest COSATU affiliate and the recently rejuvenated Association of Mining and Construction Union (AMCU) illustrates this fragmentation. Both groupings used violence as a tactic to enforce solidarity, while violence of the state –especially the murder of 34 mineworkers by the police in the Marikana massacre – demonstrated both the intransigence of management and the increasing use of police to suppress dissent and the collapse of the post-apartheid state’s moral authority.

Biography

Crispen Chinguno is a PhD candidate, in the department of Sociology and an International Centre for Decent Work and Development (ICDD) Fellow in SWOP at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. His project explores the relationship between variation in strike violence and changes in workplace regimes in South Africa by drawing cases from the Rustenburg platinum belt. He conducted more than one year ethnographic study in the platinum belt which spanned through the period the 2012 platinum belt strike wave broke out. His recent publications include articles in the *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *Journal of Workplace Rights*, *Juridikum*, *Peripherie*, *Global Labour Journal*, *Global Labour Column* and the *South African Labour Bulletin*. His research interests includes labour studies, trade unions, social movements, working class agency, labour and development, processes of social change, sociology of work and the sociology of violence. He wishes

to devote his future to understanding the world of work and how this is linked to the broader society through research and advocacy.

Luke Sinwell

Abstract

Title: The Development of Working Class Unity: A Case Study of Independent Strike Committees and the 2012 Anglo Platinum Strike in Rustenburg

A small body of literature which discusses the strikes at Lonmin (see Alexander et al 2012) and Impala (see Chinguno 2013) has emerged, but few scholars have focused on the strikes at Anglo Platinum. Moreover, scholars have not investigated the formation and development of working class power as a unit of analysis which helps us to comprehend the nature of the 2012 platinum belt strike wave. During that year, workers expressed their discontent with the NUM by forming their own independent workers' committees – at Impala, Anglo and Lonmin respectively. Despite their major influence in Rustenburg and in South Africa as a whole, scholars know very little about these committees or the people who constituted them. Only empirical research, grounded in oral histories of those mineworkers who were centrally involved, can uncover the hidden details which shed light on the nature of strike committees and their political trajectory. This paper draws from interviews with key leaders of the often elusive 2012 strike committee in Anglo Platinum in order to understand how seemingly ordinary workers, regardless of union affiliation, forged working class unity amongst all the shafts in Anglo Platinum, Rustenburg and subsequently spread the strike to other companies and districts. The paper concludes by unpacking the complex relationship between NUM, AMCU and the strike committee(s) in the Rustenburg Platinum Belt.

Biography

Luke Sinwell received his Ph.D. in Development Studies at Witwatersrand University in 2009. He has published over 10 peer review journal articles and is co-editor of *Contesting Transformation: Popular Resistance in 21st Century South Africa* (Pluto Press 2012) and a co-author of *Marikana: A View from the Mountain and a Case to Answer* (Jacana 2012). Luke is currently a Senior Researcher with the South African Research Chair in Social Change where he is undertaking research on independent strike committees in the Rustenburg Platinum belt.

**CLOSING PANEL – MEANINGS OF MARIKANA: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE
POST-APARTHEID ORDER**

15H45 – 17H15

Peter Alexander

Biography

Peter Alexander holds the South Research Chair in Social Change at the University of Johannesburg, where is a professor of sociology. He is the co-author of *Marikana: a View from the Mountain and Case to Answer* (2013, 2014). Other books of which he is an author, co-author or editor include: *Racism, Resistance and Revolution* (1987), *Racializing Class, Classifying Race: Labour and Difference in Britain, the USA and Africa* (2000), *Workers, War and the Origins of Apartheid: Labour and Politics in South Africa, 1939-48* (2000), *Globalisation and new Identities: a View From the Middle* (2006), and *Class in Soweto* (2013). Alexander is currently working on South Africa's Rebellion of the Poor and a collection on Ten Key Dates in Mining History. He was a founder of the Marikana Solidarity Campaign and is a trustee of the Marikana Solidarity Trust.

Karl von Holdt

Biography

Karl von Holdt is the Director of the Society Work and Development Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, where he has been a senior researcher since 2007. Prior to that he was at the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)-linked policy Institute, NALEDI, and before that Editor of the South African Labour Bulletin. He has published *Transition from below: forging trade unionism and workplace change in South Africa* (2003), *Beyond the apartheid workplace: studies in transition* (2005) co-edited with Eddie Webster, and co-authored with Michael Burawoy *Conversations with Bourdieu: the Johannesburg moment* (2012). His current research interests include the functioning of state institutions, health system functioning, collective violence and associational life, citizenship and civil society. He was recently appointed to the first National Planning Commission of South Africa. Karl started his working life teaching literacy to trade union members in the hostels and informal settlements of Cape Town in the early 1980s. He has also served as coordinator of COSATU's September Commission on the Future of Trade Unions (1996-97), and as a Director on the Board of the South African Post Office (1997-2003).

May Hermanus

Biography

May Hermanus is the Executive Director of NRE at the CSIR. This directorate includes research programmes which address climate change, integrated water management, waste management, biodiversity and the green economy. Acid mine drainage and post mining landscapes and economies are among the topics addressed. May's role at the CSIR is mainly managerial, but she continues to work on mine health and safety and support the work of the CSMI in a visiting capacity. She was formally the Director of the Centre for Sustainability in Mining and Industry (CSMI). At the CSMI, she oversaw and participated in projects leading to the completion a suite of masters' level courses on safety, safety, health, environment and sustainable development, as well as suite of courses for health, safety and environmental regulators; and worked on research projects pertaining to sustainable development, mine closure, regulation and stakeholder engagement. Her interest in Sustainable Development stems from long standing involvement, since 1982, in occupational health and safety and social issues. She has worked in the NGO, trade union, private and public sectors in South Africa, and in International Labour Organisation forums. She is a former Chief Inspector of Mines for South Africa. She serves on the boards of Aveng (Pty, Ltd) the Railway Safety Regulator, the Council for GeoSciences, Sacred Heart College and the Society, Work and Development Institute at the University of the Witwatersrand. She also chairs AngloGold Ashanti's Bokamoso Trust. She has an BSc Geology from the University of Cape Town and an MSc (Eng) in physical metallurgy from the University of the Witwatersrand. She is a Takemi Fellow of the Harvard School of Public Health and a fellow of the SAIMM