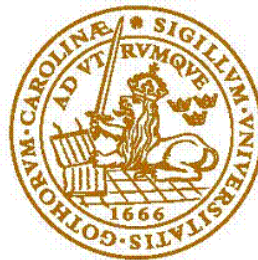


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Trade unions as a platform for change? A study on the
empowerment of Zambian trade union members in the
commercial, industrial and agricultural sectors

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Abstract

In Zambia, the privatisation of state owned companies is challenging job security, working conditions and workers' rights. It has also weakened the role of government as a regulator of labour legislation, which in Zambia is quite progressive, compared to other countries in the region. Workers struggle to survive and therefore turn to trade unions in order to change their situation. This study examines two specific Zambian trade unions from the industrial and commercial sector, and the agricultural sector, through a lens of social empowerment theory. The point of departure is the ability of the two trade unions to empower their members to claim their rights to better working and living conditions, further, what influences challenge this ability and how their ability extends to collective action and large scale change for all Zambian trade union members and workers. This thesis is a qualitative study, which uses semi-structured interviews as the main source of empirical data. The findings show that there are differences between the extent of empowerment of ordinary and branch members. Further the influence of the employer, processes of privatisation and, lack of and controlled resources are all factors, which are limiting the empowerment process. The lack of members' empowerment is preventing collective action, which leads to the implementation of labour laws and the challenging of private employers and government.

Key words: Zambia, trade unions, empowerment, privatisation

Words: 27,006

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

CSAWUZ	Civil Servants and Allied Workers Union of Zambia
CBA	Collective Bargaining Agreements
FFTUZ	Federation of Free Trade Unions in Zambia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IUF	Uniting Food, Farm and Hotel Workers Worldwide
JIC	Joint Industrial Council
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
NGOs	Non Government Organisations
NRCTU	Northern Rhodesia Congress of Trade Unions
NUCIW	The National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers
NUPAAW	The National Union of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers
OHS	Occupational Health and Safety
PF	Patriotic Front
PSD	Private Sector Development Programme
RTUC	Reformed Trade Union Congress
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SNDP	Sixth National Development Plan
UN	United Nations
UNI	Union Network International
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UTUC	United Trade Union Congress
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZCTU	Zambian Congress of Trade Unions
ZUNO	Zambia Union of Nurses

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Foreword

Earning a living is an essential part of human life in order to secure basic needs and support a family. In lower income countries it is even more important, where mere survival is an everyday concern for many people and this in turn is determined by one's capacity to work. Globalisation has resulted in the liberalisation of many national economies, much of which is driven by private investment, both foreign and national, forcing many workers worldwide into the unregulated informal sector and onto casual contracts. This has had an impact on working conditions, which are often overlooked, and workers rarely have any other choice but to stay at their workplace.

As development students with practical experience working abroad in the development field, our interest in workers' rights and conditions, and in particular the potential of trade unions to provide tools for change for their members and workers, has grown. This interest inspired us to contact the Danish trade union *3F* and ask if they were interested in us conducting a study with one of their partner organisations abroad. They were very receptive to this idea and suggested two Zambian trade unions, NUCIW and NUPAAW as potential organisations to study. Both trade unions expressed interest in the project and their co-operation allowed us to travel to Zambia to undertake our research. Importantly, these unions operated in a country, which has a trade union structure, an industrial relations council and national labour laws, elements, which we considered, would provide a strong basis for an analysis of trade unions.

Beyond conducting our research for an academic purpose, we hope that our study can be helpful for NUCIW and NUPAAW members in Zambia and contribute to discussions about the function and potential of the trade unions to enable their members to improve their working and living conditions. From discussions with the staff from both *3F* in Denmark and NUCIW and NUPAAW, we have decided to write a smaller report and conduct a presentation of the findings. Both the report and the presentation will be presented at the head office in Denmark and on Skype for NUCIW and NUPAAW. We will also send both the report and the thesis to the staff and members of NUCIW and NUPAAW.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

“I want to know how the unions really represent people. Because I do not really understand, sometimes the union is quiet on certain issues”.

These final words of a member were ringing in our heads as we left his workplace, a former parastatal¹ company, which is now privately owned. During the 1990s Zambia underwent a period of mass privatisation, in line with Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), where state-owned companies were sold off (Noyoo, 2010:115). This process gave rise to a dominance of private companies and is influencing the ability of trade unions to meet their members’ expectations as they were able to before privatisation (Akwety and Kraus, 2007; Fashoyin, 2008; Larmer, 2009; Noyoo, 2008, 2010; Pitcher, 2007). Along with privatisation there has been a widespread increase in casualisation², which has now become the major type of employment in the Zambian labour market (Larmer, 2009; Ching, 2009).

As a result of this process, working conditions have worsened for trade union members who work in private companies. They commonly experience long working hours, no breaks or leave entitlements, no occupational health and safety and little or no regular wage (Ching, 2009:651). Further, the living conditions of members are dependent on the willingness of private employers to grant social benefits such as support for healthcare and education; benefits that the government no longer provides. Most trade union members live in economic poverty and this means that they have no choice or opportunity to seek alternative employment. In addition, working conditions do not comply with Zambia’s labour laws and this has been perpetuated by the fact that successive governments have failed to enforce these laws or reprimand private employers who do not comply with them (Akwety and Kraus, 2007; Fashoyin, 2008; Gadzala, 2010; Ching, 2009; Larmer, 2009; Negi, 2010; Pitcher, 2007).

¹ A parastatal organisation or industry has some political authority and serves the state indirectly (Oxford Dictionary, 2014).

² Casualisation denotes being employed on a casual or short term contract (Ching, 2009).

Under these circumstances members turn to trade unions for help and support to achieve better conditions, support that varies depending on the trade unions' ability to challenge the power of private employers. This ability is also influenced by the Zambian Governments' regulations placed on trade unions, for example, the prohibition of strikes (Fashoyin, 2008:401; Turner, 1992:65).

Overall, the current economic forces and structures that underpin the Zambian economy and the lack of regulation from behalf of the government are influencing the position of trade unions between their members, the employer and the government and forcing them to reconsider their role and function within Zambian society (LeBas, 2011; Pitcher, 2007).

Despite the difficulties and challenges faced, members continue to support the current framework of Zambian trade unions. One possible reason for this is the historical involvement of trade unions in the national independence process from Great Britain (in 1964) and their role in the transformation of government into a multiparty system and democracy in the early 1990s (see LeBas, 2011; Negi, 2010; Rakner 1992). This is also evident in relation to members of NUCIW and NUPAAW who emphasise the importance of their trade unions in relation to providing economic and social benefits such as wage increases, health insurance and support to cover school fees. NUCIW and NUPAAW aim to provide such benefits, but do also intend, through workshops and trainings, to give their members skills and knowledge about their rights as workers and a platform to take an active participation in the work of trade unions, for example, addressing members' grievances and ensuring safety procedures are followed in workplaces. Such workshops and trainings are funded by *3F*, who aim, with this financial support, for large-scale change for all Zambian trade union members and workers based on the participation of the members (*3F*, 2013).

The aim of this thesis therefore is to gain an understanding of the ability of trade unions in the industrial, commercial and agricultural sectors in Zambia to provide their members with a platform to strengthen working and living conditions and achieve large-scale change for all Zambian trade union members and workers. To achieve this we examine the empowerment programmes implemented by NUCIW

and NUPAAW in cooperation with *3F*, through the lens of empowerment theory. We investigate whether NUCIW and NUPAAW are enabling their members to strengthen and claim their rights to better working and living conditions through their empowerment programmes. Further, we explore what factors such as private employers, the government (as the regulator of labour laws) or the lack of resources, limits NUCIW and NUPAAW's ability to achieve the aims of their empowerment programme. Finally, we examine to what extent NUCIW and NUPAAW provide a platform for their members to take collective action in regards to ensuring that labour laws are complied with at all workplaces and that the right to strike is legally permitted.

Chapter 2. Thesis framework

2.1 Delimitations

The delimitations of our study are such that it does not intend to cover an in depth historical analysis of trade unions in Zambia and their impact on the process of democratisation or economic liberalisation. However, we take in account relevant historical perspectives in order to discuss the current situation for trade unions in Zambia. Further, this study does not cover trade unions in all sectors in Zambia, but focuses on the industrial, commercial and agricultural sectors. It is acknowledged that the analysis does not cover the mining sector, a sector which makes a significant contribution to the Zambian economy and which much has been written on regarding trade unions' role and impact on workers' conditions in this sector.

This thesis recognises the fact that most Zambian workers work in the unregulated informal sector, which has grown significantly since the privatisation of the economy. However, as this research is embedded in the experiences of trade union members working in workplaces that belong to the formal sector, the concept of informalisation³ is discussed only in the context of the privatisation process and not as an explicit phenomenon.

We are aware that trade unions do have a role to play in civil society. However, an analysis of this role is well beyond the scope of this thesis, as is any attempt to compare NUCIW and NUPAAW with other trade unions in Zambia or with other trade unions in the region or on a global scale.

2.2 Research questions

NUCIW and NUPAAW are the empirical case of this thesis. Focus will be on their ability to offer their members a platform to take an active part in strengthening their working and living conditions on a broader level for all Zambian trade union members and workers. The research questions guiding this thesis are:

³ Shifting from the formal sector of employment into the unregulated informal sector (Ching, 2009:648).

1. *How are NUCIW and NUPAAW enabling their members to strengthen and claim their rights to better working and living conditions?*
2. *What are the factors that affect NUCIW and NUPAAW in providing a platform for their members to strengthen working and living conditions and how do these factors affect members taking an active part in the two trade unions?*
3. *To what extent are NUCIW and NUPAAW providing a platform to take collective action in order to strengthen working and living conditions for all Zambian trade union members and workers?*

2.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured so that the early chapters present the theoretical basis of the analysis, the methodological approach taken to collect the empirical data and the Zambian context to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the analysis.

Chapter 3 outlines the research gap, which our thesis aims to fill. We recognise that there is a vast amount of literature on trade unions in Zambia but we believe that there is a lack of research which focuses on the ability of trade unions to create a platform where members can take an active part in strengthening their working and living conditions.

Chapter 4 presents our main theoretical framework, namely John Friedmann's *Alternative Development* theory related to *social, political* and *psychological power* and Naila Kabeer's empowerment theory related to *choice, agency, resources* and *achievement*. Both theorists stress the importance of the individual (in our case the trade union member) as a subject for development processes and see the empowerment analysis mainly on a local, household and community level that should then expand to an institutional and structural level in society.

Additionally this chapter introduces the work of Jane L. Parpart, Shirin M. Tai and Kathleen Staudt who stress the importance of national and global forces when analysing empowerment processes. This chapter also provides a critical perspective on empowerment offered by various authors who argue that

empowerment, whilst intended to be a bottom-up process, is actually practised by external actors in a top-down way and reinforces power inequalities.

Chapter 5 introduces our research methodology, which reflects on and guides our empirical data collection, its limitations and validity, and presents our use of secondary sources.

Chapter 6 is a background chapter that presents relevant knowledge on Zambian trade unions in general and which is drawn from our secondary sources. In this chapter we do not apply our theoretical approach, but instead reflect upon Zambia in terms of its economy, labour market, labour laws and workers' rights. This is provided in order to contextualise the situation for trade unions, which will allow for a more comprehensive understanding of our analysis of NUCIW and NUPAAW in the following chapters. We also focus on the rise of Zambian trade unions, their relationship to Zambian governments and the impact of privatisation. The discussion in this background chapter will be referred to where relevant in the analysis chapters so that the perspectives of the members of NUCIW and NUPAAW members can be fully appreciated.

Chapter 7 provides a short description of NUCIW and NUPAAW. It describes their structure, strategies, trade union work and partnership with *3F*. It also outlines the aims of the organised activities provided to members at the workplace. We will also briefly describe their members in terms of gender, age and educational level. This chapter also serves as a contextual background chapter for the analysis.

Chapters 8, 9 and 10 present our analysis. Each chapter begins with a narrative of a member we interviewed in Zambia. We also draw from our field notes to describe their workplaces. These narratives are not part of the analysis. Their aim is to situate the reader in Zambia and introduce the theme for the respective analysis chapters. Each research question corresponds to an analysis chapter. Research question one is discussed in Chapter 8 which outlines how NUCIW and NUPAAW frame empower processes and to whom empowerment reaches. Research question two is discussed in Chapter 9. This chapter focuses on the influences, which affect NUCIW and NUPAAW's empowerment programme.

Research question three is covered in Chapter 10, which outlines whether collective action is taking place and what factors are limiting it.

Chapter 11 presents the conclusion and Chapter 12 concluding remarks. Our bibliography and appendices end the thesis.

Chapter 3. Research gap

There is a vast amount of literature on trade unions in Zambia, which has focused on trade unions from a political and democratisation perspective since independence (see Akwetey and Kraus, 2007; Larmer, 2006; LeBas, 2011; Rakner, 1992; Turner, 1992). Trade unions played a significant role in the process of Zambia moving from a one-party state to a multiparty democracy with the first elected president even coming from the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). Other research has focused on the period of economic liberalisation in the 1990s and its subsequent effects in the privatisation and post-privatisation period focusing on trade unions in relation to economic policy, SAPs, legislation and foreign investment (see Banda, 1997; Ching, 2009; Larmer, 2009; Pitcher, 2007; Simutanyi, 1996). Whilst most of the literature examines the impact of the trade unions on these matters, it remains mainly at the level of the ZCTU. Further, much of the literature relates to the mining sector because of its size and importance to the Zambian economy.

As there has not been qualitative research conducted about how trade unions in the industrial and commercial, and agricultural sector create a platform to empower members and allow them to take an active part in strengthening their working and living conditions, this thesis fills a research gap. Further, there are few qualitative studies, which focus on the level of members. Exceptions include Ching (2009) and Negi (2010) who interviewed workers and management at mining sites in the Zambian Copperbelt, and Miller (2005) who interviewed retail workers in the capital Lusaka.

This study therefore fills a niche. We are not aware of similar studies being undertaken in any other southern African nations, particularly South Africa, where much research related to the structure and organisation of contemporary trade unions, trade unionism linkages to the democratisation process (from the perspective of the members) and South African trade unions' responses to globalisation has been completed (see Bezuidenhout, 2000; Buhlungu, 2006; Webster and Buhlungu, 2004). As such, our study is unique and fills a research gap, which we strongly believe deserves attention. Our study can even have

implications for trade unions in the southern African region as many of the companies we visited operate in countries neighbouring Zambia.

Chapter 4. Theoretical framework

4.1 Introduction and choice of theory

Social empowerment theory emerged in the 1990s as an approach, which invited critical reflection about development in terms of actors, power and diversity (Jönsson et al., 2012:65). These elements were not addressed by early development and social theories such as modernisation, structuralism and dependency which attempt to resolve problems as they exist in the world but do not question who the actors are within the development process and what power they have (ibid: 39; Pieterse, 2010:1-11). Later development theories, such as feminism, postmodernism and postcolonialism focus on the power structures inherent in development processes and argue that development processes do not extend to everybody in an equal way (Jönsson et al.:67-68). It is within these later discourses where the social empowerment approach is situated.

Many scholars who have undertaken development studies have written and theorised about empowerment, the majority within gender studies. One of the key scholars is Amartya Sen (as cited in Parpart et al. 2002:9) whose work on human capabilities sees social empowerment occurring at the local community level by which individuals gain education and skills in order to fight for a better quality of life.

As our study focuses on trade unions, it is important to note that economic empowerment is a key part of the work that trade unions do, and they endeavour to gain wage increases for members. We therefore cannot dismiss this factor in our study, but emphasise that the focus of our analysis is to go beyond the economic and investigate if there are any forms of social empowerment experienced by members of NUCIW and NUPAAW.

Social empowerment theory offers a way to analyse local people's situation from their own perspective and takes into account the political nature and power inequalities inherent in development relationships (Porter and Judd, 1999:11). As our intention is to look beyond the economic and analyse the ability of NUCIW and NUPAAW to offer members a platform to strengthen their working and living

conditions, we have chosen two predominant theorists, Friedmann (1992) and Kabeer (1999, 2005), whose approaches conceptualise the term “*empowerment*” in a non-economic sense. Friedmann (1992) and Kabeer (1999, 2005) both focus on the social, political and collective aspects of empowerment. We will also refer to the work of Parpart et al. (2002) who bring in broader national and global dimensions when analysing social empowerment. All three theoretical perspectives of social empowerment will be used to frame our analysis.

Our discussion will also offer some critique of the concept of empowerment in a general sense and in relation to its practical use by development actors. This is done in order to deepen our understanding of, and widen the discussion on trade unions’ ability to empower and enable their members to strengthen their working and living conditions in Zambia.

We now present Friedmann, Kabeer, Parpart et al. and the critical perspectives of social empowerment theory.

4.2 Alternative development and empowerment

The foundational work of social empowerment theory is presented by Friedmann in his book *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development* (1992). Friedmann’s *Alternative Development* takes a social and political approach, which aims to improve the livelihoods of the excluded majorities in society through a solidarity and collective framework. Friedmann does not equate development to economic growth. He wrote in the early 1990s at the height of SAPs, large scale privatisation of state companies and global trade liberalisation, the benefits of which he concluded excluded the majority of the population and did not bring people out of poverty (ibid.21). As the impact of such processes are still felt today, we find his perspective extremely relevant to the objective of this study.

Poverty is a key element of *Alternative Development* which for Friedmann (ibid: 55, 57) is a public issue and must be solved collectively. Friedmann suggests that to approach poverty the focus should be on the empowerment of households through three kinds of power: *social, political* and *psychological* (ibid: 33).

Social power focuses on household members' level of knowledge, information, skills, participation and financial resources. A lack of *social power* can lead households to be disempowered and unable to improve individual members of the households' living conditions (ibid: 66). Poverty becomes a form of disempowerment as it deprives people from *social power* and *political power*. *Political power* concentrates on household members' access to decision-making processes which affects their future life, their power to vote, voice out and participate in collective action. This dimension is linked to one's own larger political association within a social movement, political party or an interest group such as a trade union. Friedmann argues that organisations are essential when it comes to creating conditions for change as they create a collective space and reduce the risks for individuals who raise their voice alone. However, Friedmann (ibid: 24) stresses that these organisations need strong and committed leadership with a stable organisational framework in order to resist manipulation from authorities that ignore peoples' demands. *Psychological power* is a result of successful achievement in the social and political sphere, which gives people a personal positive potential that affects the household's strength to increase effective *social* and *political power* (ibid.:33).

Household's empowerment can both be understood as an individual and as a collective act of everyday resistance and political struggle in order to claim one's rights (ibid.:12-13, 31). Empowerment comes firstly from within but is also heavily influenced by widespread collective action which offers a space for individuals who are disempowered to become aware of, and learn about their rights, and be motivated to empower themselves (Freire, 1973, 1981 as cited in Friedmann, 1992:78). Friedmann's (1992:70) terms this process "*collective self-empowerment*". The next step in Friedmann's process of empowerment is for individuals to claim their rights and further to be politically active with the aim of strengthening the political system, civil society and the state to achieve long-term institutional change (ibid.:80). Further, it is about making the state accountable for its actions and businesses more socially responsible (ibid: 66).

In our forthcoming analysis we investigate and analyse whether members of NUCIW and NUPAAW show evidence of having *social, political* or *psychological power* gained through meeting, workshops and negotiation proceedings. Even though Friedmann focuses on households, we still see his perspective as useful for analysing members as households are comprised of individuals. Further, we connect Friedmann's perspective on poverty to how it limits certain members from being empowered. Finally, we investigate whether the empowerment of members, via NUCIW and NUPAAW, leads to *collective self-empowerment*, for example, industrial action.

4.3 Empowerment as an ability to make a choice

Kabeer offers further conceptualisation of the term empowerment. For Kabeer (2005:13) empowerment is framed in relation to power, power in terms of one's ability to make choices. As such, and similar to Friedmann (1992), those who cannot make a choice are considered "disempowered". From this perspective empowerment can be defined as the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make a choice acquire such ability. It is a process of change (Kabeer, 1999:437; Kabeer, 2005:13).

Kabeer (2005:14) argues that for there to be a real choice specific conditions must be achieved. Firstly, there must be an alternative which entails the ability to have chosen differently and secondly alternatives must not only be there, but also seen to exist. Not all choices are relevant for the definition of power as some have more importance than others in peoples' lives. Importantly Kabeer states that disempowerment is not always a result of poverty. An individual may be economically empowered but still be disempowered in terms of their roles and responsibilities which are set by institutional norms. However, poverty and disempowerment are often related as being unable to meet one's basic needs makes one dependent on powerful others to achieve this, leaving no space to choose otherwise (ibid.).

Kabeer argues that empowerment can also be explored through three dimensions that are interconnected and inseparable; *agency, resources and achievement*.

Agency indicates the process by which choices are made, and further, put into effect. It means that *agency* implies both actively exercising choice and also challenging power relations (ibid: 14). For Kabeer (ibid: 14-15) empowerment is something which comes from within an individual. It is an individual's *sense of agency* where the meaning, motivation and purpose of the individual are brought into action.

Resources are seen as the vehicle through which *agency* is implemented. *Resources* are distributed by different institutions in a society. In these institutions specific actors such as head of households, managers of organisations and elites of communities have the power to control these *resources* for and over others and decide how rules, norms, and conventions are interpreted and implemented (ibid:15).

Achievement refers to whether people's potential to live the lives they want to live is realised or failed, which in Kabeer's terminology (inspired by Sen) is called capability. Kabeer understands capabilities as made up of the *agency* and *resources* of an individual.

As mentioned above, these three dimensions are interconnected, which means that if there are changes in one dimension it can lead to changes in another dimension. Kabeer (2005:15) understands *agency*, *resources* and *achievement* as the foundation of the concept of empowerment, which again represents the pathway that empowerment occurs through.

Choice, for Kabeer (1999:457), cannot be a concept which is simply equated with empowerment without consideration of the political, social and economic context in which choices are made. Empowerment processes such as educational opportunities, access to credit and provision for political participation are unlikely to automatically empower people themselves. Instead they allow for a "*transformative*" awareness to develop (ibid: 462). This awareness, in a specific context, can lead people to become part of a collective action struggle towards claiming their rights and choosing the life that they want to live. Kabeer (ibid: 438) distinguishes between *agency* as being effective (i.e. a situation where it is easier for an individual to carry out their roles and responsibilities) and

transformative (i.e. a situation where an individual actually changes their roles and responsibilities against that which is institutionalised). This kind of transformation can only occur when many individuals act collectively against a norm.

This *transformative* process is similar to that of Friedmann's *collective self-empowerment* and in addition aims for long term institutional change. For Kabeer (2005:16) this process of collective capacity involves a shift from individual to collective *agency*, from private negotiation to public action and from informal to formal spheres of struggle where power is exercised in a legitimised manner. This building of collective capacity in all spheres of peoples' lives to participate is, according to Kabeer (ibid: 23), the only way of making authorities accountable.

In our analysis, we discuss *agency*, *resources* and *achievement* in relation to how empowerment is limited for members of NUCIW and NUPAAW. *Agency* is analysed in connection with the power of private employers and the processes of privatisation and global influences. We also link members' *agency* to their choices in relation to employment, education and trade union membership. *Resources* is examined in relation to the lack of NUCIW and NUPAAW's human and financial *resources* and *achievement* in regards to members' perspectives on their working and living conditions. Finally we will discuss whether the empowerment process has been *transformative* in a sense that members as acted as a collective group and challenged the authority of the government to implement labour laws and allow trade unions to undertake industrial action.

4.4 The effect of globalisation and nationalisation forces - an analytical aspect of empowerment

Parpart et al. (2002:3, 4, 9, and 10) argue that when analysing empowerment it is imperative to consider the effect of national and global political and economic structures on the local small-scale community level and that more attention must be paid to the impact of these forces. Other scholars within development also support this argument (for example Stiles, 2002 as cited in Parpart et al. 2002:13).

Parpart et al. (2002:13) argues that globalisation provides both negative and positive consequences and change. From a positive perspective globalisation, linked to economic liberalisation, is seen as a tool for empowerment in terms of providing benefits and opportunities to marginalised individuals. Opportunities such as the chance to participate in the economy have enabled a consciousness of rights and willingness to undertake individual and collective action to improve one's position in the global workforce (see Gardiner Barber, Lairap-Fonderson and Desai as cited in Parpart et al. 2002:13).

From the negative perspective, globalisation is seen as increasing economic inequality, pushed forward by global corporate and financial forces through phenomena such as casualisation, which is now dominant in certain labour sectors all over the world. Workers are often poorly paid, remain outside and are prevented from accessing certain markets and the control of financial and export flows of global enterprises. Under these circumstances it is important to understand to what extent workers can be empowered to take advantage of the markets they can access and further access those which they are external to (ibid).

The regulatory role of the national state influencing these positive and negative consequences is also important. Some scholars argue that the role of the state is being taken over by multilateral organisations such as the United Nations (UN), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Other scholar's claim that national states vary significantly in their ability and/or desire to confront and/or negotiate with global actors, financiers and corporations, such as those mentioned above (Parpart et al., 2002:14). Nevertheless, according to Parpart et al. (ibid), national politics is progressively seen as a key platform for struggles against marginalisation and poverty which are carried out by empowered citizens, with their main task being to ensure good governance.

We use this perspective in our analysis to understand NUCIW and NUPAAW's approach to empowerment and whether there are similar consequences and changes as a result of globalisation for members of NUCIW and NUPAAW.

4.5 Empowerment as a top-down approach - a critical perspective on empowerment

The term “*empowerment*” has been appropriated by numerous actors in the development sector, coming from opposing ideological sides, which have used, promoted and shaped the term to fit with their respective view of development (Jönsson et al. 2012:68). For example, the WB uses empowerment in a neoliberal sense meaning enhancing one’s economic abilities to reduce dependence on the state (Scheyvens, 2009:465-467). The UN uses it in relation to women and human rights (UN Women, 2014). NGOs link it to capacity development programs which focus on informal learning, role modelling and community participation (see Stromquist, 2002:26; Jönsson et al., 2012:68).

This use of the term to describe different outcomes has led to strong criticism by many scholars that empowerment has been institutionalised and is top-down (Parpart et al. 2002:3). Woost (1997:249) states that “*we are still riding in a top-down vehicle of development whose wheels are greased with the vocabulary of bottom-up discourses*”, such as empowerment. Top-down development is development which is designed, implemented, funded and managed from above i.e. an outside actor, organisation or institution having power-over the intended beneficiaries (Orbach, 2011:196-197).

As outlined by Pieterse (2010:110-124) post-development discourses support such critiques and question the whole idea of development, alternative development and dichotomous conceptual constructions such as empowered and disempowered. In these discourses, such concepts are argued to be ambiguous, reinforce power inequalities and the dominance of the West, and create an illusion that the world can be free from poverty and injustice (see Escobar, 1995, and Rist, 2002 as cited in Jönsson et al., 2012:64-65). Other scholars also argue that empowerment processes run the risk of only empowering individual elites in communities, leading to new inequalities and/or reinforcement of existing inequalities (Kelsall and Mercer, 2003:293-294). Further Kelsall and Mercer (ibid.) question whether empowerment is understood as an individual or collective

ability and how external actors can assure individual capacity for autonomous and collective actions.

In our analysis we use these critical perspectives to discuss whether the organisational structure of NUCIW and NUPAAW and their cooperation with *3F* limits the bottom-up empowerment process, including collective action.

Chapter 5. Research Methodology

The empirical data used in this thesis was collected in March and April 2014 in Zambia. We completed a three week study on the two trade unions NUCIW and NUPAAW within Lusaka (the capital of Zambia), Kafue, Kabwe, Chisamba and Mazabuka (see Appendix 1). We contacted NUCIW and NUPAAW through the Danish trade union *3F* who has worked in partnership with the two trade unions since 2006. Before leaving for Zambia we had two meetings with *3F* at their head office in Copenhagen, Denmark and Skype meetings with *3F* regional staff in Mozambique about their cooperation with NUCIW and NUPAAW and further general information about Zambia and trade unions in Zambia. In addition, we also undertook Skype meetings with the general secretaries of NUCIW and NUPAAW to discuss the objectives of the study, our expectations, and the practicalities and logistics of undertaking the fieldwork.

During the period of our study in Zambia we visited both the head offices of NUCIW and NUPAAW and a variety of workplaces within the industrial, commercial and agricultural sectors, including plantations, breweries, steel factories, medical stores and supermarkets.

We conducted a series of qualitative interviews with head office union staff, representatives of the NUCIW or NUPAAW branches at workplaces and the ordinary members of the two trade unions (see Appendix 3). Further, we conducted interviews with two local scholars of Development Studies at the Social Sciences Faculty of the University of Zambia and one expert (located in Zambia) on development processes in Zambia. These three weeks of qualitative research constitute the foundation of, and empirical data for our study.

5.1 Approaching the field

Our methodological approach aims to understand the subjectivities of different meanings and perceptions rather than searching for objectivity (Mayoux, 2006:116). We believe that our qualitative research allows for flexibility, a means to better capture underlying meanings and different local interpretations (Mayoux, 2006:120-122; Patton, 2002:14). It is noted that there are limitations related to

qualitative methods in that they are open to bias from the researcher and the participants, and as a result cannot be generalised to apply to the population as a whole (ibid.). However, our goal is not to generalise, but to produce an in-depth discussion on the topic and give voice to members of NUCIW and NUPAAW. Further, we believe that the outcome of this study will have potential to provide change for the trade union members in terms of better living and working conditions in the specific sectors where NUCIW and NUPAAW members work (Beazley and Ennew, 2006:192; Brydon, 2006:28). And while we attempt to reflect the views and perspectives of the members we acknowledge that we are researchers who are editing, choosing and framing their statements in order for us to reach our research aim (Kapoor, 2004:637; Patton, 2002:495).

We have taken a deductive approach to this thesis and its analysis. Therefore, we do not test a theoretical hypothesis with our empirical data but instead use our theoretical approach to create a framework for our analysis and as a point of departure for a critical discussion on the patterns we see in the data (Ankersborg, 2011:86-88).

To get in contact with members of NUCIW and NUPAAW we used gatekeepers, who according to Scheyvens and Storey (2003:153) are people in organisations that have the power to withhold information or restrict people's access to undertake research. Further, they also control whom the researcher can speak to. Our gatekeepers were both staff of the head office and regional officers of NUCIW and NUPAAW and branch members of the two trade unions at workplaces. Contact with gatekeepers was established through *3F* in Denmark. We experienced that our connection with *3F* gave the gatekeepers and us, as researchers, more authority and legitimacy and made it easier for us to obtain the necessary permission from employers to conduct interviews with trade union members.

In order to talk to as many members of NUCIW and NUPAAW as possible we used the sampling methods of maximum variation (Patton, 2002:234-235). As outlined by Patton (ibid.), maximum variation is purposefully picking a wide range of participants to get variation on dimensions of interest. However, we did

set up some criteria for the sample to ensure maximum variation. These criteria were based on gender, age, education, permanent/casual worker and length of time being a union member. Our sample was pre-selected by the branch at the workplaces we visited based on these criteria, as we were also aware of the importance of ordinary members' security. As Brydon (2006:25) states much research associated with development studies has left the place of study in conflict and chaos. Thus to prevent ordinary members from being dismissed or mistreated as a result of our interviews we decided to let the branches at the workplaces do the selection of ordinary members for our interviews.

5.2 Semi-structured interviews

For this study we have used semi-structured interviews. According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:19), semi-structured interviews are a research tool that allow for an open conversation that is structured and purposeful. Semi-structured interviews provide in-depth and verified research and allow the interviewer to ask follow-up questions to interesting answers (ibid: 45). This was important for us as we also wanted to ensure that certain important topics were covered and allow for interesting points to be brought up by the members (Willis, 2006:144-145), which semi-structured interviews allowed us to achieve. Further, some of the interviews have the purpose to provide us with a wider understanding of trade unions' impact in Zambian society on a broader level (interviews with local scholars and an expert) and to gain specific knowledge on NUCIW and NUPAAW (the head office staff and regional staff of NUCIW and NUPAAW). However, the majority were undertaken to gain knowledge and different perspectives on NUCIW and NUPAAW's ability to empower their members (interviews with ordinary and branch members).

Kvale (2007:31) stresses that interviews are characterised by a methodological awareness of the way the questions are asked, the energy and dynamic between the interviewer and the interviewee, and a critical consciousness of what is being said. The construction of our interview guide (see Appendix 4) was initially quite structured with a pre-list of questions. As this was our first time in Zambia

studying trade unions it was considered that we needed specific questions to guide the interviews. However, the structure was not inflexible, as the questions in the interview guide changed and evolved as we became more knowledgeable about our topic and inspired by the members' reflections and stories.

The level of structure and formality of each interview depended both on the member and the location. As we did most of the interviews during work hours and within a time limit, other workers, management or noise from the machinery at workplaces sometimes interrupted the interviews. This situation made it necessary for us to sometimes skip certain questions and focus on the main key ideas and issues the members raised.

In addition, it is likely that undertaking the interviews at the workplace could have greatly compromised members' responses about working conditions and the role of the trade unions. Despite these concerns we believe that in most cases the members talked freely and we were able to come back to the questions where appropriate. This was also the case for when we interviewed local scholars and the trade union staff at the head offices of NUCIW and NUPAAW.

Kvale (2007:19, 32-33) suggests that the research interview is not a conversation between equal partners as the researcher is controlling and defining the situation. He or she introduces the topic of the interview and critically follows the answers of the questions throughout the interview. From our experience conducting the interviews in Zambia we not only experienced inequality between interviewer and interviewee, but also in relation to our position in terms of race, nationality, age, gender, educational and marital status (Apentiik and Parpart, 2006; Scheyvens and Storey, 2003). We felt that our position as researchers and further as women, western and not least in corporation with *3F*, influenced both the production of research and our access to the field. Throughout our time in Zambia our schedule and all practicalities and logistics went to plan and the majority of members we were introduced to were very interested and pleased to talk to us.

5.3 Approaching the data

In analysing our data we look for patterns related to members' similar and contradictory perspectives on NUCIW and NUPAAW's ability to offer members a platform to strengthen their working and living conditions (Ankersborg, 2011:82-83). We then link these patterns to our theoretical approach which structures the analysis.

In the analysis we refer to NUCIW and NUPAAW together. We acknowledge that the two trade unions operate differently as they represent members from very different sectors and contexts. However, they are structured the same way and organise very similar activities for their members (see *Chapter 7*) which allow them to be analysed simultaneously.

We do distinguish between ordinary and branch members as there are differences in relation to the extent to which they are empowered.

5.4 Ethics and anonymity

During our collection of data we made sure that all the members we interviewed had given us informed consent. As suggested by Kvale (2007:118) and Scheyvens and Storey (2003:143) we opted to gain consent from the members orally as some members were illiterate. In the instances where the member had given permission to record the interview oral consent was recorded. The consent stated that all data collected would be confidential and not be given to any authorities. It also stated that each participant and workplace would be anonymous. In addition, we allowed members to refuse participation and explained that they could also make this decision at any time during the interview.

The recorded interviews were transcribed and quotes from these interviews are used in the analysis. Notes taken during the interviews that were not recorded are used to back up arguments. All names of ordinary members and branch members, head office and regional staff of NUCIW and NUPAAW, professors and the expert have been given a number and are referred to as either member, professor or expert and then the number. Names of workplaces of the members are also anonymous and are referred to as private and parastatal workplaces. Only NUCIW

and NUPAAW are referred to with their original name, and we have gained written permission to do so from the head offices of NUCIW and NUPAAW (Kvale, 2007:120, 166-167; Scheyvens and Storey, 2003:146).

It is noted that ordinary members and branch members use the word “management” when talking about their employer but also when they talk about workers that have been upgraded to higher positions as supervisors, but not as part of executive. In the analysis we refer to the employer as “employer” and upgraded workers as “management” and this is reflected in our interpretation of what was said in the interviews.

We also do not distinguish between male and female members. Members expressed in the interviews that they felt there was equality between men and women at work and within the trade unions. We therefore refer to “members” which refers to both male and female members.

5.5 Secondary sources

In *Chapter 6* we have used secondary sources in addition to our empirical data. The *Zambian economy and labour market* has undergone a process of mass privatisation that has had a negative effect on trade unions. In particular the works of Immanuel Akwety and Jon Kraus (2007), Tayo Fashoyin (2008), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2010), Miles Larmer (2009), Rohit Negi (2010) and Anne Pitcher (2007) have provided us with background knowledge on this matter. The works of Lise Rakner (1992) and Adrienne LeBas (2011) regarding the *Zambian trade unions’ connection, impact and relationship with Zambian governments* is also referred to.

A key reference for our study is that of Pitcher (2007). This work not only serves as background knowledge on the impact of privatisation but also provides us with theoretical perspectives. We use Pitcher’s theoretical perspectives in our analysis of the empirical data as a supplement to our theoretical framework. These perspectives open up the discussions on workers’ rights as collective or individual and further, the new role of employers and private companies as providers of social welfare.

5.6 Limitations

Our maximum variation sampling method has given us a wide range of interviews. However, we did not interview non-union members at the workplaces as it was not our intention to compare experiences of their working and living conditions and level of empowerment with that of trade union members. We found that all the workers at the workplaces we visited were members of the only trade union present, either NUCIW or NUPAAW, or were upgraded to management and thus not permitted to be represented by a trade union. As our gatekeepers were either trade union branch members, regional officers or staff from the head office we were not presented to workers within management. Further, we did not ask to interview them as it seemed inappropriate being visitors of the trade unions. In addition, we interviewed more male workers than female workers as more males are working in the commercial, industrial and agriculture sector.

It is noted that sometimes gatekeepers were present during the interviews. We asked if we could be alone with members, but it did not seem to be in the culture to do individual interviews and as the members that were interviewed did not object to their presence. This situation however made us sometimes hesitant to ask specific questions in regards to the relationship between the ordinary members, branches and head office, and the relationship between the branches and head office. These questions were often passed over. In some instances they were brought up by the ordinary members themselves despite the presence of the gatekeepers.

5.7 Validity

We conducted the majority of our interviews in English as we believe that the most genuine outcome of an interview can be expected when interviewer and interviewee can communicate in the same language without the use of an interpreter. We acknowledge that English is not the first language of the members; however, we felt that the majority of the members were comfortable speaking in English, as it is also the official language in Zambia. Most of the people we

interviewed were fluent in English. Our understanding was that the members and staff spoke without any reservation and that what was said was reliable. In this sense we believe that our empirical data is a valid foundation for our study.

Throughout this thesis we also refer to Zambian professors and an expert in Zambian society living in Zambia, the local newspapers Lusaka Voice and Lusaka Times and the website Mywage.com. We refer to these sources as we believe their research and knowledge on the topic is credible. These sources are all local which we consider as an advantage as it allowed us to gain current and deeper insights into the challenges facing Zambian trade unions.

Chapter 6. The Zambian Context

Zambia is located in the southern part of Africa (see Appendix 1). In 2010 the population was recorded at 13.3 million. Approximately 83% of the population live below the poverty line and 43.6% in extreme poverty (UNDP, 2013:16). This means that nearly half the population in Zambia live on less than \$US1.25 a day and most are located in the rural Eastern, Western and Northern provinces. The Zambian economy is reliant on its copper industry with 65% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) coming from this sector. According to the ILO (2010:1), the workforce of Zambia in 2010 was 5.4 million of which only 522,000 were employed in the formal sector. The remainder were either engaged in the unregulated informal sector or were unemployed. With unemployment and poverty levels very high, the Zambian people are desperate to take any job they can and work for very low wages and under substandard conditions (Professor 1).

6.1 The Zambian economy and labour market

Job creation is a high priority for the current Zambian Government. The current government is led by President Michael Sata from the Patriotic Front (PF) political party.⁴ In its campaign for the elections in 2011 PF promised Zambians more money in their pockets and more job opportunities. Sata criticised former presidents and governments for being too responsive to the demands of international investors and donors rather than listening to the Zambian people (Expert 1; Larmer, 2009:130; Negi, 2010:37; Professor 1). However under Sata's administration international donors such as the WB and IMF are still present and foreign investors, especially Chinese and European, dominate the formal sector of employment (Expert 1; Professor 1, 2). The presence of foreign investors is partially a result of the implementation of the Sixth National Development Plan (SNDP) (2011-2015), introduced by the former President, Rupian Banda, in 2011 and the Private Sector Development Programme (PSD). SNDP and PSD aim to diversify the Zambian economy from mining to agriculture, tourism,

⁴ A timeline of Zambia's Presidents and their corresponding political parties since independence is provided in Appendix 2.

manufacturing, energy and infrastructure by stimulating and creating an environment for private sector growth (ILO, 2010:10-11; Republic of Zambia, 2011). In the Zambian print media President Sata has officially stated his support for these programmes and emphasised their importance for creating employment (Lusaka Voice, 2013). Local sources (Expert 1; Professor 1, 2) also point out that the Sata Government is supporting private actors through such programmes whilst at the same time demonstrating a lack of willingness to cooperate with them.

Although there have been various labour market regulations to secure and create jobs, for example raising the minimum wage and introducing employment freezes, these regulations have not had the intended outcome of creating employment and decreasing poverty. Unemployment remains high and economic inequalities are rising (ILO, 2010; Expert 1). This is despite high economic growth over the past decade linked to the price of copper (Expert 1; Negi, 2010:27; WB, 2013). The economy is however unstable, being completely dependent on the price of copper and this has resulted in an economic crisis several times since independence: 1975, the 1990s and 2008 (Africa Research Bulletin, 2004; ILO, 2010:5; Larmer, 2009:117).

One explanation put forward to explain the high rate of unemployment, poverty and inequality is the privatisation of parastatal Zambian companies (Larmer, 2009; Rakner, 1992). After the international oil crisis in the 1970s Zambia plunged into economic crisis and in the 1980s came under pressure from the WB and IMF and thus began the process of privatising parastatal companies (LeBas, 2011:4; Negi, 2010:28-29; Rakner, 1992:8). Companies had firstly been nationalised in the 1960s and 1970s by the then President Kenneth Kaunda and his United National Independence Party (UNIP) who took over power after independence.⁵ President Kaunda governed Zambia as a socialist one-party state until 1991.

The process of privatisation in Zambia was in line with the SAPs of the WB and IMF. SAPs saw the restructure of the Zambian economy which resulted in mass

⁵ Zambia was a colony under Great Britain from the late 1880s to 1964. First it was classified as North-East and North-West Rhodesia and later as Northern Rhodesia (Noyoo, 2008).

losses of jobs, wage freezes, removal of food subsidies and strong conditions for lending money (Akwety and Kraus, 2007:129; LeBas, 2011:4; Noyoo 2010:116-120; Rakner, 1992:8). Approximately 250 parastatal companies were privatised, state support to agriculture was reduced and user fees for health and education were introduced (Larmer, 2009:120). In the mining sector alone more than 10,000 jobs were lost as a result of the privatisation of parastatals (ILO, 2010:5). Examples of privatised parastatals in the industrial and commercial sectors include Zambia Sugar, Zambian Breweries and National Milling; in the agricultural sector, Naga Farms (Fundanga and Mwaba, 1997:10).

The impact of this privatisation on UNIP was to limit its legitimacy as a socialist regime, and its ability to provide self-sustainable economic growth (Expert 1; Larmer, 2009:117; Rakner, 1992:11). While former President Kaunda attempted several times to back down from SAPs, this proved impossible because of the country's economic crises. In fact he was forced to implement further liberalisations such as devaluing the national currency and signing contracts with foreign companies (Larmer, 2009:118; LeBas, 2011).

In 1991 Zambia became a multiparty state with elections forced by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) led by the trade unionist Frederick Chiluba. Chiluba won the elections and became the first democratically elected president of Zambia. However, despite Chiluba's background privatisation continued on a large-scale. The MMD manifesto declared that government should be a facilitator rather than a participant in the economy (Larmer, 2009:119; Negi, 2010:29). According to Larmer (2009:121) this economic policy created both winners and losers - the winners being foreign investors and a few wealthy Zambians with connections to MMD, the losers being - the wider local business community which was excluded by policies which favoured foreign owned companies. In the late 1990s corruption was strongly linked to MMD and foreign owned companies, especially in the mining industry (Ching, 2009:663).

The Zambian economy and labour market continue to be influenced by the process of privatisation, despite the government's veiled attempts to restrict its impacts. President Sata has been criticised for being too populist and making

promises about jobs that PF cannot fulfil. The Sata Government has introduced wage freezes which does not allow workers to keep up with the rate of inflation, which is very high in Zambia (Professor 1). These changes in the economy are even affecting the perceptions and behaviour of Zambians who are now becoming dependent on their own efforts for economic and social development (Expert 1). This is a long way from President Kaunda's socialist days of free education and healthcare.

6.2 Labour legislation and workers' rights in Zambia

Zambian industrial relations are regulated by the *Industrial Relations Act* that was introduced by MMD in 1990 (Turner, 1992:65). The *Factories Act: Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment Act* is also an important piece of legislation (ILO, 2010:3). In 2012 PF tripled the 22 year old minimum wage (IRIN, 2012) but despite this change in legislation minimum wages are rarely paid and can vary from sector to sector (Professor 1). In Zambia wages are comprised of a base wage plus benefits or allowances (Mywage, 2014). Receiving less than the minimum wage and the impact of inflation makes it challenging for Zambian households to purchase basic goods such as maize meal, vegetables and meat (IRIN, 2012; Professor 1). Industrial relations in Zambia are also influenced by international labour conventions, Zambia having joined the ILO in 1964.⁶

According to the above legislations, workers in Zambia have the right to a regular wage, sick leave (which can be negotiated by the trade union to be fully or half paid up to 180 days), annual paid holidays, a pension (accessible at 55 and comprised of individual contributions), public holidays rates (unless stated otherwise in the contract), 120 days maternity leave (90 paid if a member of a trade union and on completion of two years' service) and seven days unpaid paternity leave (ILO, 2013; Chongo Kabange, 2014).

⁶ The fundamental ILO conventions are: freedom of association and collective bargaining, elimination of all forms of forced labour, effective abolition of child labour and elimination of discrimination in employment. Governance conventions consist of: labour inspection, employment policy and tripartism. Up-to-date conventions consist of: protection of wages (minimum wages and protection of workers claims), industrial relations, migrant workers, child labour, freedom of association, employment policy, labour administration, OHS and specific categories of workers (see more Ulandssekretariatet, 2013:8).

Fashoyin (2008) states that such legislation makes Zambia very progressive in terms of labour laws compared to other countries in Southern Africa. Further, the system provides for negotiations between employers, workers and trade unions through the Joint Industrial Council (JIC), which is a unique element of Zambia's legislative framework. The JIC covers all workers, is common in the agricultural sector but there are examples of its limited implementation and coverage of workers in the mining and financial industries.

Despite Fashoyin's (2008) optimistic view on Zambian industrial relations legislation, it is illegal to go on strike in Zambia. This has been in place since the 1980s, and was introduced during the UNIP regime (Professor 1; Turner, 1992:65). As an example of the impact of this law, following a strike by 570 healthcare workers in late 2013, their employment was terminated by the Sata Government (Lusaka Voice, 2014; Professor 1).

6.3 Trade Unions in Zambia

The Zambian trade union movement emerged before independence and in close cooperation with European trade unions, mostly of British origin. Zambian trade unions were not state sponsored and operated relatively autonomously from the colonial government. They were, from the beginning, organised around the economic welfare of their members (Rakner, 1992:71-72). Pre-independence, trade unions knew that the interests of their members could not be protected under Great Britain. During this colonial period most of the trade unions were affiliated with the Zambian trade union federations, the Northern Rhodesia Congress of Trade Unions (NRCTU) (created in 1951) and the Reformed Trade Union Congress (RTUC) later renamed the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC). UTUC supported Kaunda and UNIP's fight for independence.

Today there are approximately 48 trade unions in Zambia which cover the industry, commerce, banking, agricultural, health care and education sectors. There are around 400,000 trade union members in total of which 31% (in 2010) were female (Ulandssekretariatet, 2013:3). The largest trade union is the Civil Servants and Allied Workers Union of Zambia (CSAWUZ) which has 81,300

members (Ulandssekretariatet, 2013:4-5). Today the Zambian trade union federations are the ZCTU and the Federation of Free Trade Unions of Zambia (FFTUZ). The majority of trade unions are affiliated with one or the other of these peak organisations.

ZCTU was established in 1964 by UNIP and currently has 32 trade union affiliates and approximately 340, 000 members from all sectors of the formal economy. ZCTU was dominant until a split occurred in 1998 which resulted in the creation of the FFTUZ. FFTUZ has 11 affiliates and approximately 50,000 members also from various sectors of the formal economy (Fashoyin, 2008:395; ILO, 2010:4).

6.3.1 Trade unions and Zambian governments

Rakner (1992) argues that Zambian trade unions have been both an instrument for political change and an instrument to control workers since independence. As outlined by a Professor of Development Studies (Professor 1), almost every institution in Zambia has a trade union and being a trade union leader carries a lot of status.

“Because if you do not have a union people would be difficult to control...you [government] can bring the leaders to the negotiating table, talk to them. And people normally listen to their union leaders”.

Trade unions are therefore understood as not being independent enough from government and, according to Professor 1, are used as a means by which government can control workers. Further, Professor 1 also states that government aims to weaken trade unions through this control, by, for example, asking trade unions to prevent their members from taking industrial action. Incentives, benefits and bribes for trade union leaders are common which in some cases has led to tensions between workers and trade unions, and internal conflicts within the trade unions; *“The perception is that they [trade union leaders] have been bought or sold to the Government”* (Professor 1). Similarly trade union leaders have been criticised for being in the *“pockets of government”* and their relationship subject to the attitude of the presiding Minister of Labour towards trade unions (Expert 1).

The rise of splinter unions indicates that the legitimacy and effectiveness of the trade unions is under question and that the voices of the workers have been weakened (Pitcher, 2007:155; Professor 1). Another Zambian Professor in Sociology agrees with this, stating that the impact of the Zambian trade unions is negligible as they do not stand for their workers (Professor 2). As noted above, a recent example of the ineffectiveness of trade union was the dismissal of 570 nurses and health care workers following strike action. In this case members went on an illegal strike at the parastatal University Teaching Hospital, but without the support of their trade union, the Zambia Union of Nurses (ZUNO). The nurses were dissatisfied with wage increments offered during the negotiation process with the Sata Government (Lusaka Times, 2013).

However, Professor 1 and 2 also indicate that trade unions have also been noted for criticising governments for not listening to, or appreciating the role of trade unions and in some sectors trade unions are seen to work in the interest of their members. Understanding the relationship between politics and the trade unions is complex and conflicting in Zambia. History also shows this complexity.

Trade unions had a close relation to UNIP during the 1960s and 1970s. ZCTU was created and supported by UNIP and UNIP made it mandatory to affiliate with ZCTU through the one-union one-sector policy of the Industrial Relation Act of 1971. UNIP even attempted (up until 1985) to incorporate ZCTU into the party (Rakner, 1992:100). In order to hold a trade union office it was mandatory to be a member of UNIP. The effect of these actions by the then Kanuda Government were two-fold. On the one hand they strengthened the trade union movement while on the other their attempts to control the trade unions gradually led to a distancing of the trade unions. ZCTU displayed strong unity by refusing to be divided by the various schemes and control mechanisms of the Kanuda Government (Rakner, 1992).

As the criticism and unpopularity of the UNIP grew during the 1980s trade unions and ZCTU became part of the creation of the MMD. ZCTU in fact functioned as a leading organisation of civil society in the process of transition to a multiparty system together with students, academics, the business community

and parliamentary backbenchers, as mentioned above (Rakner, 1992:62, 66). Further, trade unionists formed the heart of the MMD local branches (LeBas, 2011:161; Negi, 2010:29). Several trade union leaders expressed that the MMD was not a labour party and while the trade unions supported the party they would keep their autonomy (LeBas 2011:154-155; Rakner, 1992:57, 59, 60). Significantly, the leader of MMD was the former chairperson of ZCTU, although once MMD gained office President Chiluba distanced himself from the trade unions and continued adopting SAPs (Fashoyin, 2008:394). As economic conditions worsened in the 1990s the relationship between MMD and the trade unions began to deteriorate. There were no clear employment relations policies and the then Chiluba Government refused to accept independent rulings by the Industrial Relations Court in regards to public sector wage increases (Banda in Fashoyin, 2008:399). LeBas (2011:8) disputes the influence and autonomy of the trade unions and argues that they did not play any major role in organising the protests in 1986 and in the 1990s relating to price increases on several food products nor did they issue any public statements denouncing these price increases.

It is evident that the role of trade unions in the political arena in Zambia has and continues to be fragmented and unstable. Since independence they have been close to UNIP, then involved in the opposition party which overthrew UNIP, then became distant from MMD to now having returned to a situation where trade union leaders are being bribed and controlled by government. Currently trade unions have the difficult task of supporting the Sata Government on their changes to the minimum wage act but at the same time are critical that such changes are impossible to negotiate in the context of privatisation (Professor 1 and 2).

6.3.2 Trade unions and the impact of privatisation

A number of scholars (see Akwety and Kraus, 2007; Fashoyin, 2008; Larmer, 2009; Noyoo, 2008; Pitcher, 2007) argue that the process of privatisation of the Zambian economy, as described above, has had a negative effect on trade unions. This is despite trade unions themselves supporting the liberalisation of the

economy (Negi, 2010:31). According to Rakner (1992:119), the ZCTU did not have enough knowledge of what privatisation would entail and were “*optimistic followers*”. SAPs created unemployment, a reduction in working conditions and loss of job security. Many workers were forced into informalisation and, as noted above, this is where the majority of Zambian workers are now located (Akwety and Kraus, 2007; Larmer, 2009; Negi, 2010; Pitcher, 2007, Professor 1).

Informalisation has resulted in a decline of membership for trade unions as they only represent workers in the formal sector. Between 1986 and 2001 ZCTU membership declined from approximately 350,000 to 250,000 (Negi, 2010:31). This reduction has strained the financial resources of trade unions (Fashoyin, 2008; Turner: 1992). However, membership has risen during the last decade with ZCTU having approximately 340,000 members in 2010 (ILO, 2010).

Another key challenge for Zambian trade unions is casualisation which is common practice amongst private foreign and national companies (Eweje, 2009; Fashoyin, 2008; Gadzala, 2010). Casualisation of the labour market has resulted in lower wages, no access to pension schemes, less housing, medical and educational benefits and casual or short contracts (Ching, 2009). Further, many foreign investors have failed to meet Zambian employment protection legislation. As a result the negotiation for job security and standard working conditions has become harder as trade unions are negotiating no longer with the state but with a myriad of different companies (Pitcher, 2007:155). Casualisation has negatively affected trade unions collective bargaining credibility and is thus undermining their role and influence to improve working and living conditions for members (Fashoyin, 2008; Gadzala, 2010).

Chapter 7. Short description of NUCIW and NUPAAW

NUCIW was founded in 1965 and its membership includes workers in seven sectors within commerce and industry: manufacturing of textiles, beverages, chemicals, retail, plastics, food, and beauty and care. These workplaces are located mostly around the capital Lusaka, and Kitwe, the second largest city in the Copperbelt (Staff 1, 3). NUPAAW was formed in 1961 during the lead up to independence (Staff 8). NUPAAW covers workers on farms and plantations which produce sugarcane, soya, wheat and flowers, and these workplaces are mainly located in the rural Chisamba area around Kabwe and around Mazabuka, a rural area south of Lusaka (Staff 8).

According to Ulandssekretariatet (2008) in 2008 NUCIW had around 22,300 members and according to NUCIW staff this has now increased to 25,000 in 2014. NUCIW is represented in more than 130 companies, six of which are parastatals and the remainder are privately owned (Staff 1). In 2008 NUPAAW had around 22,000 members (Ulandssekretariatet, 2013:4). NUPAAW is represented in 131 companies, three of which are parastatals and remainder are privately owned (Staff 8).

Both trade unions are affiliated with ZCTU. Their organisational structures are similar and based on British trade union structures. They consist of a combination of elected and permanent staff at national, district and workplace branch level (Staff 2). There are nine officials elected every four years: President (part time), Vice President (part time), General Secretary (full time), two Deputy General Secretaries (full time) and four trustees (part time). The same structure applies at the district and workplace branch level although here, elections occur every two years. All ordinary members can campaign for a position at the branch level; however, it is not a paid, but a voluntary position.

At head office level staff is responsible for advocacy work with government and the negotiation of collective bargaining agreements (CBA) (General Secretary and Deputies), finance and coordinating workshops (all other staff). NUCIW and NUPAAW also employ regional officers who are located in the same areas where the respective workplaces are located.

In relation to negotiations NUCIW's General Secretary and Deputy General Secretaries mainly participate in CBA negotiations at larger companies where the trade union is present whereas the branch level takes on this responsibility where smaller companies are concerned (Staff 1). NUPAAW operates differently as negotiations in the agricultural sector are subject to two types of agreements. One type of agreement is a separate CBA negotiated by NUPAAW's General Secretary or a regional officer directly with the individual employer, usually a large sugarcane farm. The other type of agreement is a joint CBA. Where a number of smaller farms are grouped together, a JIC is established and NUPAAW negotiates a joint CBA which applies to all employers represented in the JIC. Around 75% of NUPAAW members work at a workplace which is party to a JIC (Staff 9, 10; Fashoyin, 2008:397).

The workshops provided by NUCIW and NUPAAW include matters such as occupational health and safety (OHS), workers' rights, bargaining techniques, grievance procedures, labour laws, employer and employee relations and management structure, the role of the trade union at the workplace, and communication in and with the trade union. NUCIW (2014a) has defined the objectives of the workshops to be:

“To provide knowledge and skills needed for NUCIW to respond to various and dynamic environmental needs from the labour market trends brought by globalisation and achieve its organisational objective and operation, this shall be realized through increasing and improving the existing knowledge and skills of membership, leadership and staff”.

These objectives are similar to those of NUPAAW (Staff 7). Workshops are mostly conducted with branch members in workplaces. In some cases ordinary members are chosen from the branch to participate (NUCIW, 2014a:3; Staff 6, 10). However, in general, the intention is that knowledge and insights gained from the workshops is passed on to ordinary members through further workshops and meetings organised by the branch at their individual workplaces (NUCIW, 2014a; Staff 1-3, 5-7). The workplace branch level is responsible for organising social activities such as picnics, parties and outings where trade union leaders interact

with ordinary members (NUCIW, 2014b; Staff 3, 10). In addition, some workplaces under NUPAAW have women's committees in which ordinary trade union members and members of the branch participate. Women's committees look into the welfare of women at their workplaces and try to organise and encourage women to be active in strengthening the voices of women at their workplace (Staff 7). Members at branch level attend workshops on how to deal with safety matters and are responsible for implementing this knowledge at their workplaces (Staff 5, 7).

7.1 Funding and budget allocation

NUCIW and NUPAAW are funded by membership fees, which are currently set at 2% of a member's base wage. Out of their total budget NUCIW and NUPAAW pay 25% to ZCTU (ibid.). NUPAAW transfers 10% of their budget back to the branches and this is used to support the activities and meetings of the branches. These expenses include transportation (if they are visiting other NUPAAW branches at other companies), paper, pens and other materials for their meetings and workshops with members (Staff 9). NUCIW does not financially support the branches at the workplaces. The majority of NUCIW and NUPAAW's financial resources is spent on workshops and operational costs such as wages, office rent etc. (Staff 4, 9). Both NUCIW and NUPAAW receive funds from 3F and both have been in partnership with 3F for eight years (Staff 8, 10). 3F mainly fund training, workshops and the trade union's recruitment programme (Staff 4, 9). Both NUCIW and NUPAAW state that they are dependent on the support of international donors and that they would have difficulties sustaining their operations without this support (Staff 4, 9).

7.2 The members of NUCIW and NUPAAW

NUCIW members usually have grade 12 education and many also have a diploma or a complementary course, but often work in unskilled positions (Staff 1). Members work as dispatch and process technicians, store people, merchandisers, sales clerks, security officers, secretaries, machine operators, lorry drivers and brewers. Most of the members are male workers aged between 20 and 40 years, with the majority aged between 30 to 35 years (Staff 1).

The educational level of the NUPAAW members is often below grade 12, and most have completed only up to grade seven or below. The members represent a mix of female and male workers. Members work as sugar cane cutters, irrigators, sprayers, livestock workers, general workers, office administrators and cut flower packers in this sector. The more labour intensive jobs are usually done by males whereas jobs related to flower production and cutting are mostly done by women. In general the members of NUPAAW are older than members of NUCIW, and are generally aged between 35 and 40 years (Staff 8).

Members of NUPAAW usually live in compounds located at the farm where they work. The members of NUCIW live in or around Lusaka and Kitwe. Many of them have migrated from rural areas to search for work and due to long distances and limited infrastructure, reside in surrounding townships (Staff 8).

Chapter 8. Empowerment processes in NUCIW and NUPAAW

Narrative 1

As we pull off the highway into Mazabuka we can already see the fields filled with tall green stalks of sugarcane. This is the home of Zambia Sugar and the area is surrounded by sugarcane plantations. We pull up to the regional office of NUPAAW, a poky little rented room at the Ministry of Labour office. We are met by five branch members from the surrounding farms and plantations. One branch member has a very quiet demeanour and hangs back whilst the others introduce themselves. As we begin the interview though he opens up and we discover a man who is highly motivated to change his working and living conditions. Since joining NUPAAW three years ago his workplace has changed from a place of slave like working conditions, frequent workplace accidents and blatant negligence from his employer to a place where the employer and the trade union branch meet once a week. He stresses the importance of the trade union, their support and workshops and we notice that he is also wearing a NUPAAW t-shirt with a statement on the back about the dangers of chemical spraying in the agriculture sector. Despite still facing many challenges and barriers, this member has no doubt about joining NUPAAW and its ability to offer tools to help him and the members at his workplace claim their rights: “We wanted to join this organisation, the union, to help us fight this system. We shall do it better. We shall continue to improve the conditions of life”.

The narrative above introduces how branch member 36 of NUPAAW feels that the trade union do have an empowering ability to motivate him to change his situation at his workplace. In this chapter we will discuss this further and analyse, using Friedmann's (1992) and Kabeer's (2005) idea of *empowerment from within*, to what extent NUCIW and NUPAAW are able to provide a platform for the process of individual empowerment to occur. We will look at how, to what extent, and which members of NUCIW and NUPAAW have *social, political* and *psychological* empowerment.

8.1 NUCIW and NUPAAW members' access to knowledge and financial resources

Based on Friedmann's (1992: 66) perspective on empowerment, *social power* is essential if the empowerment of people, and in this case the members of NUCIW and NUPAAW, is to occur. *Social power* is acquired through gaining knowledge and information and through their trade union work and organised activities, NUCIW and NUPAAW aim to give their members this knowledge and information, particularly in regard to workers' rights, skills on how to handle issues related to OHS, and bargaining skills to negotiate CBAs with employers or address any other issues related to employment (see *Chapter 7*). *Social power* also means that members' have access to more financial resources such as wages and allowances.

The opportunity to gain *social power* through the acquisition of knowledge and skills, and by participation in organised activities such as workshops has generally been restricted to members of the elected branches at workplaces, which are mostly private companies. These workshops have mostly been in relation to the induction process (upon joining the branch) with further workshops on OHS, collective bargaining techniques and communication (Branch members 28, 35, 36 and 40-43). Branch members find that these workshops are very informative and helpful in that they can acquire more knowledge about whether working conditions comply with labour laws and how to conduct their trade union work at the branch level in the workplace. For example, former branch member 18

expresses: “*I learnt about how I can properly use the certain information to encourage the workforce for a better future, beyond where we are*”. This statement indicates that information and knowledge provided by NUCIW and NUPAAW has made this branch member more aware of his ability to motivate other workers and members to become active in trade union work to strive for better working and living conditions. Further, there is also a sense that former branch member 18 feels a responsibility to not only change working conditions for him but for other ordinary members - a key element for *transformative* change and *collective-self-empowerment* to occur (Friedmann, 1992:78; Kabeer, 2005:462).

Branch member 28 also indicates that she has gained valuable knowledgeable as a result of attending an OHS workshop on the health problems related to chemical spraying in the agricultural sector and on the basis of this knowledge this branch member refuses to spray at her workplace, as safety equipment is not available. Her actions indicate that the knowledge and *social power* she gained from the NUPAAW workshops has led her to actively claim her rights as a worker and decide over her health risks at work. This is also supported by other branch members who express that their participation in the branch has helped them as a person, given them leadership skills, given them insights into how organisations work and how to deal with different kinds of people (Branch members 18, 37, 38 and 40).

As outlined in *Chapter 7*, NUCIW and NUPAAW use workshops to inform and train branch members. Their intent is that knowledge from these workshops is then passed onto ordinary members through additional workshops, meetings or through everyday interactions whilst working, thus creating a trickle-down effect of empowerment. In general, however, this does not occur and the majority of the ordinary members express that they do not participate in any workshops. Where ordinary members do participate in information meetings, these are generally in regards to negotiation procedures and are held by branches at workplaces (Ordinary members 1, 7, 11, 17, 20, 22 and 23). At some workplaces regional officers are also present for such meetings, particularly if the branch is having

difficulties with an employer. Branch members 35 and 36 from NUPAAW also express this.

Ordinary members express that such meetings, which are organised by the branch, are a way through which they receive information on the outcomes of negotiations, can ask questions about the negotiations and bring up any other issues that they have in regards to their membership (Ordinary members 1, 11, 17 and 20). For example, ordinary member 20 states:

“The union arranges meetings where we are asked what we want and where we want to go as unionised employees. So they give us that platform”.

Other ordinary members feel that these meetings are helpful in the sense that they know whom to contact to claim their rights (Ordinary members 11 and 17). Further, ordinary members have confidence that the trade union will help them when they face grievances and disciplinary action: *“they [the branch] always give you a chance to explain”* (Ordinary member 1).

These statements show that ordinary members, through meetings, can gain basic information on the work of their trade unions, their rights as workers and are provided with an opportunity to give their opinion on the strategic direction of the trade unions. A further benefit of these meetings is that they make the trade union branch members known to ordinary members at the workplace. However, the meetings do not empower NUCIW and NUPAAW ordinary members to take direct action themselves, for example, refusing a supervisor’ orders, as occurred with branch member 28. Ordinary members view meetings organised by their branches as more of a means to obtain information and expect the trade union branch to take responsibility for gaining improvements.

There is some evidence that indicates that female ordinary members gain a level of *social power*, particularly in relation to an awareness of women’s rights as workers. For example, ordinary female members 15, 16 and 29-32 know of *“mother’s day”* (a day off each month for menstruation), maternity leave and leave for sick children. This is due to the work of women’s committees, which are mainly at the workplaces of NUPAAW. In addition, ordinary female members

understand whether private employers are implementing female worker's rights in accordance with Zambian labour laws and the conditions which have been negotiated in JIC agreements. However, it is evident that having this information has not enabling female ordinary members to influence their employers to change their working conditions. Members 16 and 32 express that they do not have such benefits.

At parastatal companies, especially those under NUCIW, both branch members and ordinary members do show evidence of having gained *social power* to a much greater extent than ordinary members at private companies, especially in terms of financial and material resources. Many ordinary members from parastatal companies express a satisfaction with their working and living conditions enjoying shift allowances, study allowances, yearly bonuses, housing, health insurance, sick leave, paternity leave, education allowances for their children and transport allowances (Ordinary members 3-6, 15 and 18). These conditions, as negotiated by the branch at the workplace, have resulted in a higher living standard for workers. For example, former branch member 3 expresses:

“We're now, we have access to bank loans. Two years ago very few workers owned vehicles. But as from last year, we have had an avalanche of vehicles. Every Jack and Jim at least has got a car. Because the banks have now got confidence in us”.

Former branch member 3 also refers to the trade union branch at his workplace as the main reason behind the improvements in working and living conditions. He states:

“But I would praise the present union that they have done their best. They have taking us from almost 0 to something where everyone can have”.

This former branch member sees this NUCIW branch as the actor for improving ordinary members' conditions at this parastatal workplace. Improvements are very central for not only ordinary and branch members but also their families and the whole community. Access to financial resources and higher wages, as the first statement shows, has lifted ordinary members out of poverty and given them an ability to improve their living conditions. Former branch member 3 tells of how

he sent five of his children to university (fee based in Zambia). The *social power* developed at this workplace, as shown by former branch member 3, thus has an enormous impact on the whole community and creates education and employment opportunities. The rise in living standards and *social power* even leads ordinary and branch members to organise themselves collectively and become an autonomous and influential voice (this is further discussed in *Chapter 10*). It is significant to note however, that this strength of ordinary members and level of working conditions occur predominantly at parastatals and are rarely seen at any private companies. Parastatals serve the state indirectly and therefore have a closer relationship to government. It is likely that this relationship provides the NUCIW branches at these companies a greater ability to offer a platform for ordinary members to be socially empowered in terms of financial benefits and awareness of their rights. One possible reason for this is that the government has used their connection with the trade union to gain voter support (former branch members 3 and 18). This issue is discussed further in *Chapter 10.1*.

8.2 NUCIW and NUPAAW members' involvement in decision-making processes and their political participation

Political power for a trade union member is linked to their ability and possibility to vote, speak out and participate in the decision making processes of NUCIW and NUPAAW. However for this to be realised there needs to be strong and committed trade union leadership at the branch and head office level of NUCIW and NUPAAW.

Branch members take part in negotiation proceedings, particularly at smaller companies, to determine conditions for trade union members and this adds to their *political power*. Several branch members express satisfaction and pride at having been involved in negotiation proceedings, which had managed to improve working and living conditions for all members. They further state that they have gained a lot of knowledge about Zambian labour laws and learnt negotiation skills because of this involvement (Branch members 35, 36 and 41). At larger companies the situation is different as negotiations are not undertaken by branch

members but instead undertaken by the respective General Secretary of NUCIW or NUPAAW. The NUPAAW General Secretary also negotiates JIC agreements. The responsibility and *political power* thus lies with the leaders of NUCIW and NUPAAW.

As outlined in *Chapter 7* NUCIW and NUPAAW are structured so that ordinary members are able to vote for their branch members at the workplace. Many ordinary members mention their interest in becoming a branch member and the majority of the ordinary members are aware of elections and participate in them (Ordinary members 25, 26, 27 and branch members 36 and 43). This awareness contributes to strengthening the legitimacy and power of the trade union branches at workplaces, and indicates that ordinary members support the structure of elections and the overall framework of NUCIW and NUPAAW.

However, despite this belief in the structure of the trade union, the majority of ordinary members perceive that the elected branch members are there to work on behalf of the members. Many ordinary (and even branch members themselves) express that they view and understand their trade union as their “*lawyer*” and an organisation, which represents them (Ordinary members 11, 17, 18, 25-27 and branch members 35, 36 and 38). For example, ordinary member 17 states:

“It is very important actually to be a union member because one, I know that when I am in problems the union will stand on my side. They are going to solve for me the problems. And two, to be unionised it is very important because you are secure, meaning anything coming for or coming between, you always have a lawyer, to talk on my behalf”.

Instead of taking on responsibilities and having access to *political power* themselves, ordinary members instil it in the branch members and expect them to use it to improve working conditions. Such a situation can be advantageous for NUCIW and NUPAAW branches (and head offices) as with control and trust having been given to them by the ordinary member’s *political power* becomes centralised. As a result the branches and head office can lead the trade union in the direction that they want without consulting ordinary members.

In addition, Friedmann (1992:24) argues that a strong and committed leadership is required within organisations in order to undertake a political struggle. For branch member 35, one of the regional officers of NUPAAW inspired him to join the trade union branch himself:

“I’ve been inspired by the big man here, who happened to be my former branch chairman. He is a close friend. I want to follow in his footsteps. I saw how he helped some people and that motivated me, that built my calibre”.

This statement indicates that branch member 35 understands the *political power* that trade union leaders have, and how using that power they have been able to negotiate better working and living conditions in the past. Further, branch member 35 feels that his involvement in the trade union could also bring about similar results. His branch already has a good working relationship with their employer at his workplace as they cooperate on grievance procedures. This shows that for branch member 35 a strong and committed leadership encourages him to take an active part in decision making processes at his workplace.

Member 35’s experience of having strong branch leaders in the workplace is however uncommon for most ordinary members. This is because the majority of branch members do not pass on the skills and knowledge they gain from their participation in negotiation proceedings. Some ordinary members state that there is no communication from the branch about the outcomes of negotiations (Ordinary members 25, 26 and 27). In this sense, ordinary members play no part in negotiations, and sometimes are not even allowed to input suggestions. The conclusion that can be drawn is that *political power*, from Friedmann’s perspective, is very limited for ordinary members. This absence undermines ordinary members’ belief in their trade unions, despite the majority supporting the existence of trade unions as organisations.

8.3 Empowering a trade union elite

Psychological power, according to Friedmann (1992:24), is the result of successful achievement of *social* and *political power*. The above discussion and

analysis of NUCIW and NUPAAW members' *social* and *political power*, indicates that branch members of NUCIW and NUPAAW have *psychological power* but this does not extend to ordinary members. The exception to this is where ordinary members work at parastatal companies. Branch members have access to decision making processes and receive training, which gives them a range of new skills. And based on these acquired *social* and *political powers*, they express a strong sense of responsibility to actively take part in trade union work and activities to strengthen working and living conditions. They thus exhibit, in Friedman's terms, *psychological power*.

The empowerment of branch members to the extent that they have *psychological power* does however create a risk within trade unions in that it can cause a division between those who are "*leaders*" (and empowered) those who are "*led*" (Hyman, 2005:10). This tendency for trade union to create elitism and social inequality can result from empowerment processes, as argued by Kelsall and Mercer (2003: 293-294). This is exemplified by branch member 35 who states: "*It is not really possible that each and every member can undergo that training. At least one or two can be privileged*". Ordinary member 18, a former branch member, also expresses that his holding a position on the branch gave him access to high level trade union and political leaders: "*given me the privilege to interact with people that I don't know*".

Professor 2 states that being a trade union leader, both at branch and head office level, carries a lot of status in Zambia and is reflected in the fact that many trade union leaders have become politicians. This inspires NUCIW branch member 40 who states: "*Being in a trade union you learn more and it can take you places*". Branch member 37 further states that since he was elected as chairperson of his NUPAAW branch he feels that he has become someone that people will listen to, not only at the workplace, but also in his community. There thus appears to be a clear understanding by branch members, that being on the branches of NUCIW and NUPAAW provides an opportunity to enhance one's own political and social status. There is a strong sense therefore, that when an ordinary member is elected to the branch they lose, to a certain extent, their collective perspective and become

concerned with individual benefits and gains, and this has led to the creation of small elite of trade union branch members within NUCIW and NUPAAW, as further discussed in *Chapter 10.3*. Such outcomes are also evident in other sectors in Zambia, as outlined by Ching (2009:663), who states that trade unions in the mining sector are run by an oligarchy, which has ruined them for decades.

8.4 Summary

In this chapter we have analysed whether NUCIW and NUPAAW have socially, politically and psychologically empowered their ordinary members to strengthen and claim their rights to better working and living conditions. In terms of *social power*, ordinary members, and in particular female ordinary members, have gained some *social power* and information about the trade unions and their work. Overall, however the *social power* of ordinary members is limited. Ordinary members have not gained the tools or the ability to claim their rights by themselves or challenge their employer.

Branch members, by comparison, have gained this ability through their attendance at workshops, which have provided them with information and knowledge about how to handle grievances and motivate other workers to be active in the trade union. In some instances branch members have applied this knowledge in practice and there is also evidence of branch members and ordinary members at parastatal companies having much more *social power* in terms of financial benefits and an awareness of claiming their rights.

In terms of *political power*, all ordinary members have a right to vote for their branch and support the structure of the trade unions. However, ordinary members have no part in decision making processes and tend to see their trade union as their representative or lawyer and this reduces their *political power*. This is also reflected in the way NUCIW and NUPAAW have centralised negotiations with private companies or governments over working conditions. In some workplaces branch members do take part in negotiation proceedings and are therefore more politically empowered, however ordinary members are left out of this process.

In terms of *psychological power*, it requiring the gaining of *social* and *political power*, only branch members and ordinary members who work at parastatal companies are empowered. The majority of ordinary members are not empowered and this results in a division between branch members and ordinary members, and the creation of elitism within NUCIW and NUPAAW. It is evident that branch members are more privileged and have more status than ordinary members in both their workplaces and communities.

Chapter 9. Limited empowerment

Narrative 2

We are standing outside a large black gate in the middle of the industrial area of Lusaka. The head office staff member who is accompanying us is arguing with the security guide. Apparently she does not want to let us into the workplace. Not the first time, according to the staff member. After some time the staff member loses his patience and tells us to be prepared to go in by force. We look at each other and follow with trepidation. As we get in behind the gate we gasp. No one says anything, not even the staff member. From the entrance we can see several lopsided buildings almost falling apart and workers working without any form of safety clothing. As we get closer we see a huge coal furnace. Dust and smoke is filling our lungs and as we pass by it we are dreading that it might explode at any minute. The workers shovelling coal into it seem not to be concerned about the pollution.

There are no trade union branch members in sight. Our staff member tries to call the chairperson several times on the phone before he finally appears and we receive permission to talk to a member. He tells us that the branch at his workplace is very challenged. There are no negotiated benefits apart from overtime. His employer even delayed negotiations for nine months. He wishes he could leave this workplace and go somewhere else but with no other choices for employment he is forced to stay and hope that the trade union can change something. It is the only defence he has.

This narrative shows that NUCIW and NUPAAW operate in a very challenging environment. In this chapter we analyse how this environment limits the ability of NUCIW and NUPAAW to provide a platform for ordinary members to become empowered and take an active part in improving their working and living conditions. We draw on Kabeer's terms of *agency*, *resources* and *achievement* and also Parpart et al.'s perspective on how global and national political and economic structures influence, challenge and affect the empowerment process carried out by NUCIW and NUPAAW. Finally, we also comment on the extent to which members of NUCIW and NUPAAW are in any way disempowered by being union members.

9.1 The influence of employers on the members of NUCIW and NUPAAW's empowerment

Agency, according to Kabeer (2005:14) is the process by which ordinary members of NUCIW and NUPAAW make choices, exercise their choices and challenge their employer or government with respect to their working conditions. As discussed in *Chapter 8*, ordinary members do not often take part in meetings organised by branches nor do they take part in negotiation proceedings, and therefore the *agency* of ordinary members of NUCIW and NUPAAW is limited. This limitation is also related to the influence and power of employers that has increased due to the privatisation of the *Zambian economy*. Working conditions and wages are also now being negotiated directly with a wide range of private companies rather than the government (Negi, 2010:6; see *Chapter 6.3.2*).

Ordinary member 12 is one of the many members who work at a private company and whose experience is that the trade union branch at his workplace is prevented from undertaking activities and fulfilling their duties due to barriers put up by his employer. The long working hours at his workplace mean that there is not enough time for the trade union branch to organise meetings and to talk to the ordinary members about proposals and solutions to grievances and negotiation proceedings. At some other private workplaces meetings are only half an hour in length and occur less than twice a year (Ordinary members 11, 12, and 24-27).

Ordinary member 1 states: *“the people in the committee [trade union branch] really do work but it is the management”*. It is clear from these members’ perspectives that employers prevent branches from organising activities and that these ordinary members are restricted in terms of their ability to take part in such activities, thus limiting the choices available to ordinary members.

A lack of choice, from Kabeer’s perspective, indicates a lack of *agency*. The fact that union meetings do not take place or are very short and therefore cannot be used to impart information means that ordinary members do not either have choices or the opportunity to exercise those choices. This lack of *agency* is, from the members’ perspectives, caused by the influence of the employer. It is only when proper meetings take place that there is an opportunity for *agency* to be initiated as ordinary members can be made aware of the existence of their trade union branch and the work that they are undertaking to strengthen members’ working and living conditions.

This lack of *agency* is also evident when examining members’ ability to undertake education and to join the trade union at their workplace. This ability often depends to a large extent on the private company’s discretion and acceptance of the trade union. In various private workplaces NUCIW and NUPAAW do not have enough power and influence to secure education allowances for ordinary members from employers. Many ordinary members perceive that an education is an important means to improve their working and living conditions (Ordinary members 1, 8-10, 19 and 32). However, as ordinary member 19 expresses: *“It is very difficult to attend an education because of the time spent at work”*. Ordinary members are also restricted by the cost of education and have no real choice in terms of choosing studying over or in addition to work. This is because the majority exist on a very tight budget and support dependents such as extended family members and in-laws (Ordinary members 1, 2, 7, 9, 16, 18, 19, 20, 24 and 27). As ordinary member 11 states:

“You really have to have a tight budget to meet all the things up to the month. Sometimes you just have to sacrifice and say we do without this and do without that”.

This statement shows that because ordinary members are totally dependent on their employers for their existence, employers, by imposing restrictive working conditions can also limit members' ability to access education. This, in turn results in members being unable to break out of their situation through education and thus according to Kabeer (2005:14), leaves them without *agency*. Further, this shows that the ability of NUCIW and NUPAAW to provide a platform for ordinary members to exercise their choices to obtain further education is also limited by the influence of employers.

Employers can also exert influence on whether a worker joins a trade union. In many workplaces NUCIW and NUPAAW struggle to recruit members and are often stymied by employers who, upgrade workers to management level and therefore prevent them from joining the trade union (Branch member 40; Staff 3). This is despite the ILO convention that Zambia has signed stating that every worker has the right to be represented (see *Chapter 6.2*). Ordinary member 1 notes that the hostility of employers towards trade unions and the limiting of their presence and activities at workplaces also inhibit NUCIW and NUPAAW's ability to recruit members.

Where trade unions are present at workplaces, the majority of members express that they had no choice to join the union and in fact were automatically made a member upon being employed (Ordinary members 4, 5, 14, 19, 20 and 29-31). For example, ordinary member 29 says: "*Me, when I started working, I was not asked, I was just included*". It is also evident that members are not aware of their rights as a worker not to take up trade union membership. Again, this indicates that ordinary members' *agency* is limited. The fact that the majority of the members of NUCIW and NUPAAW do not question their trade union membership can also be linked to the survival of Zambia's historical one union, one sector policy where being a trade union member was mandatory (see *Chapter 6.3*) Members thus perceive their membership as a natural part of being employed.

This lack of choice also indirectly benefits NUCIW and NUPAAW as they gain members by default and thus more financial resources without much effort. NUCIW and NUPAAW also benefit from this lack of choice and *agency* in that

having a choice could lead ordinary members to challenge the hierarchical structure and centralised power of NUCIW and NUPAAW (Kabeer, 2005:14). Interestingly this creates a dilemma for the leadership of these trade unions as perpetuating a lack of choice by members contradicts their aims of empowering members.

9.2 The influence of the processes of privatisation on empowerment

According to Parpart et al. (2002:3), it is important to examine national and global political and economic structures (such as foreign investment and privatisation) when analysing empowerment processes. It can be argued that such structures weaken the role of the government as a regulator of labour laws and further limit the ability of NUCIW and NUPAAW to offer members a platform for their ordinary members to exercise choice and *agency*.

During the one-party UNIP era, the Zambian Government played a central role in regulating working and living conditions as the majority of Zambian workers were employed at parastatal companies and on permanent contracts (see *Chapter 6.1*). This is far from the situation that exists in Zambia today. As Parpart et al (2002:13,14) argue, globalisation has resulted in greater economic inequality and a weakening of national states as regulators. This is also true for Zambia, where the conversion and transition of parastatal companies into privately owned companies, mostly foreign owned, has resulted in a loss of power by the government and increased economic inequality. The Zambian government is no longer in direct control of working conditions for the nations' workers and many have been moved onto casual and short term contracts by the new private companies. Many members state that they are employed either as a casual or on a fixed term contract from one to three years (Ordinary members 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34 and branch members 28 and 35-39).

The rise in the casualisation of the workforce, which is part of the processes of privatisation, threatens members' job security, lowers wages and challenges the ability of NUCIW and NUPAAW to empower ordinary members to exercise their *agency*, speak out and question the authority of their employer. For example,

ordinary member 12 states: *“It is also hard to raise your voice when you are on a contract limited to three years”*. This statement shows how casual contracts instil fear amongst ordinary members that their contracts will not be renewed. Such fear is preventing ordinary members from taking an active part in trade union activities. Further, ordinary member 12 does not see that his trade union, NUCIW, is offering him a platform to speak out against his casual contract. He does not feel that the trade union and the ordinary members stand together. This suggests that NUCIW does not have a strong enough presence at private companies and are not doing enough to enable ordinary members to exercise their *agency* and challenge their casual contracts.

The *agency* of ordinary members to speak out against their casual contracts is also limited by the fact that the government does not enforce the application of its labour laws. Branch member 35, whose branch is fighting their employer to recognise casual workers as trade union members, says that the government is not doing anything to assist NUPAAW:

“If the government can have a say to unionise the workers better. Now they don’t have a say. They can’t help us....they are putting us aside”.

According to Zambian labour law casual workers are permitted to join the trade union however without governments’ enforcement of these laws private employers can choose to follow labour laws or not.

By not enforcing compliance with its labour laws the government is implicitly supporting private companies to the disadvantage of trade unions and is allowing casualisation to prevail. This is a significant challenge for NUCIW and NUPAAW as trade unions are expected to fight for ordinary members’ job security. Job security is a major concern for ordinary members of NUCIW and NUPAAW as unemployment and economic poverty is widespread in Zambia. Ordinary member 20 states: *“There is a high level of unemployment here, we are willing to take what you can get”*. This is even the case for ordinary members who have a higher education as outlined by ordinary member 19: *“Employment here is a challenge that is why I find myself doing these things, though I have been going to school”*. As the majority of workers who are employed in the formal sector work in private

companies, conditions are below substandard across the industrial, commercial and agricultural sectors in Zambia. Thus if an ordinary member was to leave one private company it is possible that they may face worse conditions at another company (Ordinary members 1, 9 and 32). This situation has left many ordinary members of NUCIW and NUPAAW with no choice but to remain in their current job and to accept whatever working conditions are associated with their employment.

Further, casualisation prevents NUCIW and NUPAAW in having a consistent and stable membership at workplaces and these impacts on the empowerment process of the ordinary members. Ordinary members tend to be more concerned about their possibilities of having a permanent contract than engaging in trade union work. In addition ordinary members tend to see NUCIW and NUPAAW more as negotiators of their job security and working conditions, rather than providing a platform to develop and exercise their individual *agency*.

Where negotiations over working conditions do take place with private companies these are generally to gain benefits such as maternity leave, “*mother’s day*”, sick leave (Branch member 28), funeral and transport allowances (Ordinary members 17 and 22-23) and the provision of safety equipment (Ordinary member 17). Branch and ordinary members both know that the government is no longer able to provide such benefits as it did during the UNIP era and therefore they need to turn to their employers for these benefits. For example, ordinary member 20 expresses:

“I have to know that I am part of the company and that it is taking care of me...certain needs are supposed to be met, to a certain level, so if they are not met, I am not satisfied”.

This statement shows that the ordinary members’ perspectives on who should provide social benefits have changed and as noted above, ordinary members are increasingly dependent on their private employer’s willingness to grant such benefits.

Despite this situation, the Zambian government is still viewed by the head office staff of NUCIW as an influential actor and one to which trade unions should

direct their claims for improved working and living conditions (Staff 1). NUCIW work closely with government to provide suggestions and feedback on the government's re-drafting of labour laws, with the aim and hope that the government will then regulate private companies more thoroughly. NUCIW place an importance on their relationship with government, as has been their tradition for many years past. Such a close relationship also affords them political influence. This emphasis on a close relationship with government is indicative of what Parpart et.al (2002:14) suggest is still very common that trade unions see national governments as a central platform for addressing political struggles. However, as argued by Parpart et al. (2002:3), the influence that private companies, private investors and other global organisations (e.g. international donors) have on the Zambian government needs to be taken into consideration as these countervailing influences are weakening the ability of the trade unions to achieve their aim of empowering members. It is evident to ordinary members that the Sata Government does not have the influence and power as it used to have in regards to controlling and regulating workers' conditions of employment.

9.3 Limited and controlled *resources* – a challenge for empowerment

According to Kabeer (2005:15), *resources* are the means by which one's *agency* is implemented. For NUCIW and NUPAAW *resources* consist of both human and financial *resources*. NUCIW and NUPAAW receive financial *resources* from donors (e.g. 3F) and from members' monthly membership fees (see *Chapter 7*). Financial *resources* obtained from membership fees however have been declining for trade unions since the 1980s and is the result of many workers being forced into the unregulated and non-unionised informal sector following the privatisation of parastatal companies.

NUCIW centralise the management of their finances whereas NUPAAW allocate 10% of the monthly membership to branches so that they can arrange their own events and workshops (see *Chapter 7*). However, many ordinary members at privately owned companies have not participated in workshops held by NUPAAW or NUCIW, either at the branch or head office level (Ordinary

members 2, 11, 12, 13 and 29-31). One of the reasons for this is the limited ability of branches to visit members at other worksites, organise workshops and assist ordinary members due to the lack of *resources*. Branch member 40 feels that this is an issue related to the budget prioritisations at NUCIW, and that the head office does not give any of the membership fees back to branches.

Branch member 40 further states that not only is financial support needed, but an improvement in the skills of branch members to deal with grievances and undertake negotiations. Branches also need to know how to conduct research in order to prepare for negotiations with employers as stated by branch member 40:

“You find that you will bargain, you are given a low increment, and after the bargaining process has ended that is when they [the employer] will send out the yearly statement to say that we have made a huge profit”.

This statement indicates that employers have greater collective bargaining skills and can manipulate negotiation proceedings. This conclusion is also confirmed by ordinary member 25 4 and Professor 2 who state that employers have an advantage as they have the knowledge to bargain.

Staff member 4 indicates that one reason behind the lack of training offered by NUCIW is their lack of both financial and human *resources*. However, it is evident that both unions are severely understaffed and cannot possibly offer more training at present. Further, the fact that elections occur every two years at workplaces means that NUCIW and NUPAAW spend the majority of their time and *resources* providing induction training to new branch members. This leaves little financial *resources* left for the training of ordinary members or to conduct other trainings and workshops. NUCIW and NUPAAW also face difficulties at the head office in that they also need to acquire skills to combat the rise of casualisation and to improve their ability to negotiate with powerful and well-resourced employers (Staff 1 and 8).

There is a strong sense that these limited and controlled *resources* are affecting the ability of NUCIW and NUPAAW to offer members a platform to be empowered and hold their employers accountable. Further, the structure of NUCIW and NUPAAW does not allow ordinary members to have any say in or

control over how financial *resources* are spent and distributed. Branches are also limited, as they generally do not have any or not enough financial *resources* to conduct workshops for ordinary members.

9.4 Achievements of members of NUCIW and NUPAAW

Kabeer (2005: 15) asserts that the combination of *agency* and *resources* results in *achievement*, which in the case of NUCIW and NUPAAW means the potential for ordinary members to work and live under conditions that they prefer and choose. Several ordinary members of NUCIW and NUPAAW express that they would prefer a change in many of the conditions at their workplace. For ordinary members 8 and 25, these changes focus on the need to access education. Ordinary member 25 stresses that he is forced to take his children out of school because of his limited financial resources. He worries about his children's future as he feels that education is the only means to achieve better living standards and to get out of economic poverty. Ordinary member 8 also states that whilst he would like to continue his education it is very expensive and impossible considering his current wage: "*I have grade 12 and computer course and it is a challenge to get education...very expensive*".

A recurring theme that is highlighted by the majority of ordinary members of NUCIW and NUPAAW is that they are not satisfied with their working and living conditions. They feel that their wages are far too low to cover everyday expenses such as rent, utilities, transport, school fees and health care (Ordinary members 7, 11, 13, 17-20, 22-27, 29-32). What occupies most ordinary members is their survival and that of their families. Ordinary member 20 states: "*We are working to sustain our lives, I can say, there is nothing we can do*". This focus on survival is associated with high levels of economic poverty and means that ordinary members tend to see NUCIW and NUPAAW as a platform to gain social and economic benefits (Ordinary members 1, 13, 18 and 25-27).

Kabeer (1999, 2005) understands empowerment in relation to whether an individual has gained *achievement*. As analysed above using Friedmann's *social, political* and *psychological power*, branch members are more empowered than

ordinary members. However, from Kabeer's perspective, it is difficult to conclude that NUPAAW branch members are more empowered as their choices, for example, housing are still controlled by their private employers. In workplaces under NUPAAW branch members are provided with larger or brick houses. For example, branch member 34:

"I was living in a small house and then from there I was promoted, I was given two room house and then from there I was given a four room house, so here I am. This is a new house".

Branch member 34 is very satisfied with his working and living conditions. He feels that he has achieved a level of living that he is proud of. However, his satisfaction and improvement in living conditions has come about due to decisions of his employer rather than the branch member's own ability to choose his own house and living conditions. Thus, from Kabeer's perspective, this branch member's choices are still connected and reliant on a powerful "other" and therefore this limits his level of empowerment.

Overall, from Kabeer's perspective, both ordinary and branch members have no *achievement* at private companies. This lack of *achievement* is an indication of members' lack of choices, which according to Kabeer results in members being disempowered. This disempowerment is linked to the factors outlined above which affect the ability of NUCIW and NUPAAW to create a platform for ordinary members to become empowered.

9.5 Summary

In this chapter we have analysed the factors that influence NUCIW and NUPAAW's ability to provide a platform for their members to exercise *agency*, control *resources* and reach a level of *achievement*. One factor is that ordinary members do not attend trade union branch meetings and therefore do not know about their rights as workers' or about the work of their trade union. This in turn prevents them from questioning NUCIW and NUPAAW. Another factor is that NUCIW and NUPAAW do not, in general, secure educational opportunities for their ordinary members, particularly at private companies. In addition, ordinary

members have no *agency* to demand that their employer support or give them an opportunity to take up further formal education outside of work. Private employers also influence ordinary members' choices and *agency* in relation to their choice to take up trade union membership. In some situations ordinary members are prevented from joining the trade union, while in other case trade union membership is automatic and occurs without consultation.

The process of privatisation is another significant influence. As a result of privatisation there are more private companies in Zambia and fewer jobs in the formal sector of the economy. This has reduced the number of potential trade union members. Further, privatisation has weakened the role of the government as a regulator of labour laws, and has resulted in a situation where most ordinary members are on casual and short term contracts. These forms of employment reduce the security of members' jobs and limit NUCIW and NUPAAW's ability to provide a platform to speak out about this issue. In addition, while NUCIW and NUPAAW branches are directing efforts to gain social and economic benefits from their private employers, the head office of NUCIW is still very much focused on government which no longer is capable of providing these benefits.

Limited and controlled human and financial *resources* are another influence and NUCIW and NUPAAW are lacking in both. Branch members want more financial support to undertake training and workshops for ordinary members, and also to develop their own skills, especially for negotiations. However, the vertical structure of the two trade unions indicates that the head office controls and prioritises the distribution of *resources*, which makes it difficult for branch members to undertake any trade union activities.

For members who work for private companies it is evident that *achievement* is not realised. The statements given by members indicate that they do not work and live according to how they would like. As a result ordinary members see that NUCIW and NUPAAW's only useful purpose is to gain social and economic benefits from their employers.

Chapter 10. Collective action and *transformative change*

Narrative 3:

We drive to the downtown area of the capital Lusaka. In a rather small boardroom we meet with a branch committee. The branch is kind and eager to let us talk to ordinary members. This workplace was once a parastatal company but has since been sold to foreign investors. At the end of the table a middle age women in a dark blue laboratory coat sits. She is not on the branch but has been picked to participate in one of our interviews. After interviewing the branch, we are left in the room with her. She is shy but willing to share her experiences being a trade union member. When we ask her about what kinds of activities are arranged by NUCIW and whether she has participated in them, she pauses and has to think. After a while she confesses that Labour Day marches are the only activity. And when we ask her about what happens on Labour Day she emphasises the new clothing that was provided to the members on the day - ties, shoes, suits and the like. She sees Labour Day as a way to get the company to buy clothing. It's not a day where she goes out onto the streets with her colleagues. She is aware herself of the lack of unity in her trade union. She calls for more action and support from NUCIW in order to stand stronger as a collective and present a united front to her employer: "those representatives from the head office, from the branches, I suggest they put their foot down...it is quite important to be united".

As the narrative above shows, some members do not see their trade union as united and taking collective action to demand better working and living conditions from private employers and government. According to Kabeer (2005) and Friedmann (1992), collective action is necessary for any major changes to occur. In this chapter we analyse whether the intent to empower members of NUCIW and NUPAAW leads to *collective self-empowerment* and *transformative* change for all Zambian trade union members and workers, and what factors are limiting this process. A *transformative* change would involve both the implementation of what is stated in labour law and the overturning of the no strike policy. Finally, we comment on the structure of the two trade unions and whether this limits ordinary members from taking collective action.

10.1 NUCIW branch leading collective action

Collective action, through mobilising and acting on a united front on behalf of members is a central part of any trade union organisation (Korpi and Palme, 2003). For Friedmann (1992) and Kabeer (1999, 2005), collective action, is something that operates on a broader societal and institutional level, and forms a critical part of the empowerment process. Kabeer (2005:16,23) argues that education and political participation is unlikely to empower individuals themselves - empowerment can only occur if individuals join together and act as a collective against authorities. In this sense it is a shift from individual to collective *agency*. Friedmann (1992:55,57) equally understands collective action as key for the wide scale resolution of issues such as poverty.

Friedmann (1992:24) also asserts that organisations such as trade unions are central in organising their members to unite and act as a collective movement. One branch of NUCIW at a parastatal workplace does empower and develop an awareness of ordinary members that leads to collective action. In this case, ordinary members practice an effective *agency* as the platform provided by the NUCIW branch allows them to take responsibility for strengthening their own working and living conditions (Kabeer, 1999:438). Ordinary members even

involve their families and the entire surrounding local community in their struggle.

Being a parastatal company, all the claims from the branch are directed to the government. This branch has a lot of power and influence as stated by former branch member 3:

“They [the branch] are the only union in the country which has a branch which can stand up and talk to the state house. And they will be heard....we have influenced the electorate. Usually as you know, the politicians fear the electorate. When it comes to voting they know all this. So this is one union, they may look very simple, but this is one union which does organise, even with the churches. If they have an issue with the government the whole community will stand up”.

And finally:

“...tell your union your difficulties, then we move they move. It might be illegal but when these people stand up as a community we also get sympathy from other towns”.

As these quotes indicate, the government is influenced by the power and ability of the trade unions within this area to organise the community and influence who they vote for. Historically trade unions have been known for mobilising such community support around elections, as outlined by LeBas (2011). The branch at this workplace is still able to mobilise a large amount of support from the whole community surrounding the workplace using demonstrations, strikes and social media (Branch member 43). The branch manages to raise a broad awareness on issues concerning working conditions and labour rights. As former branch member 3 notes, it is not only the trade union members that are affected by low wages and limited access to leave and allowances; it also affects their families and relatives which make up the majority of the citizens in the local community. Such united strength provides the branch with sufficient power to influence the electorate and thus the government listens to and communicates with this branch.

According to Pitcher (2007:152), some Zambian trade unions have gained an awareness of and the ability to organize people from democratisation processes

e.g. the right to demonstrate and use mass media as a vehicle to spread messages and opinions to the public and gain the attention of the government. It is evident that the branch at this workplace uses such methods and this allows them to strengthen working and living conditions for their members. Further, their use of social media has enabled them to gain support from other towns in Zambia (Former branch member 3). This in turn prevents the Sata Government from taking action to reprimand the branch and ordinary members for organising and taking part in illegal strike action. In this regard the collective action initiated by this NUCIW branch gives ordinary members better living and working conditions.

Despite this example of successful collective action at a parastatal company, the majority of NUCIW and NUPAAW ordinary and branch members who work at private companies have not taken part in collective action (Ordinary members 1, 2, 8, 11-13, 19-23 and branch member 40). This absence of collective action reflects both a lack of empowerment amongst ordinary members and a dominance of individualism.

10.2 Collective action being challenged by individualism

Pitcher (2007:153) argues that the language of individual rights, such as the right to vote, the right to consume, the right to free speech and the right to own private property has replaced the language of collective action, workers solidarity and communal rights. It is evident that the ordinary members of NUCIW and NUPAAW who have access to meetings held by the branches at their workplaces are aware of their rights and see their trade unions as a means to communicate and demand such rights of their employer. However, ordinary members' demands are mostly expressed as individual rights rather than collective rights. For example, ordinary members 17, 18, 22, 23 and 28 express workers' rights as: *"my right to maternity leave and mother's day"*; *"my right to education and to be a shareholder"*; *"my right to a decent salary and protective clothing"* and *"my right to free expression"*.

From Parpart et al.'s (2002:13) perspective, this awareness of individual rights is a strength that can lead to both individual and collective action. However, for

ordinary members of NUCIW and NUPAAW, individual and collective action are limited by the lack of effective *agency* as they tend not to see themselves as responsible or part of the collective process to strengthen working and living conditions. Further, few ordinary members understand the importance of organising all members in a collective and united group. Claiming workers' and members' rights for all instead of rights for individuals, is essential, according to Kabeer (2005:23), in making authorities accountable for the implementation of, and compliance with, labour laws.

Contrary to Parpart et al. (2002), Harvey (cited in Pitcher 2007:153) and Pitcher (2007:153) argue that the influence of globalisation and its associated processes of economic liberalisation and privatisation limits the occurrence and possibility of collective awareness and solidarity. For ordinary members of NUCIW and NUPAAW it is evident that such an effect has occurred. As stated by Expert 1, Zambians have much more of an individualistic mind-set compared to other Southern African countries and this is a result of the processes of economic liberalisation and privatisation. Zambians are now more concerned with their own survival and are reliant on their own efforts to earn a living (Expert 1).

It is evident that this individualistic mind-set is prevalent amongst branch members and that it is preventing them from initiating collective action. Being a branch member gives more opportunities to gain individual benefits which can influence the motivation of ordinary members to join the branch and participate in the trade union, as outlined by Kelsall and Mercer (2003:293-294). Some branch members gain personal benefits from holding a position on the branch, for example, living in a larger house, and/or attending external trade meetings or workshops (Former branch member 3, 18 and 34).

In addition, several ordinary members state that branch members at their workplace are bribed by their employer, especially during negotiation proceedings. For example, ordinary member's 25-27 state that the branch at their workplace has been paid off by the employer to sign a CBA which disregards working conditions put forward by ordinary members. After such negotiation proceedings branch members are then moved to a different worksite and ordinary

members do not receive any communication about what has been negotiated. The bribing of branch members shifts the focus of the branch from being a democratic elected representation of the ordinary members to a means of gaining personal benefits. Member 1 says:

“...when the committee [branch] becomes biased. Because by then they would be doing things, not to help the people outside but to help themselves”.

This situation is perpetuated by the fact that the majority of branch members live in economic poverty and receive less than the minimum wage. This in turn limits the branch members' ability to use the *social* and *political power* that they gain to initiate collective action in their own workplaces and on a larger scale for all Zambian trade union members. Further, when ordinary members see that branch members are bribed it can affect their interest in NUCIW and NUPAAW as they question the legitimacy of the branch. This creates major difficulties for trade unions as according to branch member 37, a belief in the trade union and their leaders is essential if such organisations are to be successful in achieving benefits for their members.

10.3 Lack of strong and visible leadership limiting collective action

A further dimension of Friedmann's (1992:24) strong and committed leadership is that NUCIW and NUPAAW, at the head office level, need a stable organisational framework in order to resist manipulation from government and private employers and to create a collective space for ordinary members to raise their voice. However, in the case of NUCIW, many ordinary and branch members feel that there is a lack of strong and visible leadership (Ordinary members 13, 17 and former branch members 18 and branch member 40). These members express that there is an absence of interaction with head office staff and that head office does not give greater voice to the demands of ordinary members, put pressure on government to enforce labour laws, and even go to court if necessary. Further branch member 40 states that NUCIW need to be more visible in the media and

that NUCIW should use the media as a platform to communicate with his employer and government. He says:

“And that goes up to the motherboard [head office]. We don’t interact closely with the media. But the company that we belong to, this company, it interacts very closely with the media. So you have been seeing with other unions, when they are bargaining they even give the feedback through the media. Since I joined this company in 2003 I have never seen, even the President of our union, talking about our negotiations on television or on the radio or even a small article in the paper pertaining to whatever is being done...”

Member 40 would like the head office of NUCIW to be more visible and transparent in their leadership. His workplace has been without a CBA for two years, as NUCIW and the employer has not agreed on conditions concerning performance appraisals. Being without a CBA weakens the legitimacy and belief in NUCIW to represent ordinary members, take collective action or promote the results of negotiations in the media. While the ordinary members at this workplace support the wishes of the branch, they are dissatisfied with the leadership of NUCIW and see the trade union as powerless to hold government and their employer accountable (Ordinary members 22 and 23).

Further, from Friedmann’s (1992:24) perspective on leadership it can be argued that Zambian trade unions in general do not resist manipulation from government and private employers. As stated by former branch member 18:

“It is also that we [trade unions in Zambia] have allowed a bit of some politics. We might have allowed a bit of some politics, to influence members, to abuse them and to make them divided. When workers are divided there is nothing for them. They [the Sata Government] have so much power. So much power.”

The quote supports the proposition that, in general, the government in Zambia has a lot of power over trade unions and this has been the case since independence (see *Chapter 6.3.1*). The relationship that trade unions have with government can affect how ordinary members of NUCIW and NUPAAW view their trade unions

and their respective leaders. If ordinary members see that the head office is too close to government then their belief in the leaders can be effected. In addition, the ability of trade unions to hold the government accountable and take collective action, and therefore create *transformative* change is limited.

10.4 Top-down structures preventing bottom-up empowerment

NUCIW and NUPAAW's objective to empower members is intended to start in the workplace and lead to collective action and large-scale *transformative* change (see *Chapter 7*). This bottom-up approach however is negated by internal and external influences such as privatisation, the power of private employers, the government, and the trade unions' lack of human and financial resources. Further, it is also challenged by the hierarchical structure of NUCIW and NUPAAW. As power and control is centralised in both trade unions, this makes it difficult for NUCIW and NUPAAW to implement an approach that is decentralised and non-hierarchical. This therefore raises the question as to what extent NUCIW and NUPAAW are capable or willing to undertake bottom-up empowerment programmes, or if such programmes can be implemented when they do not align with how the trade unions actually operate at the highest level. This situation reflects what is a common tendency within empowerment programmes that is that these programmes are intended to be bottom-up, but in practice end up as more top-down (Woost 1997:249).

Various scholars' (Escobar, 1995; Rist, 2002 cited in Jönsson et. al., 2012) advocate that empowerment approaches reflect a power inequality and the dominance of development approaches from donor countries. NUCIW and NUPAAW cooperate with 3F whose financial support is aimed at ensuring that ordinary members take an active participation in strengthening their working and living conditions. While NUCIW and NUPAAW do participate in developing the content of the specific programmes they run to ensure that its fits with their work and the context in Zambia, they are dependent on the financial support of 3F to remain in operation and therefore do not have much autonomy to follow any other development approach. This situation is despite 3F and NUCIW and NUPAAW

working in an equal partnership (3F, 2013:16-23). Kelsall and Mercer's (2003:293-294) argue that external actors cannot influence one's individual capacity to initiate empowerment that then leads to collective action. As indicated in the previous chapters, the empowerment of the individual member is limited. In this regard the influence of 3F on NUCIW and NUPAAW's empowerment programmes to initiate collective action that leads to *transformative* change, beginning with the individual member, is questionable.

10.5 Summary

In this chapter we have analysed whether NUCIW and NUPAAW are providing a platform to allow ordinary members to take the necessary collective action to strengthen working and living conditions, challenge private employers and the government, and thus leads to *transformative* change. We have cited one example of collective action at a parastatal company under NUCIW where the branch at this workplace manages to organise all ordinary members and gain support from the surrounding community. This branch uses collective action tools such as demonstrations and awareness raising through the media and such tools give the branch a significant level of influence over the government, their employer.

However, collective action on this scale does not occur for the majority of ordinary and branch members of NUCIW and NUPAAW, especially those working at private companies. This is due to a lack of empowerment amongst ordinary members and effect of individualism, both of which prevent ordinary members seeing their trade unions as a platform to undertake collective action. Globalisation and the processes of privatisation also lead members and Zambian workers to have a more individualistic mind-set.

Individualism is even more evident for branch members, who once joining the branch have a tendency to focus more on individual benefits rather than on initiating collective action. Such benefits include the gaining of material assets and access to workshops and training. Further, in some instances and due to economic poverty, branch members have been known to accept bribes, which influence their actions.

The lack of a strong and committed leadership at the head office level of NUPAAW and NUCIW is also inhibiting collective action and *transformative* change. Many ordinary and branch members feel that the leaders of NUCIW are not visible in the media and do not interact with branch and ordinary members in workplaces. This lack of leadership also prevents NUCIW being able to resist manipulation from private employers and government. The government in Zambia has a lot of influence over trade unions and this also affects how ordinary and branch members view their leaders.

Finally, it is evident that NUCIW and NUPAAW's bottom-up empowerment approach is at odds with the hierarchical organisational structure of the trade unions and influence of and dependency on 3F. This then raises the question as to whether the influence of donors on empowerment programmes can bring about *transformative* change and collective action as it is intended to do.

Chapter 11. Conclusion

This thesis has analysed the operations of the two Zambian trade unions, NUCIW and NUPAAW, aiming to understand whether, and to what extent they offer members a platform to strengthen their working and living conditions and achieve large-scale change for all Zambian trade union members and workers.

When looking at *social* and *political power*, it is evident that branch members at private companies, when compared with ordinary members, attend more workshops and gain more knowledge and skills about how to address grievances, safety issues and how to motivate ordinary members. Further, some branch members take part in decision making processes such as negotiations, which strengthens their *political power*. In this sense branch members are more empowered than ordinary members who, as outlined in the analysis, rarely take part in trade union meetings, workshops and decision making processes. This lack of participation is causing ordinary members to instil responsibility on the branches of NUCIW and NUPAAW to strengthening working and living conditions for them rather than trying to become an active part in the work of the trade unions themselves. Our analysis indicates that ordinary members lack *social* and *political power*, and therefore *psychological power*. This is not only leading to a division between ordinary and branch members but also creating elitism where branch members have more privileges and status. In the case of ordinary and branch members who are employed at parastatal companies, the picture is slightly different and there is evidence to indicate that these members are aware of their rights, receive financial benefits and have the skills to address their claims to their employer, the government.

Again, for ordinary members who work for private companies, it is evident that they are restricted in terms of gaining and exercising their *agency*, controlling their *resources* and reaching *achievement*. We conclude that *agency* is limited in the sense that many ordinary members do not find that NUCIW and NUPAAW are providing a platform for them to gain and exercise their *agency*, nor do they have the power to stand up against their employers. This is due to private employers limiting ordinary members' attendance at trade union meetings, restricting choices to undertake further formal education and to join the trade unions. In addition, the processes of privatisation and its associated casualisation of the workforce and the failure of

government to enforce labour laws are also major factors. The limited and controlled human and financial *resources* of NUCIW and NUPAAW affect the ability of branch members to fund and undertake workshops and trainings. There is thus no sense of *achievement* for ordinary members at private companies who are dissatisfied with their working and living conditions, and do not work and live as they would like to. This is leading many ordinary members to see NUCIW and NUPAAW mainly as a means to gain social and economic benefits. Further, the absence of *achievement* and lack of choice also indicates that members are disempowered as trade union members.

There are a number of factors, both internal and external, which impede the ability of NUCIW and NUPAAW to not only undertake a bottom-up empowerment approach, but to mobilise ordinary members and take collective action leading to *transformative* change. Our analysis indicates that collective action only occurs at one parastatal workplace where NUCIW is represented. At this workplace the branch manages to organise ordinary members and take collective action through demonstrations, strikes and awareness raising through the media. Further, the collective action allows the branch to influence the government. However, this example is an exception. Collective action of this type and on this scale is not occurring at private companies and the majority of ordinary and branch members do not view NUCIW and NUPAAW as providing a platform to undertake collective action. It is also evident that the lack of empowerment is not the only cause of this effect as there is also a strong tendency for ordinary members, and particularly branch members, to think in a more individualistic sense and focus on achieving their own individual rights rather than the collective rights of all members and workers. In the case of branch members this is highlighted by the fact that some are bribed and receive personal benefits from employers. We also conclude that globalisation, the processes of privatisation and economic poverty does impact on the actions of branch and ordinary members and do cause them to be more concerned about individual and economic benefits. In addition, the lack of a strong and committed leadership from the head office of NUCIW and NUPAAW is also causing collective action and *transformative* change to be limited. The leaders of NUCIW and NUPAAW are not perceived by ordinary and branch members as resisting the authority of private

employers or government, or doing enough to provide information about what the trade unions do, either to the members directly or through the media.

The overall conclusion of our analysis is that the ability of NUCIW and NUPAAW to offer members a platform to strengthen their working and living conditions and achieve large-scale change for all Zambian trade union members and workers is limited and weak. NUCIW and NUPAAW find it difficult to adapt to the major structural changes that have occurred in the economy of Zambia and as a result are in a void where various internal and external influences are pulling and pushing them in many opposite directions. At the head office level, NUCIW and NUPAAW maintain the structures and processes that served them well in the UNIP days and cling to their influence, power and closeness to government. The head offices still place a lot of importance on national politics and government who they still view as the major agent of change. In contrast, branches direct their claims to and focus on private employers as they perceive them as having more means to grant economic and social benefits.

There is a paradox however in relation to the government. While they have progressive labour legislation, there is little implementation of it and private companies have the discretion to determine working conditions. Further, the government continues to implement its no strike policy, which indicates that it still wants to control the power of trade unions and therefore continue to control workers too as they did in the past. Another paradox is that NUCIW and NUPAAW, through their cooperation with *3F*, have the objective to undertake bottom-up empowerment programmes. However, such programmes do not align with their own hierarchical organisational structure nor do they reflect their focus on and prioritisation of their relationship with government.

Given this situation, NUCIW and NUPAAW are in a very difficult position and as highlighted throughout this thesis, are struggling to empower, let alone mobilise ordinary members to take collective action and bring about *transformative* change for all Zambian trade union members and workers.

Chapter 12. Concluding remarks

12.1 Suggestions for NUCIW, NUPAAW and 3F

As noted in the foreword, this study of NUCIW and NUPAAW has been conducted in corporation with the Danish trade union 3F. In this sense the findings may give knowledge back to NUCIW, NUPAAW and 3F on the impact of empowerment programmes undertaken by NUCIW and NUPAAW and funded by 3F. Our study concludes that the empowerment programmes of NUCIW and NUPAAW do not have a major effect on members' working and living conditions, particularly those of ordinary members. This is a result of various factors. Therefore we emphasise the importance of 3F's analysis of the political and economic context that NUCIW and NUPAAW operate in, the relationship that NUCIW and NUPAAW have with the government of Zambia and further the structure of NUCIW and NUPAAW. Knowledge about these factors could provide a better understanding of the challenges related to the implementation of the empowerment programmes and why they do not lead to broader collective action and *transformative* change both of which 3F aim to achieve with their support of NUCIW and NUPAAW.

Thus, we suggest that 3F and NUCIW and NUPAAW work more closely together to evaluate the concept and objectives of the empowerment programmes and focus more on the context, situation and the needs of NUCIW and NUPAAW. Additionally, we would recommend that the two trade unions, and particularly NUCIW, would benefit by strengthening their visibility and presence at workplaces, as this would engender branch and ordinary members to feel that they belong to a trade union. Without such a change the legitimacy and role of the trade unions will remain questionable for ordinary members.

12.2 Implications of our study

We hope that this study causes NUCIW and NUPAAW to exchange their experiences. Such exchanges could both lead to a better understanding of the challenges within different sectors, which would strengthen the solidarity of the Zambian trade union movement. We hope that this study can lead to an exchange

between NUCIW and NUPAAW as we will present and discuss our findings with both trade unions.

12.3 Further research

As shown in our study, the incidence of casualisation, informalisation and the deterioration of working conditions to below international standards are common challenges which workers globally experience and struggle against. From our research it is evident that NUCIW and NUPAAW are also challenged by and struggle against such factors. Therefore it would be interesting to investigate if their affiliation with global organisations such as, for example, Union Network International (UNI) and Uniting Food, Farm and Hotel Workers Worldwide (IUF), could inspire their work and improve their ability to manage these challenges. Further, such a liaison could provide NUCIW and NUPAAW with a sense of enhanced power and a feeling that they belong to a global trade union movement, which collectively can make changes for workers across the globe.

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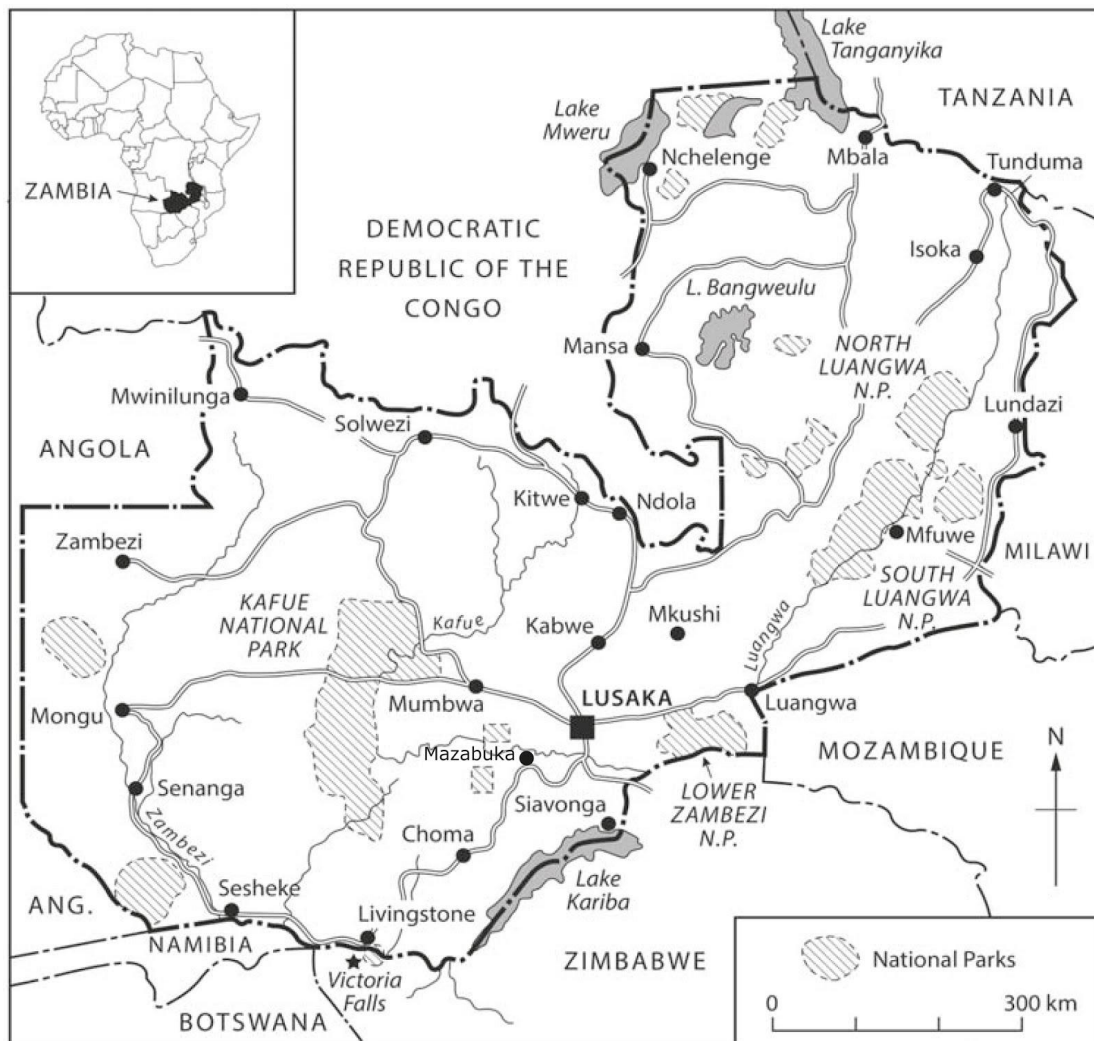
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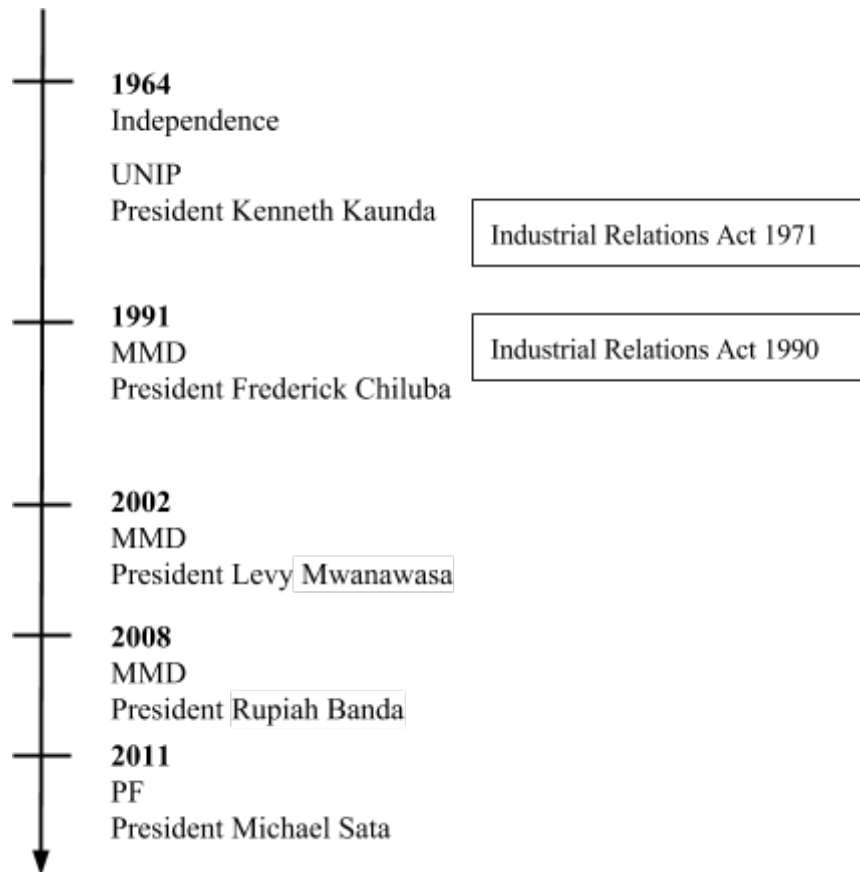
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Appendix 1 Map of Zambia



Source: McLachlan, S. and Binns, T. (2014) 'Tourism, development and corporate social responsibility in Livingstone, Zambia', *Local Economy*, 29(1-2):98-112.

Appendix 2 Timeline



Appendix 3 List of Interviewees

From NUCIW:

NUCIW General Secretary - Staff 1

NUCIW Researcher - Staff 2

NUCIW Regional officer - Staff 3

NUCIW Accountant - Staff 4

NUCIW OHS officer - Staff 5

NUCIW Workers Education and Training officer - Staff 6

From NUPAAW:

NUPAAW General Secretary- Staff 8

NUPAAW Deputy General Secretary - Staff 9

NUPAAW Regional officer - Staff 10

NUPAAW Workers Education and Training officer - Staff 7

From the University of Zambia:

Professor in Development Studies - Professor 1

Professor in Sociology - Professor 2

From the Swedish Embassy:

First Secretary - Expert 1

From the Commercial and Industrial Sector (NUCIW members):

Workplace 1

Member 1

Member 2

Branch member 43

Workplace 2

Former branch member 3

Member 4

Member 5

Member 6

Branch member 41

Workplace 3

Member 7

Workplace 4

Member 8

Member 9

Member 10

Workplace 5

Member 11
Member 12
Member 13

Workplace 6
Member 14
Member 15

Workplace 7
Member 16

Workplace 8
Member 17
Former branch member 18

Workplace 9
Member 19
Member 20
Member 21
Member 22
Member 23
Branch member 40

Workplace 10
Member 24
Member 25
Member 26
Member 27

From the agricultural sector (NUPAAW members):

Workplace 11
Member 32
Branch Member 28

Workplace 12
Member 29
Member 30
Member 31
Branch member 42

Workplace 13
Member 33
Branch member 34

Workplace 14

Branch member 35

Workplace 15

Branch member 36

Workplace 16

Branch member 37

Workplace 17

Branch member 38

Workplace 18

Branch member 39

Appendix 4 Interview Guides

A. Interview guide for ordinary members

Living conditions:

1. What are your current living conditions (who do you live with, where do you live, how many family members)?
2. What are the biggest challenges of your household?
3. How did you get your job?

Working conditions:

1. How long have you been working here?
2. How long have you been a member of the trade union (NUCIW and NUPAAW)?
3. Could you describe the working conditions at your workplace?
4. How many trade unions are present at your workplace?
5. How is the trade union organised at the workplace?
6. Have you ever had a problem at your working place (you need new equipment, salary, time off etc.) What kind of problem?
7. If the member had a problem: What was the process of dealing with it?

Experiences as union members:

1. How did you become involved in the trade union and why?
2. How does it feel to be a trade union member?
3. What are your expectations on the trade union?
4. What activities have you been involved in through the unions (trainings, workings committees)- how?
5. Do you find the activities useful?
6. How do you experience being a woman and a trade union member?

Union as a democratic platform:

1. Does your workplace have workers committee? Have you ever used it? How and why?
2. Do you feel the trade union make you feel like a collective group – how?
3. Are you concerned about other workers' rights at your working place – why?
4. Do you think the trade union offer opportunities to raise your voice – why yes, why not?

In the end: Would you like to add something? Have we missed anything?

B. Interview guide for branch members

Function of the workers committee:

1. What is the function of the working committee at this workplace?
2. What is the role of the shop steward? Are you the part of the workers committee?
3. How is your relationship with the employer?
4. How do you approach the trade union members?
5. How do you cooperate with the head office of the trade union?
6. Do you think you get support from the head office – how?
7. What are your biggest challenges as a working committee?

Trade unions as a democratic platform:

1. How do the members use the committee- could you give an example?
2. What are the recurring issues that come up from the trade union members?

Personal motivation for being part of the committee:

1. How long time have you been in the committee?
2. How did you get involved in the committee?
3. What is your motivation?
4. What are your tasks?

In the end: Would you like to add something? Have we missed anything?

C. Interview guide for the staff of NUCIW and NUPAAW

Function/structure:

1. How is the trade union structured?
2. How are the leaders selected?
3. What trainings are provided for the trade union staff at the head office, workers committees/shop stewards and for the trade union members?
4. Do you cooperate with other unions (inside and outside Zambia)? What lessons have you learned from this corporation?

Relations with members:

1. How do you approach members?
2. How do you cooperate with the workers committees at the workplaces?
3. What is the role of trade unions for the members?
4. How do you contribute to members working and living conditions – do you have any concrete examples?
5. What are the biggest challenges regarding the members?
6. Do you think the trade union is sustainable – how?
7. What are the main reasons behind the increasing memberships?

Trade unions as democratic platforms:

1. What kind of opportunities do you provide for the members to raise their voice?
2. What kind of activities does the trade union offers the members?
3. Who are the members that participate the activities/trainings and are the criteria to participate?
4. What do you see as the most useful activity for the members?

In the end: Would you like to add something? Have we missed anything?

D. Interview guide for Professors 1 and 2

Regarding trade unions:

1. Could you discuss the current political, economic and social context as it relates to trade unions
2. How are the trade unions organised on a societal level? Who is running the trade unions? Are they an elite group?
3. What is the role of ZCTU?
4. Who are the members, in your perspective? (ethnicity, class, gender, educational level, economic) How is the gender division? Also in the leadership?
5. Do you think that the trade unions have an impact on Zambian society—how? Has it changed? Is it more or less than before?
6. What are the actors influencing the trade unions inside and outside of Zambia?
7. What do you see as the trade unions' main challenges in Zambia?
8. How do you see the role of trade unions in development processes in Zambia? Are they a main actor?
9. What are the main challenges of development in Zambia?
10. Do you know anything about NUPAAW or NUCIW - their power, influence, and image in order to fight for workers' rights?
11. Who is/are the main actor/s for social development process to occur?

In the end: Would you like to add something? Have we missed anything?

E. Interview guide Expert 1

1. Could you discuss the current political, economic and social situation (education, health, involvement in local community groups etc.)?
2. What are the development discourses in Zambia?
3. Who are the main actors in development in Zambia?
4. What are the main challenges for development in Zambia?
5. What is the role of civil society organisations in Zambia? – specifically about trade unions if she knows about them
6. How do SIDA and the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs frame development? Do they use empowerment, Right Based Approach, capability building approach etc. Why and how?
7. Who are the actors in relation to the above?

In the end: Would you like to add something? Have we missed anything?