RETHINKING STREET TRADERS AS A PROMISING AGENT OF RE-EMPOWERING LABOUR MOVEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY SOUTH AFRICA

(Draft Paper)

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Introduction

In recent years many labour scholars have been discussing the need to revitalise the labour movement both in the global North and the South. At the heart of these debates is a need to find ways to shift from traditional unionism to a new 'social movement unionism' (Turner, Katz & Hurd, 2001; Voss & Sherman, 2000; Waterman, 1993; Webster & Buhlungu, 2004). This is strongly connected with the escalating emphasis on reviving and redefining trade unions' role as 'sword of justice' (Hyman, 1999). Reassertion of the *movement* dimension of trade unionism under varying conditions has also been a key part of these debates (von Holdt, 2002; Fairbrother, 2008). In South Africa, it has been excessively discussed that 'social movement unionism' (hereafter SMU) has undergone an erosion as solidarity has fractured along new and old lines with the transition to democracy and processes of elite-formation in post-apartheid era (von Holdt, 2002). New forms of poverty appeared during the 'Mandela Decade' [1990-2000] and since then, there have been 'new poor' priorities that could not be represented by existing organisations with ease. Both trade unions and civic organisations have difficulties in accommodating them, which gave rise instead to new forms of patronage politics or new urban social movements (Sitas, 2010). Thus, the challenge of union revitalisation entails more than simply trying to strengthen existing union organisations. There is a need to go beyond traditional union structures to explore imaginative ways of engagement with, among others, the

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unemployed, the 'new working poor' and the new social movements (Webster & Buhlungu, 2004). Concerning these debates, this paper calls attention to street traders' movement, which I call 'the movement of the marginalised labour force', that can provide an agency for re-empowering labour movement in contemporary South Africa. The paper aims to explain how street traders rearticulate trade unions with social movements, reactivate the movement dimension of trade unionism, and therefore, can revitalise SMU in contemporary South Africa. The central argument of the paper is that through their new democratic organisations and initiatives i.e. 'World Class Cities for All' Campaign (hereafter WCCA), street traders play a bridging role between trade unions and social movements. The paper also strives to contribute to the theoretical debate by seeking ways to integrate 'the movement of the marginalised force' into the SMU approach.

In this regard, the first part reviews the literature on SMU and search for space for street traders in this debate. In the second part, the paper presents some findings of a survey that was applied to one hundred five street traders in six locations in Durban, South Africa that elucidate street traders' perspectives on their livelihood struggles at their workplace and their homes, their class status, and their approach to WCCA. The third part focuses on reorganising street traders under new democratic structures in Durban and their growing alliance with the other marginalised groups. In the following part, the paper demonstrates how the WCCA facilitates broader relations between street traders, social movements and trade unions. One of the key issues is that their joint forces demand for the participation of the urban poor in preparations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Accordingly, the paper discusses how they challenge the authorities to create alternatives to current practices of evicting street traders and clearing slums where the urban poor lose both their livelihoods and homes. The issue of evictions of street traders and evictions of shack dwellers is taken significantly in the paper in constructing the link between the workplace and community. Afterwards, the paper holds how shack dwellers movement Abahlali baseMjondolo (hereafter AbM) in Durban incorporates street traders with their struggle and stresses their approach to working class unity and building collective struggles. The last part attempts to situate street traders' agency in the SMU approach.

I. The 'Social Movement Unionism' (SMU) Approach

Different theoretical contributions to the SMU approach come from a wide range of experiences primarily from the South and then from the North which reaches as well to a global level. The concept of SMU was originally developed by progressive scholars who studied the militant and powerful labour movements in the newly industrialising countries such as South Africa, Brazil, the Philippines and South Korea, where these movements have been the 'sword of justice' along with a wide range of social movements in each of these countries in the 1980s (Lambert & Webster, 1988; Munck, 1988; Scipes, 1992; Seidman, 1994; Waterman, 1988; Webster, 1988)[1]. The original concept was later borrowed and applied to new forms of unionism in the industrialised world, i.e. the USA (Moody, 1997), and later in the context of new 'global solidarity' (Waterman, 1999).

In his engagement with the definition of SMU from the beginning, Waterman (1988) found the concept differed both from traditional terminologies and practices. He was talking about not simply a different union model but a different understanding of the role of the working class, and its typical organisation in the transformation of society. He underlined that this concept was a product of newly emerging social movements (i.e. feminists, the indigenous, the human rights, ecological and other such movements) and a new type of unionism. It is central in his understanding that this new unionism is necessarily linked with new social movements. SMU was moved by Munck (1988) at the same time and defined by its linkages with social movements outside the formal proletariat.

South African labour movement was one of the cases in the early conceptualisation of SMU. Its success has been a research area for many social scientists up to this day. In their central essays on South African labour movement, Lambert & Webster (1988) and Webster (1988) argued for an alternative tendency that forged an alliance of the labour movement with the popular movement (the African National Congress and the local anti-apartheid community movements). Their notion of SMU differed from conventional trade unionism in that it was concerned with labour as a social and political force, not simply as a commodity to be bargained over. As a result its concerns go beyond the workplace to include the sphere of reproduction. Furthermore, it

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[1] I must emphasise that there was an informal and partly unpublished debate around the concept SMU between these authors for a couple of years. I apologise for not being able to mention all of them here.

places a strong emphasis on democracy and workers' control. These scholars also understood SMU as a strategy specific to peripheral-capitalist societies within authoritarian regimes. It was this strategy of trade unionism which brought about a strong labour movement that shaped the struggle against apartheid and outlined the cornerstones of the transition process. Following these debates, in his observation of trade unions in the Philippines, Scipes (1992) suggested a similar definition of SMU that goes beyond the political struggle and elaborated internal democracy within the unions and their equal relationship with the social movements.

More recent contribution to the development of the SMU approach came from Seidman (1994) in her comparative study on militant labour movements in Brazil and South Africa. Her focus was defining SMU as a struggle to raise the living standards of the working class as a whole in the context of authoritarian industrialisation. Her notion of SMU consists of precisely such struggles over wages and working conditions, and also over living conditions in working-class areas. Links between shop-floor and community organisations give trade unions an unusually inclusive character and also strengthen the discourse of class within popular organisations. A few years later, Moody (1997) renewed the call for a SMU with a focus on class - similar to Seidman, but this time extending this type of unionism to the industrialised countries, particular to the USA. Moody's SMU approach is an active strategic orientation that uses the strongest of society's oppressed and exploited, generally organised workers, to mobilise those who are less able to sustain self-mobilisation: the poor, the unemployed, the casualised workers, the neighbourhood organisation. It is an approach that harmonises the demands of the union with the broader needs of the working-class. Moody also suggests SMU as a perspective to be fought for on an international scale. Other contemporary works on SMU in the USA usually refer to Moody and most commonly focus on organising campaigns and building coalitions between unions and community groups in the context of union revitalization in the American labour movement (Clawson, 2003; Lopez, 2004; Voss & Sherman, 2000).

A critical perspective on the use of the concept SMU can be seen in von Holdt's study in South Africa (2002, 2003). He argues that the result of this wide variety of applications is a high degree of ambiguity in the use of the term SMU, and a lack of clarity about what exactly it is that constitutes this form of unionism (2002: 285; 2003:8,9,24). First, it has tended to focus attention on external relations-with state, the communities, political movements- rather than internal

relations and contestations. Second, much of this analysis tended to assume that SMU reflects a new class consciousness, thus ignoring the impact of non-class collective identities on strategies, practices and internal conflict. Indeed, the union was characterised as much, if not more, by *popular* consciousness than by *class* consciousness. Third, this analysis tended to assume that the distinctiveness of SMU lies in its political and community alliances, and has neglected to investigate whether it might also demonstrate distinctive workplace practices (2002: 286,287). In contrast to these approaches that concentrated on the role of the union in the community, von Holdt's (2003) own study in South Africa focuses on the impact of community alliances on the union social structure, and conceptualises the popular alliance as an interpenetration of movements, a complex and dynamic network of political, community and workplace struggles woven together by a discourse of national liberation struggle.

Through a series of publications, Waterman (1993, 1999, 2003) expressed his unhappiness with various interpretations of SMU and refined and updated his conceptualisation. He preferred finally to use the concept 'new social unionism' which "is intended to relate to and be appropriate for our contemporary world" (1999:247). He then (re-)conceptualised SMU in 'Class + New Social Movement' terms, with a distinct international/ist dimension. Waterman has been concerned with the future of emancipatory or utopian labour strategy in the epoch of a 'globalised networked capitalism' and engaged in Global Justice and Solidarity Movement within and around which SMU has shown presence. For him this was an attempt to reach '*global solidarity*' by extending *internationalism* customarily associated with 19th century labour, so as to include women's/feminist, pacifist, anti-colonial and human rights forms of movements both in 19th and 20th century (2003). A new labour internationalism emerges insofar the labour rearticulates itself with the new social movements, which are also internationalised (1999).

Leaving its international/global dimension aside for a moment, one of the bases of Waterman's updated approach also has connections with the main focus of this paper. Similar to Moody's definition, it refers to "articulation of the autonomous demands of different types of workers, of the working class and other 'working classes', of class, democratic and popular demands" (1999:252). He mentions that "a geographically concentrated and socially homogenous industrial working class of semi-skilled factory labourers is being increasingly replaced by socially diverse and geographically dispersed labour forces – homeworkers, part-timers, sub-contractees, in

towns, villages and distant countries" (p.249). Munck (1998) also highlights this aspect of SMU as seeing it as a strategy, which works with a broad conception of who the working people are. Among others, it breaks down the binary oppositions between formal sector workers and the working poor.

After reviewing the literature and rethinking the SMU approach, it is necessary to question the space for street traders within this debate. First of all, how can we identify and integrate street traders into the SMU approach? Even if we assume that the abovementioned authors have already included street traders within the groupings that they defined in a plethora of available concepts (such as 'working people', 'working poor', 'other working class people', 'working classes', 'broad working-class' etc.), the question remains, whether they are defined within the labour movement or within the 'new' social movements? In other terms, are they the ones who are already a part of the labour force or the labour movement, or are they the ones that remain to be articulated? The following parts of the paper seek answers to these questions in consideration with the unresolved problem of organising and incorporating 'the marginalised labour force' into the contemporary labour movement in South Africa.

II. Some Characteristics of Street Traders in Durban

According to the Labour Force Survey September 2006, there are 2,379,000 people working in the informal economy in South Africa (Statistics SA 2007). On average, since 2000, one in every two South Africans who reported working in the informal sector works in the retail sector - which mainly refers to street trading (Statistics SA 2009, cited in Skinner 2009). Skinner (in van der Post, 2007) estimates in terms of city level, on a very rough calculation, there are between 60,000 and 70,000 in both Johannesburg and Durban, and 35,000 in Cape Town. According to the findings of the survey that I applied to 105 street traders in Durban in 2007, the majority (77 %) of street traders are self-employed. Women make up 59 % of street traders at all six locations. The majority of street traders have between 6 and 11 years of schooling. The findings also demonstrate that there are many street traders with high levels of education conversely to the common view. The largest proportions of street traders are between the ages of 36 and 45. Most of the associated workers are under 26 years old. The level of organisation among street traders is around 34%. Durban eThekwini Municipality's "Quality of Life" Survey in September 2005 stated that 43% of the metropolitan population is poverty stricken insofar as they survive on less

than R1500 (around 135€ or 200 $) per month. My own research findings confirmed that the levels of earnings of street traders refer to the fact that they are part of the population living in poverty: more than half of the street traders earn less than R1500 a month. While 71 % earn less than R2001, the ones who earn R1000 and less make up 39 %.

In recent studies on poverty we see a special focus on households. Webster and von Holdt (2005: 23) argue that "the erosion of core jobs, the growth of insecure and low-wage non-core jobs and the expansion of the peripheral zone have generated a widespread increase in poverty. This can best be tracked through the impact on the most basic institution of social organisation, the household". They also call attention to Mosoetsa's (2003:6) study which suggests that the household is emerging as a site of 'fragile stability' in response to the social crisis generated by unemployment and fuelled by HIV/AIDS. She argues that the household is the major site for sharing economic resources such as housing and income through state grants such as old-age pensions and child and disability grants. Households have become, as she mentions, sites of production and reproduction, attracting poorer family members in search of security. While it might be true that the households play a crucial role in sharing economic resources and create security to some extent, I suggest that the attention must also be given to whether or not there is at all considerable amalgamation of economic resources in the street traders' households to be shared.

It is commonly known (and also confirmed by this research) that street traders are the main breadwinners in their households (91,4 %). However, I believe that this information is left incomplete in previous studies, because it is the degree of amalgamation of different sources of incomes in their households which gives us the key information in describing them. This refers to the difference between being the main breadwinner and the sole breadwinner in a household. According to the findings, in 68,6 % of the households, street traders are the sole breadwinners, which indicates that in the majority of the households we cannot talk about an amalgamation of different sources of incomes. The largest proportion of other sources of income (32,8 %) comes from child support grants. Pension grants make up 19 % of them. The income that is earned through formal full-time employment constitutes the same proportion. Even if we add the income earned through casual/part-time employment, we see that the earnings from wage employment make up 22,4 % of the other sources of income that contribute to the overall household income.

In South Africa, earnings from wage employment often make up the highest percentage of overall household income, constituting up to 40 % of the income of poor households, while self-employment makes up only 5 % (May et al, 1998: 36). If most of the street traders are the main breadwinners and if the majority of them are the sole breadwinners in their households, this statement will not be truthful in the street traders' households. Hence, this should be considered as a key aspect in further studies on poor households in South Africa.

The findings of this research also challenge the "staging area hypothesis" in that the urban informal sector is regarded as a temporary stopping-off ground through which workers pass as they move into formal employment. This transient temporary category is expected to disappear with development and be integrated into formal economy. Some scholars claim that informal sector workers have been in that sector for a long time, that the "staging area hypothesis" is wrong (Fields, 1990). The data that I collected show that 60 % of street traders have been active in street trading for more than five years, while the largest proportion of street traders has been doing their activity more than ten years. Thus, long years of economic activity in street trading rather support their permanent existence. Moreover, it was found out that 81 % of the street traders are not looking for a formal job. This also supports the permanent character of street trading activity which also includes a degree of consent of street traders. Especially the street traders who had been unemployed before starting street trading expressed their determined willingness to stay in their current activity.

Street traders' perspective on their class status and trajectory was a very crucial part of this research. Unlike interpreting from the outside, street traders were asked how they saw and defined themselves. This question was asked in three different forms in terms of their incomes, the type of work they do and their general living standards. The street traders who see themselves as workers make up from 68 % to 82 %, among which 46 % to 49 % define themselves as marginal/poor workers, and 21 % to 33 % as average workers (Apart from those, around 5 % define themselves as unemployed). The analysis on these findings also demonstrates that being self-employed does not necessarily mean that they belong to entrepreneurs. The minority of the street traders defining themselves as small (10 % to 18 %) or very small entrepreneurs (7 % to 11 %) indicate that these findings could challenge many governmental and municipal policies which have a main understanding of street traders as entrepreneurs. Similarly, it may affect the route of

trade unionism which excludes street traders or informal workers in general, from the labour movement.

Another part of this research focused on street traders in their communities. Considering the type of residential areas, it was found out that at present the majority of street traders (62 %) live in former townships, and most of them lived in rural areas before. When we consider 'type of housing', the data show that the highest proportion of street traders (36 %) lives in shacks at present. It seems that moving from rural to urban areas means also worsening of housing conditions for these people. 61% of the street traders who live in shacks at present had a lot better housing conditions before. 37 % of street traders have started living in shacks in the last five years. 74% of the street traders living in shack settlements mentioned the engagement of many people from their communities in street trading. Therefore, it can be well argued that living in a shack dwellers community reveals a strong relationship between the large amounts of people in that community who do street trading. As it will be discussed later, this was a key ground that brought together the struggle of street traders' organisations and shack dwellers' movement in Durban.

The problems in these communities bring about connections between the workplaces and homes of street traders. Crime is the most common example in this sense, which is a kind of double threat for the street traders in a sense that they face crime both at their workplace on the streets and in their homes within the communities. It is followed by infrastructural problems and poor public services. Transportation is a problem linked to public services, which creates problems for the street traders travelling from their homes to their workplaces. It is one of the reasons why street traders have to live in shacks in central areas close to their workplace, instead of living in better housing conditions far from the city centre. In relation to that, housing is one of the main problems of street traders in their communities. In addition to bad quality of housing, they stated that the eviction of people living in shacks was another main problem. This can also be connected to the threat of being evicted from their workplace to the streets, which refers, in the final analysis, to losing both their livelihoods and homes.

Finally, street traders' perceptions on the WCCA demonstrate decisive consequences for broader alliance of street traders' organisations, trade unions and social movements. 80 % of the

respondents support the trade unions' participation in the campaign. Whatever the unions think about them, street traders' responses clearly prove their awareness of the unions' power and function: Their ability of negotiating at higher levels, building larger alliances, providing guidance, and their vast experience will bring success to this campaign. Some street traders indicated that unions principally fight for the poor; in other words, they are the unions of the poor. Thus, their engagement is appreciated consciously as they think in a way that trade unions are like their own organisations. Street traders are also very positive about the involvement of people from their communities in the campaign. 87 % of the respondents confirm in this part once again that there are many people from these communities doing street trading. Whatever happens on the street affects their families in these communities. When it comes to social movements and civic organisations, 77 % of the street traders support their participation in the campaign. Their participation is needed inherently, since they work for the good of the poor communities. It must be emphasised here that the shack dwellers movement AbM is the most known (33 %) social movement among street traders.

After separately exploring different components of our configuration, the research aimed at reaching an overall point that shows the likelihood of street traders and their organisations as a bridge between trade unions and social movements. The WCCA campaign, within which street traders' organisations have a vital mediating role, was put in this position that facilitates a platform for the collaboration of the two. It is ultimately found out that 83% of the street traders share the view that the campaign may be an appropriate driving force for the collaboration between the trade unions and social movements. This outcome encompasses a deep meaning for revitalising SMU in South Africa.

III. Reorganising Street Traders in Durban

The Phoenix Plaza Street Traders Association (PPSTA), Siyagunda Association and Eye Traders Association have been struggling individually to be included in the municipality's management system of informal economy in Durban. They all were aware of the fact that the majority of the street traders in Durban did not have trading permits and thus, excluded from the scope of the system run by the Municipality. They had no representation in their forums and could not take part in negotiations with the Municipality, since they take only one association, the Informal Trade Management Board (ITMB) as negotiation partner which was put in a position to control

issuing permits and building up street committees. This process has been functioning with corruption and excluding the majority of the street traders. The three organisations were trying to find ways to democratise the system which represents the majority of the street traders and creates an alternative body that enables reorganising street traders under their own organisations.

With the organisational support of the StreetNet and the South African Communist Party (SACP) to form an alliance, they started acting together de facto in May 2006. Just a month ago they also joined an International Urban Policies Colloquium on 'World Class Cities and the Urban Informal Economy: Inclusive Planning for the Working Poor' co-organised by StreetNet, WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment: Organising and Globalising), and the School of Development Studies at the University of KwaZulu Natal in Durban in April. They organised a joint march to the City Hall on the 21st of November, 2006, where they demanded a moratorium on police crackdowns against street traders until the review of the eThekwini Municipality's Policy on Informal Trade had been completed. They also challenged the eThekwini Metropolitan Council to commit itself to StreetNet's WCCA in order to ensure that street traders were not going to be unilaterally evicted without alternatives in the lead up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. They organised a few marches in the year 2007, where they demanded trading permits and asked for moratorium on the eviction of street traders. Moreover, on the 21st of March, 2007, they joined Human Rights Day Celebrations with other social movements. There have been many occasions where the three organisations have started demanding that the Durban Metropolitan Council consult with street trader organisations about the issues that affect their day-to-day efforts to earn an honest living and request negotiation and dialogue. They strategically aimed at two core issues, which are firmly linked to each other: 1) forming a strong democratic mandated alternative to ITMB structures, and 2) achieving a democratic forum of negotiation and dialogue.

As Bikombo (2007) explains, the BSU engineered a system of street traders' representation through "street committees". All street committees of a particular area had to form an executive committee that affiliated to the ITMB. The BSU recognised this structure as the only street traders' representatives with whom they would communicate and/or negotiate with on behalf of street traders of Durban. This "closed system" inhibited the existence of independent and democratic street traders' organisations. In addition, the street committees commonly known as "forums", which were set up by the BSU, turned out to be open to corruption and nepotism,

carrying out the Municipality's instructions instead of negotiating on behalf of street traders. As a result, many street traders lost their livelihood, as their trading permits were taken away from them and given to new and unknown traders. Furthermore, there were widespread practices of xenophobia that led to a situation where foreign traders were milked, i.e. had to pay bribes to trade on the streets. As there were many inconsistencies in its structure and functioning, the three organisations in alliance have been criticising the ITMB on their decisive move towards building up an alternative democratic body of street traders in Durban. Pat Horn, coordinator of StreetNet, also said that "the Board had previously acted as "sweetheart union" for the Municipality's BSU, signing affidavits in support of [the Municipality's] statements in litigation against street vendors. In turn, the board had been allowed free rein to control the eThekwini Municipality Informal Economy Forum (EMIEF), which was set up as a platform to discuss street vendor's issues" (Tolsi, 2007). It is exactly this forum that the street traders' associations have been complaining about because of its undemocratic structure and functioning. Thus, they also aimed at achieving a forum of negotiation and dialogue where street traders and their associations are represented democratically.

In 2007, the three organisations in alliance were invited to EMIEF. They first appreciated that they were invited in their associations' names. They regularly participated in the forum and followed the agenda on the forum meetings. However, they found themselves in a situation where no room was given to them to bring their demands and proposals for the forum's agenda. In fact, they were not allowed to take part in decision making. It just meant that they were accommodated and included in the forum. Nevertheless, they increasingly challenged the forum and strengthened their own growing alliance.

By stepping in the boycott of rent increases on 23 May 2007, the three organisations broke the ITMB rule in street trading. The following three weeks was a period of chaos and street wars in Durban. The streets became the stage of violent clashes between the street traders and the police. At the same time, the divisions between ITMB and the three street traders' organisations in alliance were revealed more clearly in this period. First, ITMB fell into a situation in which their position as the representative of the street traders was greatly weakened by both the Municipality and the majority of the street traders. They were accused by the Municipality of being the source of recent problems and violence on the streets. While the street traders with permits airing their

mistrust to ITMB, the ones without permits were consolidating their opposition to the system where ITMB was taken as the only representative of street traders. Second, the three organisations showed their strength and capacity to the Municipality and the majority of the street traders. Their demands embraced the marginalised street traders under an inclusive system. With their strategic demands and capacity to mobilise their members through their mandated leadership, they proved to be a strong partner for further negotiations and dialogue in all platforms regarding street traders' issues. This confidence led them to launch their alliance.

The Sisonke Traders' Alliance (STA), which was launched in November 2008 in Durban, was declared to be an alliance of street traders' organisations and other interested informal workers organisations in the Province of KwaZulu Natal. The three organisations "joined forces to initiate this umbrella body in order to be able to engage with the provincial and the local governments on all issues regarding the informal economy as a whole, as well as to identify and/or organise other informal economy organisations/workers in the province, among other things" (Bikombo, 2008). The Alliance has a wide scope which approaches the issues of the street traders in relation to the needs of the entire informal workers and the marginalised people of the country. They have "not only a union perspective, but also a developmental one" that aims at engaging in other social movements of the marginalised, such as the shack dwellers movement AbM, Anti-Eviction Campaign, Landless People's Movement, etc. (Interview, Chairperson of Siyagunda, 09.05.2007).

StreetNet, the international federation of street traders' organisations, which was established in 2002 in Durban, continuously supported the formation and activities of the STA. StreetNet has been bringing street traders issues to labour organisations and movements at the international and national level. They have participated in many International Labour Organisation (ILO) discussions for promoting decent work in the informal economy and cooperated with global union federations such as International Union of Food Workers (IUF) and the Public Services International (PSI) to promote the organisation of workers in the informal economy. This has resulted in increased cooperation between StreetNet and municipal workers unions (PSI affiliates) in South Africa. It comprises a particularity due to the Municipality being the common negotiating and bargaining partner for both the municipal workers unions and street traders'

organisations. In February 2007, PSI's affiliate South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) committed itself to becoming a leading partner in WCCA in South Africa.

StreetNet held a ground breaking international meeting on 'Collective Bargaining in the Informal Economy and Law and Litigation Strategies in the Street Vending Sector' in Senegal in March 2007. As a result of litigation strategies developed in this meeting, StreetNet supported the PPSTA's litigation action against the eThekwini Municipality as a result of failing negotiations. In 2005, acting on behalf of the PPSTA, the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) launched a high court action against the Municipality, challenging the constitutionality of by-laws allowing the impounding of street traders' goods. Secondly, on behalf of the three founding associations of the STA, the LRC decided to take the eThekwini Municipality to the Durban High Court over allegations that it had created an unlawful unit dedicated to policing hawkers in the city. The STA and StreetNet have been strategically moving towards building democratic representative platforms where the negotiation between the Municipality and other stakeholders can create progressive policies for street traders in Durban. After the introduction of the 2010 FIFA World Cup Preparations by the eThekwini Municipality, StreetNet and the STA carried their struggle onto WCCA, where the street traders' organisations, trade unions and many social movements joined forces to challenge policies against the urban poor.

IV. World Class Cities for All Campaign (WCCA)

It was a crucial question whether the preparations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup would marginalise the urban poor - especially street traders and shack dwellers- in South Africa, as it very often happened during the similar 'mega-events' in other countries. The poor and marginalised classes of society were not central to government policies other than as passive recipients of welfare funds, and therefore they were not seen as forming part of the host population which anticipates benefiting from hosting a high-profile international event (WCCA, 2006). South African authorities also became charmed by hosting an international 'mega event' and set themselves up to create "the 'World Class Cities' of a particular type, which attracts foreign investments, has modern up-to-date infrastructure, has no signs of urban decay, has smooth traffic flows, decent public transportation, and has no visible poor people or social problems. The creation of a typical 'World Class City' often results in prior development plans for the poor being abandoned or shelved" (StreetNet International, 2006). 'Unsightly scenes'

(from the aesthetic standards of international travellers and business people) such as slums and street traders are to be eliminated or hidden from view (Olds, 1998:39). Many of the newly homeless, unable to enter the formal labour market, are also in the informal economy, many of them street traders, which means that such people lose both their homes and their livelihoods at the same time.

A good example to that is the Johannesburg City Council's attempt to re-develop the central business district towards the World Cup. A report of ILO confirmed that the Johannesburg City Council's aim "seemed to be to remove all street traders from the streets of the central business district" (Van der Post, 2007). The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) estimated that up to 26,000 squatters living in the inner city were suffering widespread human rights violations as a result of the city's redevelopment plan. Although it is true that some of the buildings were indeed 'unhealthy' and might have served as bases for criminals, the COHRE declared that the majority of those who live in such buildings were ordinary poor people, trying to earn a living on the streets of Johannesburg. "These poor people choose to live in urban centers because they are located close to formal job opportunities or points of entry into the informal economy. They are themselves very often the victims of crime rather than the criminals they are often made out to be" (Integrated Regional Information Networks, 2007).

In November 2006 in Durban, the KwaZulu Natal Housing MEC Mike Mabuyakhalu said that his department wanted to eradicate all squatter camps in the province by 2010 (Mbanjwa, 2006). In October 2007, 1200 informal traders were forced to leave a Durban flea market by the eThekwini Municipality. The traders were evicted from the market apparently because a structure for the 2010 FIFA World Cup was being put up. Mayor Obed Mlaba said the removal of the informal traders was part of Council's revitalisation plan before 2010. "It is happening everywhere. We have cleaned many areas in the city and also townships. This is a wonderful opportunity for us to clean up areas that have become unsavoury" (Mthembu, 2007). The examples can be multiplied with many instances in Cape Town and other World Cup host cities. However, these exclusionary attempts were challenged by a campaign from the urban poor to create an inclusive understanding of 'World Class Cities'.

StreetNet set herself to launch a campaign that challenges the traditional approach to building 'World Class Cities' and create a new, more inclusive concept of 'World Class Cities for All' with the participation of street traders and other groups of the (urban) poor. The campaign was launched in November 2006 at COSATU House in Johannesburg. "The aim was for street traders' organisations, to formalise an alliance with social movements, trade unions and all other organisations that have concern about the poor being eliminated when it comes to the preparations for the FIFA World Cup" (Interview, StreetNet International Coordinator, 10.05.2007). In accordance with these aims, WCCA invited municipalities to commit their demands to formally adopt an inclusive concept of 'World Class Cities for All' with the participation of street traders and other groups of the (urban) poor; to ensure that no street traders shall be unduly disadvantaged by any urban improvement or urban renewal initiatives in preparation for the 2010 FIFA World Cup; to engage in participatory consultative processes and social dialogue with any persons or interest groups who may be affected in any substantive or material manner by any aspect of urban improvement or urban renewal initiatives envisaged in the creation of 'World Class Cities' (WCCA, 2006).

In March 2007, StreetNet organised a national strategising meeting in Johannesburg to discuss and plan a programme for the WCCA. Among others, organisations of street traders', shack dwellers, landless people, sex workers, and other constituencies of the urban poor, and trade unions such as Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU), and Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union (IMATU) attended this meeting. The participants set up a national organising committee and outlined their activities in the following three years.

In the course of ongoing campaign activities, relationship between trade unions and social movements developed very positively through the active involvement of StreetNet and street traders' organisations. For instance, SA Rail Hawkers' Association (SARHA) members on stations started cooperating with the South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU), among whose members were security workers that come across with eviction of hawkers on daily basis. Similarly, SARHA members at the FNB Stadium secured the cooperation of National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), whose members were engaged in construction work extending the stadium for 2010, against their forced removal from the stadium where they were

selling cooked food to the workers. WCCA also gave support to the "National Campaign for Decent Work Towards and Beyond 2010" which was launched by construction sector unions in 2007 in South Africa. This campaign was challenging the notion of creating jobs, in the sense that it was not a matter of creating more jobs for people in construction projects for the 2010, but creating decent jobs that also bring decent living for the people. The two campaigns were engaged with each other and showed solidarity in their activities. A solidarity alliance was built with the NUM during two weeks strike of the Moses Mabhida Stadium construction workers in Durban in November 2007. In many occasions the stadium construction workers downed the tools and demanded decent wages and working conditions in accordance with the campaign demands. As they went on strike after unsuccessful negotiation attempts of the NUM with the contractors, WCCA showed its solidarity with the construction workers, where street traders' organisations have also had broken negotiations with the same municipality. COSATU KwaZulu Natal Office criticised the eThekwini Municipality because of the projects benefiting only a few, and called the Municipality leadership to come out clear in pushing the contracting company to pay workers decent salaries (Luzipo, 2007). The WCCA campaign partner SAMWU also "threw its support behind the NUM, saying that 2010 should not just be about the enrichment of a few. SAMWU demanded a role on the 2010 bid committees set up by municipalities across the country to ensure that minimum safety standards were met by construction companies that had been awarded tenders" (Shoba, 2007).

There were also protests taken place in different provinces regarding housing issues and ongoing forced evictions. For example, the residents of Joe Slovo Informal Settlement in Cape Town have faced forcibly removals to make way for a housing project financed by the First National Bank. On 20 September 2007, an eviction order against the residents of Joe Slovo Settlement was issued by the Cape High Court. Regarding these unfair evictions, COSATU has held a mass meeting with the residents to pledge support against the government's attempts to evict people from the site. COSATU declared that "the concerns of the poor communities are the primary concern in dealing with these housing and basic services questions. COSATU will be supporting the Joe Slovo residents in opposing any unfair evictions and will be insisting that government provides adequate facilities for communities close to the areas of opportunities for jobs and services" (Ehrenreich, 2007).

In KwaZulu-Natal in September 2007, various organisations representing shack dwellers in the eThekwini Municipality marched on the Mayor's office to present their legitimate demands and concerns regarding a range of housing and land issues, including ongoing forced evictions. They faced a massive attack from the police. In October 2007, the shack dwellers' movement AbM organised a big march showing their opposition to the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and declared that "We couldn't afford to be building stadiums when millions have no houses […] there must be an immediate commitment to declare that the World Cup will be a '100% Evictions Free World Cup' all across the province that there will not be any evictions of shack dwellers or streets traders" (WCCA, 2007). In February 2008, AbM brought an application in the Durban High Court that challenged the section 16 of the KwaZulu Natal Slums Act, which "empowered municipalities to evict illegal occupants from state land and derelict buildings, and to force private landowners to do likewise or face fines or imprisonment- all at the behest of the provincial housing minister" (Tolsi, 2009). The Durban High Court found the Act reasonable, but its decision was appealed to the Constitutional Court. In October 2009, AbM celebrated a big victory as the Constitutional Court declared KZN Slums Act unconstitutional. "It was seen as a victory for all those living in shacks, as the KZN Act was widely regarded as a blueprint for similar legislation in other provinces" (da Costa, 2009). Street traders congratulated their WCCA campaign partner on their successful constitutional challenge as they all campaign for inclusive urban planning and preparations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup (WCCA, 2009). This victory was also seen as a respond to political violence and the attacks on AbM leadership and members in Kennedy Road in Durban on the 26 September 2009, resulting in two deaths, displacement of many shack dwellers, and death threats against the AbM leaders forcing them to go into hiding.

The relations between trade unions and social movements developed further in the course of tabling campaign demands on two platforms that are the negotiations with the municipalities, and the National Economic, Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) Framework Agreement[2]. In the first process, street traders' organisations became closer with municipal workers unions that play crucial role in bargaining with the municipalities. They also consolidated their campaign partnership between the organisations and movements in the same region. The SAMWU

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[2] NEDLAC is the council of social dialogue where government comes together with organised business, organised labour and organised community groupings on a national level to discuss and try to reach consensus on issues of social and economic policy. Its aim is to make economic decision-making more inclusive, to promote the goals of economic growth and social equity.

KwaZulu Natal provincial organiser who took part in the meetings described it personally as a new page for herself: "I did not know how big the connection between our union and the street traders is. I realised that street traders are victimised by our own members" (Interview, 16.05.2007). She also explained how the very municipal workers were used in evicting shack dwellers in Durban, and indicated the necessity of communicating with their movement AbM. In the framework of negotiations with the municipalities, SAMWU (and IMATU in Johannesburg) expressed their concerns about becoming enforcement agents removing street traders from the streets and thereby denying their livelihoods. They expressed their will to secure the relationship between their members and street traders, and to play a particular role and mediate between them and the municipalities. SAMWU and StreetNet co-wrote a proposal on the Stakeholders' Forum, which was presented by the WCCA delegation to serve as the basis for discussion of how to engage more systematically in the consultation process.

In the NEDLAC process, street traders' organisations under the representation of the WCCA worked closely with the trade union centers to reach an agreement for the benefit of the broad working class. At the same time, taking part in the Community Constituency of the NEDLAC, they brought the demands of the organised labour and the movements of the marginalised people closer to each other. After the strategising meeting, WCCA demanded to participate as a party to the 2010 Framework Agreement, which had been presented to NEDLAC by organised labour as a draft for negotiation. As one of the three members of the Community Constituency Task Team, StreetNet had already been participating in a NEDLAC Task Team which was to negotiate this Framework Agreement with the FIFA Local Committee for the 2010 World Cup. In October 2007, the NEDLAC Task Team agreed on the Draft Framework Agreement that contained key demands of the WCCA. The Social Policy Part (Clause 13) of the Framework Agreement stated that "The parties encourage relevant authorities to respect basic human rights and to attempt to provide affordable housing and proper social protection. The parties agree that attempts to 'clean the streets by forcibly removing the poor and disadvantaged people are not appropriate." It was agreed to encourage the relevant authorities to engage fair processes (including proper consultations, social dialogue, and negotiations with the affected communities) when dealing with any pending evictions (land, housing, or street livelihoods)[3].

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[3] The 2010 NEDLAC Framework Agreement on the FIFA Soccer World Cup as at 27 September 2007, attached in Annexure VII of the WCCA Campaign Progress Report, December 2007.

The involvement of the WCCA in the 2010 NEDLAC Framework Agreement refers to a critical stage in the development of the street traders' movement in South Africa and their engagement with the trade unions and other social movements. It prominently reached a higher level of institutionalisation at the NEDLAC. To this end, it has given existence to multiple effects within the institution. In an external review of the NEDLAC, Webster and Sikwebu (2006: 43) asked, "to what extend are the NEDLAC constituencies able to effectively represent vulnerable workers?" While the labour constituency has increased its organising activities amongst some groups of these workers, and the business constituency slowly recognises inclusion of small enterprises, there is a need to broaden their base to include these new categories. However, the greatest challenge is found in the community constituency, "where there is a plurality of competing interests, where organisations are relatively undeveloped, where few of those that exist are able to represent their members effectively" (p.44). Informal workers are seen as one of the marginalised groups who have the most serious problems of representation. It was also asked as to "whether the community constituency is the equivalent social dialogue institution to that of labour and business that are structured to engage in a dialogue process" (p.45). With this in mind, first of all, the street traders' and WCCA's involvement in the NEDLAC has had some consequences for the representative role of the NEDLAC constituencies and participation of the community constituency within NEDLAC. The WCCA has brought renewed optimism, in that the community constituency could play an active part of the NEDLAC, as they have proven to play a crucial role in the process of drafting the 2010 Framework Agreement. Second, the WCCA has so far been a joint effort of various organisations and social movements of the marginalised – one united voice spelling out a common goal. The campaign meetings were not plagued by infighting, which is often the case in similar campaigns. In the same pattern, this unity is likely to remain in NEDLAC's community constituency, thanks to the WCCA. This unity also refers to more representation of marginalised groups in social dialogue.

Moreover, the platform created by the WCCA has initiated constructive dialogue between trade unions and social movements. The WCCA was proven to be an agent for uniting these forces of the working class and the marginalised. The active participation of trade unions in the WCCA and the 2010 NEDLAC Framework Agreement has been an excellent practice for the unions to help harmonise the struggle of vulnerable and informal workers and social movements with their own agenda. Importantly, there is evidence that street traders and their organisations can act as a

bridge between social movements and trade unions. Furthermore, despite their representation in the community constituency, while not being qualified for formal affiliation to the labour caucus, StreetNet and the WCCA siding with the labour caucus at the NEDLAC Task Team, confirmed, once more, that informal workers/street traders see themselves as part of the labour movement. Hence, their existence in the NEDLAC may lend more power to decisions in favour of the entire labour movement.

V. Incorporating Street Traders with the Shack Dwellers Movement AbM and Building Collective Struggles

AbM is a mass movement of shack dwellers in South Africa, which is well known for its struggle and campaigning for housing rights. AbM often referred to as by far the largest oppositional movement of the poor to have emerged outside of the ANC alliance thus far in post-apartheid South Africa. The movement began with a road blockade organised from the Kennedy Road Shack Settlement in Durban in 2005 and now includes more than 20 000 people from 30 shack settlements, and also operates in the cities of Pietermaritzburg and in Cape Town. The proportion of the population living in shacks in Durban is estimated at 33% of the total metropolitan population and approximately half of the total metropolitan African population, that translates to 920 000 people (Makhathini et. al, 2002, cited in Marx and Charlton, 2003: 6). In 2001 the United Nations Habitat chose Durban as the pilot city to launch the inception phase of its 'Cities Without Slums' sub-regional programme for Eastern and Southern Africa. The Durban authorities started their slum clearance project in the same year, which is based on the privatisation of the city's rental housing, built for the Indians, coloured and white poor under apartheid, and also upgrading the informal settlements. In 2005 eThekwini Municipality announced its slum clearance project with a R2.9-billion to be spent over a period of ten years. In November 2006, at the launch of these projects KwaZulu Natal housing MEC Mike Mabuyakhalu said that his department wanted to eradicate all squatter camps in the province and built 250 000 houses by 2010 (Mbanjwa, 2006). The municipalities aim to remove shack dwellers into shack-size RDP houses on the rural periphery of the city has two concrete consequences: First, these areas become new townships reminding the apartheids legacies that keeps the poor away from the city. Secondly, relocations are likely to disconnect people from their livelihoods, since shack settlements develop close to economic opportunities -mostly informal, such as street trading- at the city centre. Transportation to relocation areas will be unaffordable for these

people. Furthermore, they will be away from schools, health care and other facilities available at the city centre. With these arguments, AbM has developed a politics of the people through which the poor talk for themselves. In the course of the movement, shack settlements have developed their own democratic governance, achieved to stop evictions and relocations of some settlements. They have also established crèches, vegetable gardens, sewing collectives, and support for people living with and orphaned by AIDS and so on. AbM has suffered hundreds of arrests, police assaults and threats since its foundation.

The AbM leadership views the movement as a broad working class struggle that fights for the rights of the unemployed, informal workers, contract workers, and street traders, not only one of housing or state delivery. 30% of the ABM members were formally employed. Among their members they have shop stewards and members of the local trade unions. The ABM intended to form a trade union committee of its own. But it has not been easy. Two years back they tried, but their leader who was a shop steward, passed away. They actually feel that the need to form a trade union committee is growing, since some of the members are contract/part-time workers and have to live in growing instability and insecurity. Furthermore, in shack settlements many people do informal work, such as home-based work, domestic service, and street trading. According to the AbM Chairperson, as they constitute 40% of the membership, organising street traders has become a part of the ABM movement (Interview, AbM Chairperson, 14.05.2007). In Pinetown, some street traders had tried to organise themselves before the ABM came across their issues. They were a loose entity dealing with trading permits, foreigners in the markets and streets, and corruption around issuing permits in Pinetown. They came up with ideas, but nobody recognised it. Those efforts originated from anger and frustration. But that act, which the ABM discovered later, turned into a social movement act within the course of their engagement. The reality is that these street traders were also shack dwellers, and this connection enabled them to be organised under the same movement. A group of street traders from Pinetown joined AbM during UnFreedom Day celebrations in April 2006 and established a street traders committee in October 2006. AbM views this development as a part of building working class unity: "At the end of the day we need each other. We are part of the working class. Street traders are our family members, our comrades, our neighbours. So, why should they be divorced? Our members decide what we need and we push forward a broader unity. As AbM we need that committee. We have the strategy to build working class unity" (Interview, AbM Chairperson, ibid).

AbM's open approach to further cooperation and engagement with street traders' organisation has brought more hope for street traders. It was at the WCCA campaign meeting that the street traders' organisations got in direct contact with the street traders' committee who represented AbM at the campaign strategising meeting. Thereafter, this committee with the other AbM members helped to publicise the WCCA. When the municipality and the street traders' organisations came to a deadlock in negotiations, STA contacted AbM's street traders' committee to join the march on 23 May 2007 together with the alliance. This march with the participation of more than 3000 street traders was a good sign of further cooperation between street traders' organisations and shack dwellers movement.

The WCCA was seen as a very good opportunity to build collective struggles. "The marginalised people are evicted from the streets and from their homes. They are hit on both sides!" said StreetNet's International Coordinator. This leads to a broad working class unity. "In our campaign, we brought social movements and trade unions together. Our approach is to maximise cooperation around issues. By bringing about a broad working class orientation, the campaign was not plagued by infighting that is often the case in similar campaigns" (Interview, ibid.). AbM's Chairperson believes that talking about the social movements refers to talking about the broader issues of the entire society. "Unemployment is part of it. It is the same in street trading as being a result of unemployment. Why do not we legalise and constitutionalise the right to work as a street trader, the right to be self employed. It is the same as to right to land and housing. For a fruitful society we have to bring all these forces together" he declares. Similar to street traders, some of the AbM members are the members of trade unions and mass members of the working class. Mentioning that the high voice in AbM is the voice of shack dwellers which their demands dominate, this never undermines the other needs of their members as being a street trader or worker. Their strategy is no doubt "building working class unity" where AbM lays stress on. "All we need is to mobilise our people. You will find that fifty percent of my demands are within the sphere of trade unions. If I am not employed, it is a duty of the working class to ask the question 'why?' If I was not employed, then street vendors would welcome me" (Interview, AbM Chairperson, ibid). He strongly believed that through the WCCA campaign this link might be constructed.

A very positive approach to building collective struggles was also found on the trade union side. SAMWU organiser who participated in the WCCA meetings considered the campaign as a 'huge step' and emphasised that "the campaign forms a bridge between unions and many social movements. It opens up communication, and gets everybody collectively to take South Africa forward" (Interview, 16.05.2007). In the same way, NUMSA regional educator thought that actually anything that has 'people focus' may form a platform to work together. He agreed that informal workers could absolutely be a bridge, vital link between unions and social movements. Being a union educator, he gives a great lesson to all that are interested in building collective struggles:

> If we do not bridge them and see them as isolated pockets, each one engaged in some form of resistance but its own forms and structures and agenda, it doesn't really make for collective struggles. Collective struggles have to bring in all wide range of institutions, organisations and movements. You can not have collective struggles if there is a fragmentation and division between sectors and people that are operating from different pockets of resistance. It does not make sense (Interview, 18.04.2007).

Conclusion

In this paper, I discussed various contributions to the SMU approach and indicated the need to identify and integrate street traders into this approach. I mentioned that in spite of a plethora of available concepts, there is a high degree of ambiguity in defining who these people/organisations really are. The question remains, whether they are defined within the labour movement or within the 'new' social movements? In other terms, are they the ones who are already a part of the labour force or the labour movement, or are they the ones that remain to be articulated? In the literature on SMU, street traders have neither been mentioned significantly within the labour movement nor within the social movements' side of the conceptualisation. This paper argues that their particularity is that they are already on both sides. They have been establishing and developing 'the movement of the marginalised labour force' that are excluded from the existing trade unions. Being both the poor as well as the most vulnerable class of workers, street traders are creating a new social movement themselves. Their vulnerability brings their demands close to those of other social movements. They are both at the workplace and in the community. Being a street trader and living in a shack community, being evicted from the streets/workplace and from shacks/community bring together their struggles.

Almost all authors, especially Seidman (1994) and Moody (1997), focused on "class identity" or "class consciousness". They take for granted a unidirectional relationship in which trade unions represent class consciousness and bring it to popular organisations or social movements. What would happen if class consciousness or identity already existed on the other side of the coin, but this time was ignored or neglected by trade unions? This paper demonstrated that the majority of street traders see themselves as belonging to the working class and their organisations and leadership intent to be part of the entire labour movement. Similarly, the shack dwellers movement, which recently started a cross-organising with street traders in Durban, calls for working class unity in each and every occasion. Nevertheless, these calls have not received a convincing response from the trade unions in South Africa. Related to the above, Moody sees the organised labour as the strongest mobilising force and the rest as less able or unable to mobilise themselves. The unions are seen as providing much of the economic leverage and organisational resources. However, this understanding underestimates the self-reliance and mobilising capacity of the marginalised and the poor, something that would be an incorrect interpretation for post-apartheid South Africa. Including street traders and shack dwellers, a great number of movements have created their own organisations and have mobilised/are mobilising thousands of people through their struggle, which, on many occasions, exceeds the effective mobilising activities of the organised labour and challenges the attitudes of trade unions.

Our case, the WCCA Campaign, is therefore, an initiative of StreetNet, primarily a mobilising force of street traders that achieved bringing together street traders organisations, trade unions and other social movements in contemporary South Africa. If we use a narrow version of von Holdt's (2003) understanding, this can be referred to as interpenetration of movements in a 'popular alliance', in which street traders, shack dwellers, landless people, street kids, sex workers, railway commuters, trade unions, political parties, etc take part. It is this initiative, which invites and pulls trade unions into an alliance that may revitalise the movement characteristic of trade unions.

In the final analysis, I view street traders as a part of 'the marginalised labour force' (Quijano, 1974), and locate them in 'the marginal pole of the economy' (Quijano, ibid.) or 'the peripheral

zone of the world of work' (Webster & Von Holdt, 2005)[4]. The particular characteristic specific to my approach is their bridging role between trade unions/labour movement and social movements in contemporary South Africa. I attempt to establish this link

- *first*, because of their self-identification with the working class - while belonging to its most depressed fragment - and intention to link their organisations with the ones of the organised labour;
- *second,* because of a developing cross-organising between street traders and shack-dwellers;
- and *third*, because of their ability to initiate a popular alliance that mobilises street traders organisations, trade unions and other social movements.

Thus, I suggest that street traders can be a momentous agent of reactivating the movement characteristic of trade unionism and rearticulate them with social movements. Accordingly, their struggle can be a promising act to revitalise SMU in contemporary South Africa. This particular characteristic prevents us from making sharp-cuts between the spheres of the labour movement and social movement in an attempt to define theirs. At this stage, I am content with seeing them as ***the movement of the marginalised labour force***. It can be seen within the sphere of unionism or/and as an articulation with the mainstream trade unionism of the organised labour. Moreover, it can be seen as a bridge articulating the organised labour - mobilised under trade unions and the marginalised- mobilised under social movements. Some of the characteristics that we can so far identify are:

- their struggle for recognition for their way of making a living and inclusion within the economic, social and political sphere;
- their ability to build a collective identity and own organisations locally and internationally;
- their exclusion from the mainstream institutions of the organised labour; even so, identifying their struggle within the labour movement and forging working class unity;
- as the most depressed class of workers, their vulnerability bringing their demands close to those of other movements of the marginalised;
- and their potential to bridge the unions of the organised labour and movements of the marginalised.

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[4] For a detailed theoretical discussion, see Çelik, E. 2010, Chapter I.

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