

# Evaluation of LO-Norway Programme of Co-operation with Zambia Congress of Trade Unions

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Project NAOZA:  
Organization Development -ZCTU



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## Acronyms and abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
FFTUZ	Federation of Free Trade Unions of Zambia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoZ	Government of Zambia
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ILO	International Labour Organization
KCM	Konkola Copper Mines
LO-Norway	Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions
MLSS	Ministry of Labour and Social Services
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
NAPSA	National Pension Scheme Authority
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PAYE	Pay As You Earn
PF	Patriotic Front
SATUCC	Southern Africa Trade Union Coordinating Council
UNIP	United National Independence Party
ZCTU	Zambia Congress of Trade Unions
ZFE	Zambia Federation of Employers
ZMK	Zambia kwacha (currency)
ZRA	Zambia Revenue Authority

## List of ZCTU affiliates and their abbreviations

1. Basic Education Teachers Union of Zambia (**BETUZ**)
2. Zambia National Union of Teachers (**ZNUT**)
3. Health Workers Union of Zambia (**HWUZ**)
4. Zambia National Union of Health and Allied Workers (**ZNHUAW**)
5. National Unions of Technical Education Lecturers and Allied Workers (**NUTALAW**)
6. Zambia Union Local Government and Allied Workers Union (**ZULAWU**)
7. National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers (**NUCIW**)
8. Civil Servants and Allied Workers Union of Zambia (**CSAWUZ**)
9. National Union of Public Service Workers (**NUPSW**)
10. Zambia Union of Security Officers and Allied Workers (**ZUSOAW**)
11. Gemstones and Allied Workers Union of Zambia (**AWUZ**)
12. Grain and Meat Workers Union of Zambia (**GRAMUZ**)
13. National Union of Building Engineering and General Workers (**NUBEGW**)
14. Mine Workers Union of Zambia (**MUZ**)
15. Railway Workers Union of Zambia (**RWUZ**)
16. Airways and Allied Workers Union of Zambia (**AAWUZA**)
17. National Union of Communication Workers (**NUCW**)
18. University of Zambia and Allied Workers Union (**UNZAAWU**)
19. Zambia Bus and Taxis Workers Union (**ZABTWU**)
20. Petroleum and Allied Workers Union (**PAWU**)
21. National Energy Sector and Allied Workers Union (**NESAWU**)
22. Zambia Revenue Authority and Allied Workers Union (**ZRAWU**)
23. Judicial and Allied Workers Union of Zambia (**JAWUZ**)
24. Workers Union of TAZARA (**WUTAZ**)
25. Zambia Union of Journalists (**ZUJ**)
26. Copper belt University Academics Workers Union of Zambia (**CBUAWUZ**)
27. National Union of Plantation and Allied Workers (**NUPAW**)
28. Mining Contractors Workers Union (**MCWU**)
29. Copper belt Workers Union of Zambia (**CBWUZ**)
30. ZAGRAWU
31. Zambia Union of Nurses Organizations (**ZUNO**)
32. United House and Domestic Workers Union (**UHDWU**)
33. Bankers Union of Zambia (**BUZ**)
34. Copper belt Senior Administrative, Professional and Technical Staff Union (**CBSAPTSU**)
35. The Zambia Bureau of Standards Workers Union (**ZBSWU**)

## Executive summary

The cooperation between the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO-Norway) and the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) has a long history. The collaboration started in the late 1980s and had assisted the trade union movement in Zambia in many dimensions including through leadership capacity training, gender mainstreaming programmes, activities to enhance membership recruitment as well as support in the administration of the national centre.

The latest cooperation agreement covers five years, for the period between 2010 and 2014. During this project agreement phase, LO-Norway provides financial and technical support to ZCTU to help in building a financially viable and influential trade union movement in Zambia. The agreement aims at strengthening ZCTU's struggle for promoting and defending trade union rights.

The basis of this evaluation is to determine the performance and progress of the programme cooperation, and to gauge if results or objectives are being met. The evaluation was also deemed necessary in order to form a basis for LO-Norway decisions regarding possible finalising or continuation of the project. The evaluation will cover the period 2010-2014.

The objectives of the evaluation can be summarized as follows:

- i. to assess the progress and results of the support provided to ZCTU by LO-Norway in strengthening the capacity of the labour movement in Zambia;
- ii. to assess the efficiency of the implementation and sustainability issues of the current arrangements;
- iii. to recommend the programme's continued relevance/need going forward, including assessing the added value of LO-Norway continued support, and
- iv. if necessary, to identify and suggest potential new avenues/areas for cooperation.

It was stated that the evaluation will be an important tool in determining the nature of future support and cooperation.

During the period under review the economic and political profile of Zambia has largely continued with the reputation for political stability and a relatively efficient, transparent government. However, social conditions in Zambia are tough: poverty is widespread and life expectancy is among the lowest in the world - largely due to the prevalence of HIV/AIDS.

At the same time, the labour movement in Zambia has also continued to respond to the particular turns and phases of the country's economic and political transformations. Other than some recent disconcerting public relations with some senior government officials, in general the ZCTU enjoys vibrant structures at national, regional and district levels.

Currently, the ZCTU has a membership base of 35 affiliated unions, whose total membership stands at around 295,000. However, the national centre is confronted by increased challenges including liberalization of labour markets, mass poverty and massive unemployment, a shrinking formal economy, growing informal economy, mushrooming of rival unions and declining membership. There are also reports of continued pressure on organized labour from



unscrupulous employers who emphasize on individualized contracts and temporary work. This is particularly affecting the private sector of the economy.

This evaluation has noted overall positive outcomes on the ZCTU/LO-Norway co-operation, in general. Through LO-Norway's support, ZCTU has remained highly relevant in the context of a challenging external environment. Through the support, ZCTU has managed to educate, train and build a discernible cadre of trained women and men. ZCTU has scored great success in the institution of the check-off system to the extent that up to 90% of the union dues are now obtainable from the source (employers' payroll).

The cooperation has also enabled ZCTU to effectively participate in national debates, defend the interests and welfare of the working people, and maintain the trust and confidence of many national and international partners.

For many years, LO-Norway has remained the ardent and clearly visible and consistent partner supporting ZCTU. This support has enabled ZCTU to play an admirable role in the continuing democratisation of the country while at the same time upholding and defending workers' rights.

Needless to say, the co-operation has constantly been facing challenges. Of paramount significance is the *laissez faire* attitude depicted by ZCTU, by more or less taking for granted the massive support from the Norwegian labour movement. For example, in recent years, there have been long delays in the submission of reports to LO-Norway, leading to rather uncomfortable correspondences between the partners. The lack of satisfactory responses and absence of critical information on programme implementation has also contributed to the frosty atmosphere.

Furthermore, there have been poor project results especially in relation to some prior identified indicators, such as increase in membership, implementation of organizing and recruitment plans, gender equality and women representation, payment of subscription dues by some affiliates, and lack of merger and amalgamation processes amongst national unions.

It is also noticeable that there is some level of internal uneasiness on the part of some affiliates. This is particularly related to the disaffiliation of the University of Zambia Lecturers and Researchers Union (UNZALARU) following the suspension of ZCTU's deputy secretary-general in charge of finance and business, on account of indiscipline. The courts have ruled in favour of the deposed leader (Mr Mtumbi Goma). Other than that, there is overall harmony within ZCTU.

The overall findings of the evaluation exercise can be summarized in the table below, organized into nine categories as specified in the Terms of Reference.

Relevance:	During the period under review, the programme cooperation has been relevant as it has strengthened the capacity of ZCTU and its affiliated unions.
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Efficiency:	In spite of on-going bottlenecks at the social, economic, political and economic levels of Zambia, the operations of the programme have remained generally efficient.
Project results:	On the whole, the programme implementation has achieved some positive outcomes, in relation to the indicators of achievements specified in the appendix to the cooperation agreement. There has been noticeable increase in union membership to ZCTU affiliates and commendable number of collective and recognition agreements have been realized. The national centre has also achieved good progress in the collection of subscription dues, especially with the recent campaigns to institute check-off system from the source. However, there are concerns associated with stalled unions' merger arrangements, lack of progress in achieving union unity at the national level between ZCTU and Federation of Free Trade Unions of Zambia (FFTUZ), and limited progress in promoting and mainstreaming gender considerations in union activities. At the same time, not much statistical information is available to determine the progress and implementation of the collective agreements.
Sustainability:	<p>The determination of sustainability of ZCTU is rather mixed. On one hand, unless the current financial situation is addressed, ZCTU may be headed towards insolvency. This is because the current liabilities are increasing and are not offset by current assets. It is doubtful that the organization will be able to liquidate them in the normal course of business. The ZCTU's income for 2012 was ZMK 11.727 billion as compared to ZMK 12.529 billion in 2011 and ZMK 7.920 billion in 2010. The deficit was ZMK 2.345 billion in 2012 as compared to a surplus of 294.999 million in 2011. There was also a deficit in 2010 of ZMK 1.936 billion.</p> <p>On the other hand, there has been good progress in collection of union income, especially from subscription dues. Subscription income has substantially been above the estimated values. Most of the affiliates have continued to meet their obligations to ZCTU. For instance, whilst 81% of the total income came from membership subscriptions in 2009, this has since recovered to constitute 90% of total income in 2011 and 88% in 2012.</p> <p>On the whole, with proper financial management, a comprehensive strategic plan and a programme and budget proposals for the period ahead, ZCTU is indeed sustainable even after the end of the current cooperation agreement with LO-Norway. In line with the management reports, it is strongly recommended that ZCTU consider stringent cost cutting measures in routine expenses to manage the deficit as well as releasing resources to meet its statutory obligations with</p>

	National Pension Scheme Authority (NAPSA) and Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA). The implementation of the collections of subscription dues from the source will greatly reinforce the financial position of ZCTU.
External impact:	ZCTU and its affiliates have made impressive gain in ameliorating the effects of low wages through policy dialogue and collective bargaining. ZCTU has remained influential with a national and international outlook. It is the cornerstone of the labour and human rights movement in the country. It enjoys strong support from its membership as well as with external partners and has much respect in its interventions on economic, social and political issues in Zambia. However, ZCTU did not receive good ratings from the local office of the ILO. It was alleged that ZCTU was not forceful enough to take its place in the programme activities of the ILO.
Gender issues:	There has been heavy investment in gender issues, but the level of women participation in trade union activities remains very low. ZCTU has not shown any serious intentions to develop the capacity of women into union leadership. At the level of the Congress, there is only one women elected as a trustee, while there are only 24 women leaders in all the 35 national trade unions in Zambia. This represents only about 10% of all leadership positions. Moreover, it is disappointing that gender disaggregated data remains a challenge. On a positive note, the adoption of a comprehensive gender policy and its dissemination to some unions is encouraging.
Internal democracy:	ZCTU leadership have largely practiced the principles of internal democracy by holding elections every four years. Most of the constitutional meetings by affiliates have also been held regularly. ZCTU held the Executive Board, Executive Committee and General Council meetings in 2013.
Risks analysis:	The global economic and financial crisis as well as local effects from the social, economic and political spheres, coupled with internal trade union dynamics, has had conflicting effects to the implementation of the programme cooperation during the current phase. This situation is likely to persist in the immediate period ahead.

Finally, the evaluator recommends for a continuation of the co-operation between LO-Norway and ZCTU, *but based on different modalities*. It is the views of the evaluator that the format of the current programme cooperation has run its course. It is strongly recommended that should the partners choose to continue with their cooperation, it must be in accordance with clear and specific indicators of achievement that are subject to internal periodic monitoring and evaluation.

It is the informed opinion of the evaluator that the next phase of cooperation between LO-Norway and ZCTU should be based on specific and mutually agreed themes. Some of the relevant thematic areas for consideration include the following:

1. Enhance the role of gender mainstreaming
2. Enhance trade union solidarity and mergers
3. Integration of youth issues in trade union work
4. Enhance social dialogue at national, sectoral and local levels
5. New and innovative measures to enhance membership recruitment and organizing

Prior to the commencement of the future cooperation, it would be prudent to put in place mechanisms that would enhance programme implementation. Some of these mechanisms may include the following:

1. Formulation of internal financial regulations or union rules,
2. Baseline survey and database on union membership,
3. Enhanced commitment on the role of gender mainstreaming in trade union work,
4. Engage in an early search for a replacement LO-Norway regional consultant that would oversee future programme cooperation, and
5. Need for a better profiled external auditor that would reflect the stature of ZCTU and LO-Norway.

# I Introduction

## I.1 Background

The Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO-Norway) has had close cooperation since 1987. In the earlier period, much of the cooperation was in the form of projects. However, since 1997 the cooperation has aimed at strengthening the trade union movement in Zambia, in general, and the capacity of the ZCTU, in particular. The cooperation was based on mutual benefit and respect for each other's independence as well as national value and practices. The mutual shared goal of the latest cooperation between ZCTU and LO-Norway and covering the period 2010 through 2014 was referred to as "building a financially viable, effective, democratic and influential trade union movement in Zambia."

The cooperation clearly identified the following five planned programme results and outputs:

- Plans for organizing and recruitment have been formulated and implemented;
- Increased gender equality within the trade unions and increased women's representation;
- Unions have good constitutions that are democratic and are respected and adhered to;
- Unions have effective systems for membership management, dues collection and internal and external accountability; and
- Relevant capacities developed at leadership and enterprise or workplace level.

Furthermore, the five year agreement was accompanied by an appendix which outlined the outputs, targets and baseline indicators. The appendix also sets out priorities, planned results and indicators of achievement.

The programme cooperation has mainly involved support to the ZCTU and confirmed the close cooperation and solidarity between the two national trade union centres. The overall aim is to strengthen the trade union movements' struggle for trade union rights. Both partners agreed to ensure that the programme is carried out with due diligence and efficiency.

During the course of 2013, both LO-Norway and ZCTU agreed to evaluate the programme cooperation in order to assess the performance and progress, and to gauge if results or objectives are being met. The evaluation was also deemed necessary in order to form a basis for decisions in LO-Norway regarding possible finalising or continuation of the project.

The project co-operation between LO-Norway and ZCTU for the period 2010-2014 was coded as: NAOZA: Organization Development - ZCTU. The main objectives and indicators for the cooperation are defined in an appendix and include the following:

1. Increased membership
2. Reduced number of affiliates
3. Unity at the national level
4. Increase women in union leadership
5. Increase in collective and recognition agreements
6. Plans for organizing and recruitment
7. Increase gender equality and representation
8. Good democratic and respected union constitutions

- 9. Better financial control and management
- 10. HIV/AIDS and child labour

## **I.2. Purpose of the evaluation**

### **(a) Scope and objectives of the evaluation**

ZCTU-Zambia have identified a range of internal and external challenges they are currently facing, including; its continued weak financial base; fragmentation in the trade union movement; absence of women in decision-making structures; weak recruitment strategies; weak collective bargaining structures; and low trade union density. These challenges, especially mobilizing membership and remaining visible in national policy-making and interventions, are seen as needing new possible options for improving efficiency and improved results.

Although ZCTU are facing a difficult environment of low trade union density, decreasing membership figures, internal fragmentation, and high debt levels, it also scores relatively high on LO Norway's organizational development criteria, and have proven to be a strong national union with visible impact on national policy. ZCTU have a host of donors, and an agreement has been reached to phase out the organizational support from LO Norway at the end of 2014.

It is based on these identified needs that, LO Norway and ZCTU-Zambia want to evaluate the programme co-operation; both to assess the progress and results, the efficiency of the implementation and sustainability issues of the current arrangements; as well as the programme's continued relevance/need going forward, the added value of LO continued support, and if so identifying and suggesting potential new avenues/areas for cooperation. The evaluation will be an important tool in determining the nature of future support and cooperation.

The main objective of the evaluation is thus twofold, and should include, but not be limited to an assessment of the listed issues below.

- Assessment of progress:
  - To assess the relevance of the project cooperation, determining whether the project has targeted the needs of the organization and whether potential modification made during the implementation has successfully targeted changed needs.
  - To assess the efficiency in the implementation of the project. How efficient has this organization been in the implementation of the project i.e. has the work been carried out, and the financial and human resources been used in an appropriate and cost-efficient manner?
  - To assess the progress/results of the LO Norway support to ZCTU, and the affiliated national unions, based on agreed targets and indicators. Is it likely that the objectives will be met, and that all the expected results of the project will be produced by the end of 2014? If not, why? Have the objectives been unclear and/or unrealistic or is it due to other internal and/or external factors? Have recommendations of the member organisations, LO-Norway and internal reviews been followed up in an appropriate manner?

- To assess the sustainability of LO Norway support to ZCTU. Are ZCTU and the participating organizations able to continue the current level of activities when LO-Norway support ends? Has the capacity of the organizations been permanently improved? If so, what are the indicators of this?
  - To assess the external impact of ZCTU vis-à-vis towards the government, employers and the general public, and whether this is a result of the project cooperation or other. Has ZCTU and the participating partners been able to improve their performance as a result of the project? Has there been an impact of political influence in the society, improved trade union rights, better labour legislation, etc., that may be directly or indirectly linked to the project? The role and strength of the ZCTU in terms of defending workers and workers' rights, the trend and challenges of union membership. The ZCTU's value added in terms of securing unity between and within unions, as well as ensuring mergers.
  - To assess the internal governance structures of ZCTU. Internal democracy, ownership and accountability between ZCTU leadership and secretariat and affiliated unions, including financial management (especially debt management).
  - Particular emphasis should be paid to assess gender issues, to what extent they have been mainstreamed and resulted in women's effective participation as well as whether these issues have been adequately addressed in the project.
- Based on the assessment of progress, to assess the modality of cooperation with ZCTU and provide recommendations for future cooperation and partnership. Special emphasis should be put on:
    - Assessment of ZCTU's current partners and their support vis-à-vis the added value of LO Norway support.
    - Analysis of stated and identified needs of ZCTU and LO Norway's strategic position in relation to these.

The Consultant should review any strengths or weaknesses of the programme and the partners, and make recommendations on how to enhance the achievement of the planned results.

The evaluation, of which this report is based, was aimed at reviewing the progress and results of the co-operation projects, and to see what has been achieved during the project implementation period 2010 through 2014. The purpose of the evaluation was to assess the performance and progress of the co-operation and to see if the intended results and objectives had been met. The evaluation was also intended to form the basis for LO-Norway's decisions regarding the future co-operation agreement with ZCTU.

According to the terms of reference agreed between the collaborating partners, the objectives of the evaluation were stated as follows:

The objectives of the evaluation can be summarized as follows:

- i. to assess the progress and results of the support provided to ZCTU by LO-Norway to strengthen the capacity of the labour movement in Zambia
- ii. to assess the efficiency of the implementation and sustainability issues of the current arrangements;
- iii. to recommend the programme's continued relevance/need going forward, including assessing the added value of LO continued support, and
- iv. if necessary, to identify and suggest potential new avenues/areas for cooperation.

It was stated that the evaluation will be an important tool in determining the nature of future support and cooperation.

The evaluation was expected to include, but not necessarily be limited to, an assessment of the relevance, efficiency, project results, sustainability, external impact, gender issues, internal democracy, and risk analysis of the programme cooperation. The Terms of Reference also give leeway to the evaluator to comment on other issues relating to the co-operation.

The LO-Norway engaged the support of the International Labour Organization (ILO) through Dr Mohammed Mwamadzingo (Senior Economist and Desk Officer for Africa, ILO Headquarters in Geneva) as consultant to undertake the evaluation. The Terms of Reference for the evaluation are annexed as Annex 1.

### **(b) What the evaluation is not about**

In a bid to dispel any anxieties towards the intended outcomes of the exercise, it was mentioned right at the outset that this evaluation was not an investigation of ZCTU activities. The evaluator was not concerned about law enforcement, scientific tests, forensic audits or discoveries. Neither was this exercise meant to be a research, an inspection, or an exploration of trade union activities in Zambia.

## **I.3 Methodology of the evaluation**

The Terms of Reference envisaged a three-stage process towards the compilation of this evaluation report: (i) documentation, (ii) field visits, consultations and draft reporting, (iii) and final report.

(i) Documentation stage: The first stage was the understanding of the programme implementation through perusing various documentation sent by the partners to the evaluator. The LO-Norway made available to the evaluator an extensive range of documents pertaining to the project cooperation. Much of these documents related to management reports, audited accounts, and activity reports.

(ii) Field visit, consultations and draft reporting: The findings of the first stage were relevant in informing the agenda for the field trip (second stage) held in Lusaka, Ndola and Kitwe during the week of 11-16 November 2013. Some limited additional documentation was obtained from the field visits including ZCTU Congress Resolutions, Constitution, policy documents and position papers, speeches, work plans, and evaluation reports. Before the commencement of field visits, the evaluator was presented with an outline of the proposed plan of work for the evaluation exercise by the ZCTU. Mr Robinson Sikazwe, the LO-Norway Regional Representative (Africa) accompanied the evaluator and coordinated many of the local interviews.

The last activity during the field trip was the administration of a structured questionnaire to a group of union leaders based in Lusaka. The aim of this questionnaire (see Annex 2) was to gauge the understanding of the affiliates towards the mission, vision and services offered by the national trade union centre.



Following this consultative stage, the team made a debriefing presentation to the leadership of the ZCTU and also informed LO-Norway of the tentative findings. The presentation was aimed at highlighting the general findings of the evaluation, discuss the conclusions and suggest indicative and preliminary recommendations emanating from the exercise.

(iii) Final report: The final stage (this report) was undertaken once consolidated comments and suggestions on the draft report were received by the evaluator.

The full list of people interviewed is shown in Annex 3, but the main institutions and persons met can be summarized as follows:

- ZCTU (elected leadership, Women's Committee, Youth Committee, selected affiliates, selected heads of departments, regional office in Copperbelt, some Lusaka-based trade union leaders);
- Minister of Labour and Social Services; Labour Commissioner;
- Zambia Federation of Employers;
- ILO Country Office Lusaka;
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung; and
- Reemos Business Solutions (external auditors)

## **I.4 Factors that hindered a smoother evaluation**

Unlike in previous exercises of this nature, the evaluator was faced by certain bottlenecks that affected the overall exercise.<sup>1</sup> Firstly, there was little preparation on the part of the ZCTU to the evaluation exercise. Largely, this is attributable to the rather casual or even a carefree attitude to the evaluation team. It was disheartening to realize that there was no single department at ZCTU that had prepared any advance documentation for the evaluation exercise.

Secondly, the overall poor logistical, coordination and transport arrangements had a particular discomforting effect to the exercise right from the very first appointment. It was apparent that there was no adequate follow up with the persons to be interviewed. Many of the intended persons were not reached, or were reached late.

The third limitation is that the evaluator did not adopt any scientific sampling technique in the identification of the organizations or individuals interviewed. Many of the respondents were chosen and interviewed on the basis of convenience.

Finally, due to time constraints and other logistical issues the evaluation exercise had a rather limited outreach, especially to regions and shop stewards.

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<sup>1</sup> The evaluator has had privileges of conducting extensive evaluations for the LO-Norway in United Republic of Tanzania (2005), Swaziland (2006) and Zimbabwe (2010).

## II Zambia: Brief Country Context

### II.1 Political context

Zambia is a land-locked country in Southern Africa, which gained its independence from the United Kingdom on 24 October 1964. The then-prime minister Kenneth Kaunda became the inaugural president. Kaunda's socialist United National Independence Party (UNIP) maintained power from the 1964 until 1991. From 1972 to 1991 Zambia was a single-party state with the UNIP as the sole-legal political party, with the goal of uniting the nation under the banner of 'One Zambia, One Nation'. Kaunda was succeeded by Frederick Chiluba of the social-democratic Movement for Multi-Party Democracy in 1991, during which the country saw a rise in social-economic growth and increased decentralisation of government. Chiluba selected Levy Mwanawasa as his successor; Mwanawasa presided over the country from January 2002 until his death in August 2008, and is credited with initiating a campaign to reduce corruption and increase the standard of living. After Mwanawasa's death, Rupiah Banda presided as Acting President before being elected president in 2008. He is the shortest serving president, having held office for only three years.

Patriotic Front party leader, Michael Chilufya Sata defeated Banda in the 2011 elections. At the same time, four former trade union leaders were elected to the National Assembly on the ruling party ticket. Mr Fackson Shamenda (former ZCTU, SATUCC and ICFTU President) was appointed the Minister of Labour, and the former president of the Mineworkers' Union of Zambia and a former branch leader from MUZ (Mr R. Mbulu) was appointed deputy minister.

The wave of optimism upon which president Michael Sata and the Patriotic Front (PF) swept to power in 2011 has subsided in light of the government's slow progress in meeting its campaign promises—notably to reduce unemployment and corruption. The removal of a 5% fuel subsidy at the end of April and the decision in May to discontinue fertilizer subsidies and the minimum price guarantee for maize will further weigh on the government's popularity, as will its harassment of the opposition. The leaders of the two main opposition parties have been arrested on multiple occasions (although released shortly after); opposition rallies have been blocked through the use of the Public Order Act, a colonial relic that Mr Sata once promised to rescind; and a dubious attempt was made to deregister the largest opposition party, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), although this was blocked by the courts. The government's attempts to suppress the opposition are expected to continue, at least over the short term, keeping political tensions high. However, a descent into regular political violence and a breakdown of the rule of law are extremely unlikely, as intervention by the judiciary and public disapproval of the PF's unsavoury tactics will help to keep the government in check.

The PF will continue to face internal divisions as senior members of the party try to position themselves to succeed Mr Sata as its next leader. However, the desire to hold on to power will prevent the party from fragmenting. No single party holds a majority in the National Assembly. However, the PF's representation has grown, from 68 seats in 2011 to 76 at present, and is likely to increase further to 80 seats (thus forming a majority) over the next year, as the party continues to succeed in wooing opposition members of parliament through offers of political office.

The recent political situation in Zambia has largely been characterized by bye elections, induced by defections to the ruling party and nullification of elections results by the courts. There are also reports of political intolerance by the ruling party.

During the week of the evaluation, it was observed that the media was deeply concerned about the death of youth cadres in an unprecedented Patriotic Front (PF) intra-party violence that left a huge black dent on Zambia's reputation as a country of peace. These calls were echoed by ZCTU and churches. In the front page of Zambia Daily Mail of 13 November 2013 the ZCTU president Leonard Hikaumba said at a press briefing in Lusaka that President Sata should use his powers to put an immediate end to the violence in PF. "The President must put an immediate end to this barbarism because it is a threat to democracy, the rule of law and national development", Mr Hikaumba said. He was quoted that "We do not want the 49 years of peace to be cancelled by the interests of a few selfish individuals".

The next elections, due in 2016, are expected to be free and fair, although the run-up to voting will be marred by bias in the state-owned media and the incumbents' use of public resources to fund their campaigns. Some election-related violence is likely, particularly if Mr Sata continues to antagonise the opposition.

## **II.2 Economic and social profile**

In 2010, the World Bank named Zambia one of the world's fastest economically reformed countries. The country has continued to record relatively high levels of GDP growth, with 2012 registering an increase of 7.3%. The growth is mostly driven by the construction, mining, agriculture and financials sectors.

In 2013 Zambia's real GDP is projected to grow 6.0%, much lower than the initially projected 7.8%. Despite a rebound in copper output and large increases in public spending, contracting agriculture output (in at least two major crops: maize and cotton) of about 7.4% will bring down growth in 2013.

Real GDP growth is forecast to average 7.3% in 2013-17, supported by large investments in infrastructure and mines, a surge in copper production and robust growth in services and manufacturing.

On 22 August 2012 the Bank of Zambia issued a press release stating that the changeover date for the rebased currency had been set as 1 January 2013. The new ISO code will be ZMW (formerly ZMK). Initial reaction to the move was positive with the argument that the rebasing might be kwacha positive, to the extent that it is a continued commitment to low, and stable inflation. On January 1, 2013 the new Zambian Kwacha was introduced at a rate of 1000 old kwacha = 1 new kwacha. Until June 30, 2013 the old notes remained legal tender alongside the new kwacha notes.

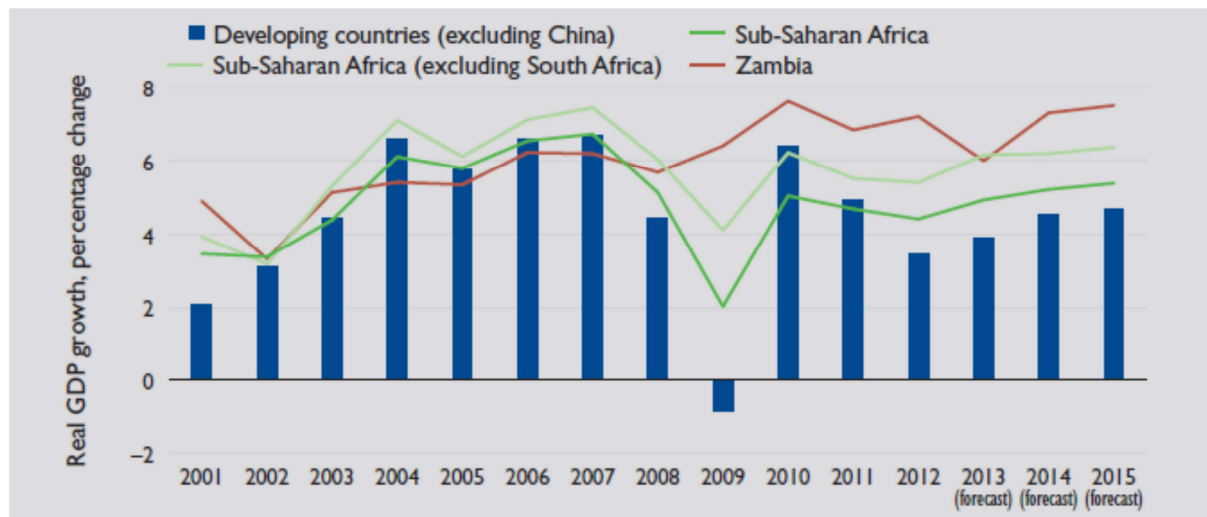
The kwacha is forecast to depreciate by an annual average of 3.6%, to an average of ZK6.14: US\$1 in 2017, as strong growth in foreign investment and exports is offset by robust import demand and a strong US dollar.

Some of the macroeconomic targets for 2014 include:

- Real GDP growth of above 7%
- Creation of at least 200,000 decent jobs
- Inflation of not more than 6.5% by the end of 2013

As shown in Figure 1, below, the economy grew positively between 2000 and 2011, averaging about 5% per annum, in contrast to the fluctuating growth pattern that characterized the 1990s. However, the observed growth is partially negated by a population growth rate of about 2.9% per annum, resulting in only a marginal growth in per capita income during the last decade of relative favourable economic performance. Prospects for growth are still modest as the economy is projected to grow at an annual average of 5% over the period 2007 to 2023, which estimates show is quite short of the 8% needed to reverse poverty trends.

**Figure 1: Real GDP growth and prospects, 2001-15**



Source: World Bank DEC Prospects Group.

In 2011, the World Bank reclassified Zambia from a low-income country to a lower-middle income country as a result of positive growth in per capita income. Despite these positive developments, a number of structural problems such as low productivity (particularly in the agricultural sector which is the largest employer), energy inefficiencies, and poorly developed infrastructure constrain the economy's capacity to grow more significantly.

Zambia is confronted by myriads of socio-economic challenges. These include high levels of poverty, income inequality, unemployment and under-employment. The majority of the population does not have access to basic necessities such as adequate nutrition, housing and health care and the State's capacity to provide for them is limited. Consequently, malnutrition and stunted growth are prevalent amongst the population, and Zambia's life expectancy, infant mortality and maternal mortality rates compare unfavourably to those of their neighbours. Moreover, Zambia also has a high prevalence of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), with an estimated 12.5 per cent of the population or 980 000 infected with the virus in 2011. Gender inequality is also a challenge as women are economically and socially marginalized and under-represented in decision-making positions in government, the private sector and civil society.

It is reported that Multinational Corporations (MNCs) have continued to play arm-twisting tactics to get what they want. For instance, plans by Konkola Copper Mines (KCM)—one of Zambia's largest copper producers—to lay off 2,000 workers (around 10% of its workforce) have highlighted the high costs arising from increasing labour wages and declining international prices of copper. The direct impact of any retrenchment on the Zambian economy would be limited—KCM does not plan to cut production or investment—but the indirect economic consequences and political implications would be significant.

In fact, President Sata is on record to have ordered KCM not to lay off workers. Eventually, government declared the chief executive officer of the Konkola Copper Mines (KCM), Mr Kishor Kumar a prohibited immigrant. The Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services, Mr Mwansa Kapeya was reported as saying “As Government, we feel Mr Kumar is a bad seed and cannot be allowed to continue being among the business community in the country.” The minister said Government’s position on Mr Kumar does not mean it has now declared war against investors as some section of society seem to portray.

This followed remarks by Mr Kumar that President Sata’s threat to revoke KCM’s licence if it laid off even a single worker were mere rhetoric. The government later called for a meeting with Kumar to discuss his statement. However, Kumar left the country, forcing the government to declare him a prohibited immigrant.

In the media reports of 13 November 2103 (Daily Mail and the Post), the Minister of Labour and Social Security Fackson Shamenda was quoted as saying that President Sata is a frank leader who should not be misunderstood by investors. President Sata likes progressive ideas but he will not tolerate arrogant attitudes.

### **II.3 Labour market context in Zambia**

The 2012 Labour Force Survey estimated the population of Zambia to be 14.36 million. The working age population (aged over 15 years) is 7.84 million and the labour force estimated at 5.85 million, of which 3.05 million were male and 2.80 million were female.

The total employed population is estimated at 5.39 million, out of which 55.8% are in agricultural sector. Of all the employed persons in Zambia, 88.7% are considered to be in the informal economy.

Although the rate of unemployment has remained at 7.9% of the labour force between 2008 and 2012, youth unemployment (15-24 years) has increased from 14.0% in 2008 to 16.3% in 2012.

Whilst mining is the dominant sector of the economy, it only employs 90,000 workers. The benefits of mining activities do not directly trickle down to the workers because it is capital intensive.

Women are under-represented in high- paying occupations and positions involving greater decision-making power. A number of additional challenges in the labour market have been identified. Child labour is prevalent in Zambia, although updated figures on its extent are not available. Occupational health and safety has been neglected by many employers, leaving

workers vulnerable to a host of occupational accidents, which lead to injuries, diseases and fatalities, many of which are not reported.

There are also challenges of managing the pension schemes with government proposing retirement age of 65 years. There is need for adequate consultations with workers, before finalizing the reform process. ZCTU proposes more flexible measures to allow for early and optional retirement at 55 years with full benefits. Pensioners should have a choice upon retirement to get their benefits as lump sum as well as monthly pension.

Government has unilaterally proposed a two-year wage freeze for public sector workers. The government has also imposed a recruitment freeze. ZCTU has intervened and held meetings with government to resolve the impasse. ZCTU considers the imposition of the wage freeze as illegal and flouts the principles of free collective bargaining. ZCTU is also concerned that the wage freeze will eventually erode the real incomes of public service workers. At the same time, the employment freeze will impact negatively on the delivery of social services, given the fact that even the current staffing levels (especially for nurses and teachers) are not adequate.

At the time of the evaluation, it was established that the process of public service negotiation or wage awards had started.

## **II.4 International Labour Standards and social dialogue in Zambia**

Zambia joined the International Labour Organization in 1964 and boasts of having the highest record of ratification of international labour conventions in Southern Africa. Zambia has ratified 43 of the 189 ILO Conventions, including all the eight Core Conventions and two of the four Governance Conventions. Zambia has also ratified conventions that promote and support social dialogue. These include Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98), Tripartite Consultation (International Labour Standards) Convention, 1976 (No. 144), Labour Relations (Public Service) Convention, 1978 (No. 151) and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1981 (No. 154). Of significance is the Tripartite Consultation (International Labour Standards) Convention, 1976 (No. 144) which states that State parties to the Convention should provide for the operation of procedures which ensure effective consultation, and that these procedures can take place, amongst others, through a body (ies) with general competence in the economic, social and labour field.

Part X of the Industrial and Labour Relations Act (Chapter 269) has established the Tripartite Consultative Labour Council (TCLC) with the function to advise the Government on all issues relating to labour matters, manpower development and utilisation and any other matter referred to the Council by the Government. While the TCLC has been hailed as having succeeded in reforming the labour law regime of the country and its commendable rate of ratification of ILO Conventions, concerns have been raised over a number of years on the functioning of the TCLC and social dialogue processes in the country. In particular, these relate to the mandate of the TCLC, irregularity of meetings, lack of clearly defined mechanisms for servicing the TCLC the cost of conducting the meetings and limited budget. These concerns were highlighted in May 2012 at the High Level National Conference where

A New Growth Strategy for Employment, Decent Work and Development in Zambia was discussed. The conference communique, representing the views of the government, employers and workers, recognized social dialogue as a crucial factor in facilitating the attainment of sustainable economic growth and decent work and called for the review of the structure, composition and work modalities of the TCLC. In addition, the labour law reform process that the Government has embarked on in consultation with key stakeholders, including employers and workers representatives, highlights the need for the social dialogue mechanism to be reviewed.

## **III Trade union situation in Zambia**

### **III.I A brief history**

The history of trade unionism in Zambia dates back to the time of the start of mining on the Copperbelt after huge deposits of copper were discovered in the region in the 1920s. The establishment of the copper mines was followed by collective action and organization by African workers.

But, the genesis of the African trade union movement in Zambia can be traced in about 1947 when the African Shop Assistants Union was formed. Before that, African workers were not allowed to organize themselves into industrial or employee associations. The colonial authorities did not believe that African workers needed trade unions, and instead perpetuated a structure of labour relations based on ethnic principles of representation. However, following increased radical reaction to the antagonism between employers and workers, and the demand for better wages and improved working conditions, it became imperative to form unions.

As at the time of independence in 1964, Zambia had the strongest unions in the region. In 1965, the Kaunda government introduced the principal of "one union, one industry" into the law and the ZCTU was established as the only national trade union centre.

However, in 1990 when the ZCTU decided to oppose the ruling UNIP party and support the opposition MMD party, many machinations were invoked to weaken the trade union movement. These efforts included the cancellation of the check-off system, divisions of the trade unions by UNIP barons, and the repeal of 1971 Industrial Relations Act that compelled trade unions to affiliate to ZCTU.

Whilst the MMD won the elections in October 1991, largely with the support of the trade unions, it was soon realized that the labour movement had claimed a false victory. The government was quick to forget its promises to the workers. In fact, as from 1992, it became difficult to identify key trade unions in Zambia due to fragmentation. A new trade union centre--the Federation of Free Trade Unions of Zambia (FFTUZ) was formed, while even in the mining industry, in addition to the giant Mineworkers Union of Zambia (MUZ), there emerged the National Union of Mine and Allied Workers (NUMAW) in 2004.

Worse still, the privatization and liberalization policy which begun in the late 1990s weakened the labour movement considerably. Amendments to the Industrial Relations and Labour Act further contributed to the detriment of trade unions. For example, the 1993

Industrial and Labour relations Act abolished the "one union, one industry" policy and also allowed multiple confederations. The amendment had an immediate impact, including the formation from Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT) of Primary Education Teachers' Union of Zambia (PETUZ), and Secondary School Teachers' Union of Zambia (SESTUZ).

In a nutshell, as soon as the MMD came to power, it put in place labour laws that further weakened the trade unions. However, as a result of the support it gave to the MMD, the labour movement could not fight it. It was therefore argued that the movement became weak from 1991 because it had sold out to the MMD. When the MMD began to implement its economic policies, the problems of the labour movement mounted in the 1990s and the 2000s.

### **III.2 A profile of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions**

The ZCTU was established in 1965 through an Act of Parliament. Until 1993, the ZCTU was the sole umbrella organisation of trade unions in the country. Currently the ZCTU represents thirty-six (36) affiliated national unions operating in various sectors of the economy.<sup>2</sup> Since its formation, the crucial role of the ZCTU has been that of representing the views and interests of the workers and vulnerable groups of society.

The labour movement has through particular turns and phases of the country's economic and political transformations, played a major role in bringing about change in various ways. It has played key roles as an industrial arm of political parties in the fight for political independence. In the post-independence era, the ZCTU continued to play a significant role representing and protecting the interest of workers. Most importantly, the ZCTU made important sacrifices during the one party state, whose circumstances compelled the labour movement to fight for plural politics and democratic governance.

The labour movement has, on several occasions, taken important decisions that have helped shape the destiny of the country.

ZCTU has a non-partisan approach on politics but is willing to work with the government of the day. However, it has resolved to support any trade union leader vying for political positions, regardless of political party affiliation. Nonetheless, union leaders cannot hold leadership positions in political parties.

#### Mission Statement

The Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, as a democratic force, affiliating the majority of trade unions in the country, is committed to enhancing the welfare of its workers through the promotion of harmonious industrial relations and mutual cooperation with the government, employers, civil society organisations and other progressive elements in society.

#### Vision

To organise and unite all workers in Zambia into a strong, unified, dynamic and self-sustaining labour movement as a basis for achieving positive economic, political and social justice for all and good governance in the interest of the nation.

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<sup>2</sup> There were 31 affiliated national unions at the beginning of the current cooperation agreement.



The vision of ZCTU is founded on its firm belief that trade unions are indispensable partners in the industrial relations involving government, employers and labour and that the process of development culminates into equitable distribution of wealth among stakeholders.

Against this vision, the ZCTU is determined to the transformation of Zambia into a country that is free from poverty, discrimination and any form of injustice. This should be realised through the creation of conditions that allow employment of every able-bodied man and women. Ultimately, ZCTU wants to see Zambia as a country where extremes and misery are eliminated and where men and women have equally opportunity and access to decent and satisfying work.

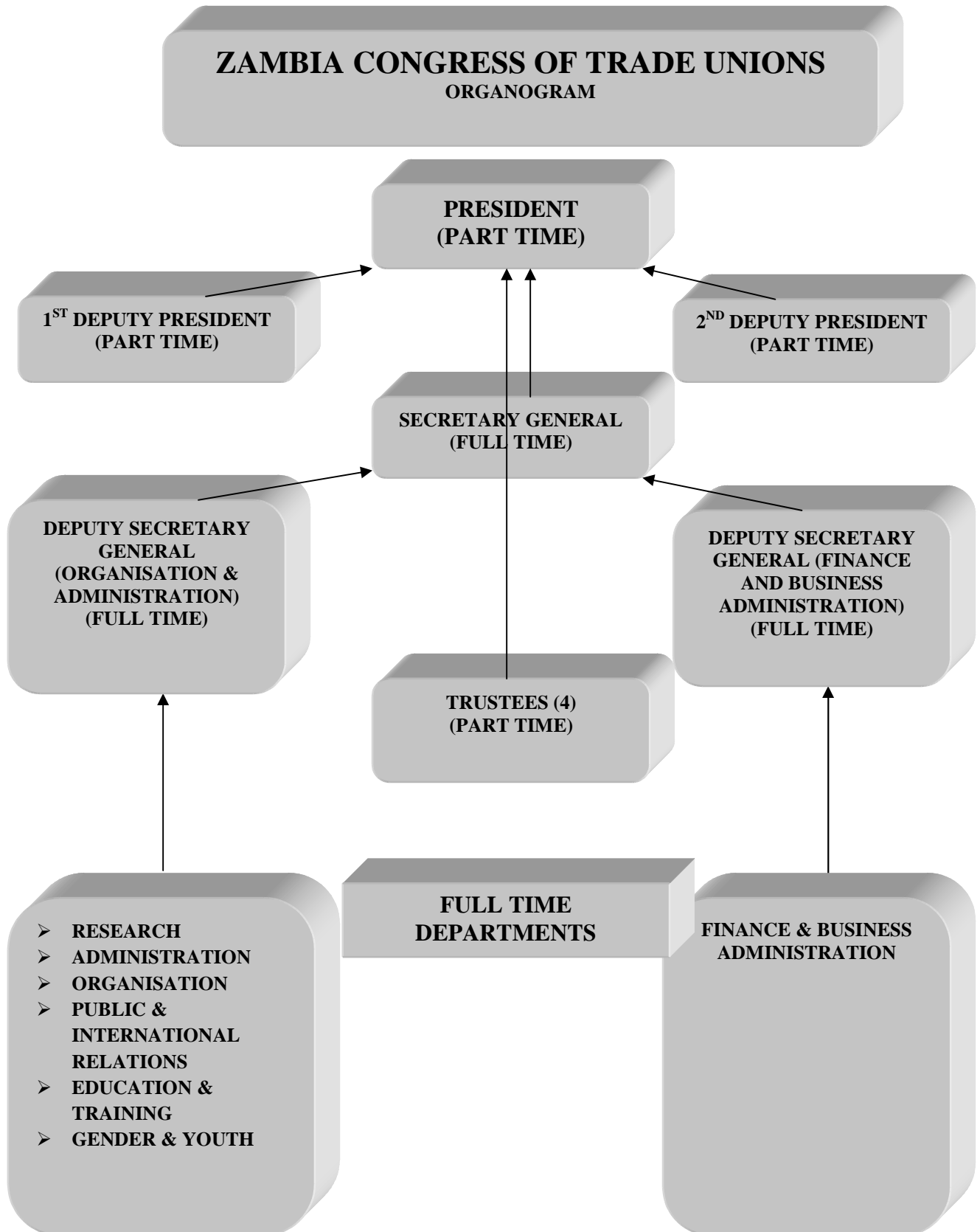
#### Strategic objectives

Some of issues that ZCTU feel strongly about and expect government to address include:

- Establishment of a poverty datum line which should serve as a baseline for determining decent and living wages for all;
- Social security for all;
- Equal pay for equal work of equal value;
- Decent housing for all;
- Respect for basic workers' right in all areas of economic activity;
- Maintenance by employers of safe working conditions and practices as a prerequisite to the preservation of the environment for now and posterity;
- Industrialisation policies and strategies that are in tandem with the need to achieve sustainable national development within the context and dictates of regional competitive and globalisation.

ZCTU has three full-time elected officials and also employs 27 full-time members of staff in seven departments (see Figure 2 and Annex 4).

Figure 2: ZCTU organogram



## **IV Findings of the evaluation**

### **IV.1 Introduction**

These main findings are derived from the documentation and field visits during the course of the evaluation. The findings are organized into nine categories as specified in the Terms of Reference for the evaluation. In addition to these categories this section also contains an overall analysis of the strengths and weakness of the programme cooperation and on internal perception of ZCTU's operations as identified by trade union leaders based in Lusaka.

### **IV.2 Relevance of support**

In assessing the relevance of support, this evaluation was concerned with the validity of the objectives and the usefulness of the results of the programme cooperation and its success in fulfilling the objectives specified at the beginning of the period. The relevance of the project was assessed by addressing two basic questions:

- Has the project targeted the needs of the organisation and its affiliates?
- If the project has been changed during its implementation, has it been modified in accordance with any changing needs of the partner?

The evaluator is convinced that the programme cooperation has continued to strengthen the capacity of ZCTU to implement its core mandate. It was clear that the programme cooperation has become the bedrock of in sustaining the trade union movement in the country.

Some of the programme outcomes indicating the evidence of relevance of support include the following:

- Relocation of the ZCTU headquarters from Copperbelt to the capital in Lusaka
- Involvement of youth and women in ZCTU structures
- Establishment of regional and district structures
- Education and training of union members
- Involvement of all unions
- Development of core cadre of co-ordinators
- Union recognition by employers

### **IV.3: Efficiency in implementation**

To determine the efficiency of the programme cooperation the evaluation was interested to determine whether or not the use of allocated resources was justifiable in the context to the results obtained. In this case, the efficiency in programme implementation was determined by the following questions, as stated in the Terms of Reference:

- How efficient has the organisation been in the implementation of the project i.e. has the work been carried out, and the financial and human resources been used in an appropriate and cost-efficient manner?
- Are there in place functioning internal controls/systems for effective programme management and administration in general to foster accountability and transparency?

The evaluation established that the programme cooperation was efficient in implementation and that the results have justified the costs incurred and resources utilised.

The evidence adduced to support the efficiency in implementation can be listed as follows:

- ZCTU was able to service the needs of most of its affiliated unions. The ZCTU provided various support systems to affiliated union in terms of organizational support, recruitment campaigns, representation in tripartite bodies, and providing education and training. More attention was given to selected unions;
- ZCTU has maintained regional and district level structures;
- ZCTU has established and maintained effective and working internal and organizational systems;
- Maintained strong links with all affiliates as evidenced by the successful organization of campaigns and demonstrations over the years on various labour issues; and
- Maintained good links with the informal economy.

#### **IV.4: Results of the programme cooperation**

As indicated in the section on the methodology of the evaluation, the lack of preparedness and poor quality of reports has substantially hampered the assessment of the results of the programme cooperation. Much of the information on this section of the report was based on anecdotal information received from the interviews conducted during the evaluation week and on the perusal of documentation sent by LO-Norway.

In determining the results of the programme cooperation the evaluator was interested at reviewing the progress and results of the co-operation projects, and to see what has been achieved during the period under consideration. In this regard, the evaluation assessed the performance and progress of the co-operation based on the following questions.

- Have the objectives been met, and all the expected results of the project realised? If not, - why?
- Have the objectives been unclear and/or unrealistic or is it due to other internal and/or external factors?
- Have recommendations of auditors, LO-Norway and internal reviews been followed up in an appropriate manner?

##### **(a) Results on trade union membership**

The appendix to the cooperation agreements was clear with respect to the expected results on trade union membership. The indicator of achievement included

- (i) increased membership to 350,000 members;
- (ii) accurate membership data segregated by sex and age; and
- (iii) 30 new workplaces are organized each year.

Unfortunately, current union membership data is still reported to be under compilation, while membership data segregation is considered a challenge as capacity needs to be build and resources allocated.

ZCTU is also unable to indicate the exact number of unions organized during the period under review. Most ZCTU affiliates do not have databases of the members. Their only source of information is statistics from branches and from employers. Much of the information is not disaggregated by sex or age, making it difficult to undertake any further analysis on membership trends and forecasting.

Interviews with the ZCTU Director of Organization indicated that the current membership is about 295,000, which is short of the target indicated at the beginning of the cooperation agreement. Nonetheless, it is difficult to offer any further analysis as ZCTU was only able to present membership figures for 2007 and 2008 as indicators in Table 1 below.

In 2010, ZCTU drew its membership from 33 affiliates, contributing 251,507 members. The figure in 2007 was 281,554, indicating a decline of 4% each year. The decline in total union membership during that period was mainly attributable to the retrenchments in hospitality, transport, commercial, mining and manufacturing sectors of the economy. Membership levels in some sectors has also been unstable due to internal union conflicts (such as in NESAWU) and changes in contract arrangements.

**Table 1: ZCTU trade union membership statistics, 2007-2008**

	Name of Union	2007	2008
1.	Airways and Allied Workers Union of Zambia (AAWUZA)	696	997
2.	Bankers Union of Zambia (BUZ)	160	670
3.	Copper belt University Workers Union (COBUWU)	284	300
4.	Zambia Union of Security Officers and Allied Workers (ZUSOAW)	20,978	22,982
5.	Civil Servants and Allied Workers Union of Zambia (CSAWUZ)	80,000	81,300
6.	Hotel Catering Workers Union of Zambia (HCWUZ)	16,500	18,650
7.	Mine Workers Union of Zambia (MUZ)	13,358	16,390
8.	National Union of Building Engineering and General Workers (NUBEGW)	15,243	15,993
9.	National Union of Commercial and Industrial (NUCIW)	20,250	22,300
10.	National Union of Plantation and Allied Workers (NUPAW)	12,520	16,000
11.	National Union of Communication Workers (NUCW)	5,140	5,400
12.	National Union of Public Service Workers (NUPSW)	11,500	12,515
13.	Railway Workers Union of Zambia (RWUZ)	1,003	1,108
14.	National Union of Transport and Allied Workers (NUTAW)	1,374	1,400

	Name of Union	2007	2008
15.	University of Zambia and Allied Workers Union of Zambia (UNZAAWU)	1,151	1, 195
16.	Zambia National Union of Health and Allied Workers Union (ZNUHAW)	5, 000	5, 503
17	National Energy Sector Union (NESAWU)	3,000	3, 080
18	Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT)	30,399	43 380
19	Zambia Graphical and Allied Workers (ZAGAWU)	3,200	3, 406
20	Zambia Union of Journalists (ZUJ)	370	393
21	Zambia Revenue Authority Workers Union (ZRAWU)	1,000	1, 194
22	United House and Domestic Workers Union of Zambia (UHDWUZ)	889	900
23	University of Zambia Lectures and Researchers Union (UNZARALU)	242	212
24	Workers Union of TAZARA (WUTAZ)	1,421	1, 383
26	Zambia Local Authority Workers Union (ZULAWU)	14,000	15 180
27	National Union of Technical Education Lectures Allied Workers (NUTELAW)	3,000	3,000
28	Copper belt University Academic Union (CBAU)	120	220
29	Zambia Bus and Taxi Workers Union (ZBTWU)	10,000	13,150
30	Basic Education Teachers Union of Zambia (BETUZ)	8,756	9, 000
	TOTAL	281,554	317,201

## (b) Results on organizing and recruitment

Organizing and recruitment is recognized as the major challenge that needs to be prioritized by any trade union. According to the appendix to the cooperation agreement, the indicator of achievement was that there should be 12 recruitment drives per year. By the time of the evaluation, 24 such recruitment drives were reported to have been undertaken. The notable increase in union membership is as a result of deliberate campaigns conducted by ZCTU for its affiliates.

During the period under review, there has been an improvement in the support that ZCTU provides for the organization and recruitment under the cooperation agreement. Anecdotal information during the evaluation showed that six ZCTU affiliates have received grants for membership recruitment in 2013. These include NUPAW, NUBEGW, WUTAZ, GMUZ and

ZBTWU. ZCTU gave special support to some unions that face specific challenges in recruitment, such as NUPAW which encountered challenges with some employers in some plantations. However, changes in membership numbers are not yet apparent: some unions are still in the process of finalizing the recruitment processes with employers.

Some of the achievements include identification of green areas for unionization and new unions have been formed and affiliated to the ZCTU. These unions include:

- The Petroleum and Allied Workers Union of Zambia with an approximate potential membership of 3000 and whose progress report on recruitment of members is attached hereto
- The Zambia Bureau of Standards Workers Union (ZBSWU) with a potential membership of 500. The union disaffiliated from the Federation of Free Trade Unions of Zambia (FFTUZ) to affiliate with ZCTU citing ineptitude in the Federation.
- The Mine Contractors Workers Union with potential membership of 500.
- The Copper belt Senior Administrative and Technical Staff Union with potential membership of 200.

Several other unions like the Secondary School Teachers Union of Zambia (SESTUZ) have indicated their willingness to affiliate ZCTU given that they have left FFTUZ.

In a bid scale up the recruitment of potential members recruited ten (10) Regional Coordinators listed here under to help implement the recruitment and organization plans (see Table 2).

**Table 2: ZCTU Regional Coordinators**

	Name	Contact	Province
1	Samuel Ngandwe	0977-401876	Luapula
2	Wille Kanyinji	0977-125460/0955	Eastern
3	Fred Kasanda	0977-735983	Muchinga
4	Peter Chungu	0977-624345/0969301277	Northern
5	Ngenda Mubiana	0977414108	Western
6	Elias Ntimpa	0977-380807/0965	Central
7	Benson. Ngula	0976-000425	Lusaka
8	Roger Kanjomba	0978104867/0966746722	North-Western
9	Annette C Chola*	0966-499393/0977-454748	Copperbelt
10	Olga S Mwanza*	0977-525264	Southern

\* Full-time coordinators

Some unions (such as Building, Engineering and General Workers, NUBEGW), Commercial and Industrial Workers (NUCIW), Communication Workers (NUCW) have made significant gains in membership. This is largely due to the material and financial support offered by ZCTU. Statistics have continued been reported to be under compilation.

It was reported that there are limitation to organizing due to the problem of “free riding” by some workers who resist unionization as they do not need to join trade unions whilst they can enjoy the same benefits free of charge. Continuous wrangling on union leaders leading to splits in unions, such as Agricultural Workers’ Union (NUPAW) and the Civil Servants

Union (CSAWUZ) has not helped matters. ZCTU has intervened, but with minimal influence.

### **(c) Results on collective bargaining**

Under the Industrial and Labour Relations Act (1997), employers employing not less than 25 employees and the trade union to which employees belong are required to enter into a recognition agreement. Under this agreement, the employer does not simply acknowledge the existence of such trade union, but more importantly undertaken to accept the union as a bargaining partner.

No statistics on the number of workers or workplaces covered by collective bargaining. It is expected that there will 1288 new and reviewed collective agreements during the period under review. It is reported that there were 274 renewed collective agreements and 67 recognition agreements as at June 2013. This is impressive, though there is no information on how the agreements are implemented. The ZCTU report for the first quarter of 2013 simply mentioned that feedback on actual results is yet to be compiled as most unions are still continuing to negotiate.

Most public sector unions only have one recognition and collective bargaining agreement, as government has a centralized system of bargaining. The private sector unions, on the other hand, have in most cases more than one agreement.

From the submitted report, it can be established that as at April 2012 all unions were busy with collective bargaining. Notable success was achieved in the public service where all the nine unions had secured an increase of 15% of basic salaries across the board, through joint negotiation team.

The ZCTU 2013 first quarter report to LO-Norway indicated that the public service had just concluded negotiations with the government, and for the first time the civil servants have been awarded wage increments ranging from 30% to 100%. This is due to the salary harmonization exercise being undertaken by the government. The implementation date of the new collective agreement was agreed on 1 September and the harmonized salaries were effected at the end of September 2013. However, misunderstandings in the implementation procedures, led to a strike by nurses at the time of the evaluation.

Nonetheless, the private sector is another story. Unions in mining, agriculture, service (hotels and catering) and building and construction sectors are concerned with the rampant abrogation of collective bargaining by employers.

### **(d) Results on mergers of unions**

Indicator of achievement specified in the appendix to the 2010-2014 cooperation agreement was that ZCTU would strike to reduce the number of affiliates to 20 through merging of unions. However, to the contrary, during the period under review, ZCTU affiliates have increased from 31 to 35.



In fact, it was established that even before the current cooperation agreements ZCTU has provided training on amalgamation to affiliates. Only the teachers' unions (ZNUT and BETUZ) had taken the initiative to merge. They were waiting for the decisions to be debated at the respective delegates' conferences. It is not clear why there has been no progress in the last four years.

### **(e) Results on unity at national level**

The main indicator of achievement here is the merger between ZCTU and FFTUZ. The evaluator established that the reality is that ZCTU and FFTUZ are, in fact, very far from merging, though they have agreed to work together on a number of issues requiring tripartite involvement.

The main event during the period under review is the workshop on mergers, entitled "Zambia Congress Unite: Seeking the Way Forward" held at the Fairmount Hotel in Livingstone between 3 and 4 September 2012. The aim of the workshop was to discuss factors leading to multiplication of unions. It was also a forum to explore avenues of mergers and amalgamations among unions. The main outcomes of the workshop related to

- Individual unions and federations (ZCTU and FFTUZ) should sensitize their members on mergers. It was agreed that individual affiliates should clearly spell out how assets and liabilities will be taken up in their respective merging road maps
- Establish technical committees to drive merger processes
- Contribute to the on-going process of labour law reforms undertaken by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security has embarked on. Specifically the input from labour should be directed towards reviewing laws that favour splinters. However, as a way of circumventing the multiplicity or proliferation of unions, ZCTU could begin by supporting the statutory instrument before review of the law is brought to fruition.
- Undertake a follow up activity to be undertaken to have two and a half days workshop to explore in detail the proposed merging for the identified groups. The outcome of these workshops will give clear guideline on which unions will merge and also outline the time frame for the exercise. However, the evaluation noted that there are some operational difficulties associated with the mergers and amalgamations processes;
- Recommendation: ZCTU and affiliates to follow up on the resolutions of the LO-Norway sponsored "Unite Conference" by rendering the requisite support to the affiliates that indicated their readiness to merge, especially the teachers unions (ZNUT, BETUZ and SSETUZ).
- Hope for unity through merger of the two national centres (ZCTU and FFTUZ) has effectively faded. The ZCTU accuses FFTUZ of engaging in aggressive membership recruitment with the aim of dislodging it as the most representative organization. The proliferation of trade unions in Zambia is further worsened by weak labour legislation.
- At the same time, ZCTU alleges that the government is promoting FFTUZ by according it undeserved recognition at tripartite meetings and during Labour Day celebrations.
- ZCTU observes that FFTUZ is not democratic as it has not held a congress for more than eight years, whilst it is driven by two people: president and national secretary.

## (f) Results on income from subscriptions

One other prominent immediate objective of the ZCTU at the commencement of the current phase of programme cooperation was to raise income from subscriptions to ZMK 9 billion. The subscriptions in 2010 were ZMK 5.945 billion. According to the detailed statement of income, subscriptions from union dues were ZMK 10.295 billion by 31 December 2012. The figure for December 2011 was reported to be ZMK 11.256 billion. The ZCTU's income for 2012 was ZMK 11.727 billion as compared to ZMK 12.529 billion in 2011. The deficit was ZMK 2.345 billion in 2012 as compared to a surplus of 294.999 million in 2011.

Membership subscriptions rates vary between one and two per cent of deductible incomes for different affiliates.

ZCTU now able to get subscriptions from source, via direct check-off from employers. This is beneficial for ZCTU and affiliates as well, as it taken the administrative burden of dues payment and ensures that all union pay regularly.

Some unions, like ZULAWU, are coping with the challenge of not receiving any subscription income from employers (local governments) who have lost their capacity to pay salaries to their workers. In some instances, workers have not been receiving their salaries for a period of 24 months, meaning that the unions do not receive due either. Similarly, some employers in the private sector do not deduct union dues for a variety of reasons.

Local authorities are now dependent on central government for erratic grants.

In 2009, 81% of the total income came from membership subscriptions. In 2010, only 75% of the income was received from affiliates. But this has since recovered to constitute 90% of total income in 2011 and 87.8% in 2012.

Table 3 shows the union subscriptions collected by ZCTU for the period 2010-2012.

**Table 3: Schedule of ZCTU subscriptions income, 2010-2012 (in ZMK)**

	Union	2010	2011	2012
1	AAWUZ	117,322	128647	117,670
2	BETUZ	360,000	790000	722,594
3	BUZ	0	0	0
4	CBUWU	31,847	17794	16,276
5	CBAWUZ	32,089	22,500	20,580
6	CSAWUZ	1,195,948	1350447	1,235,222
7	ZASOWU	259,836	358212	327,648
8	DWUZ	0	0	0
9	HCWUZ	143,036	171852	157,189
10	MUZ	325,317	380778	348,289
11	NESAWU	137,522	189224	173,079
12	NUBEGW	99,794	51290	46,914

13	NUCIW	254,648	231005	211,295
14	NUCW	267,597	18891	17,279
15	NUPAW	285,816	362946	331,978
16	NUPSW	490,386	476340	435,697
17	NUTAW	87,656	75639	69,185
18	NUTELAWU	18,105	14234	13,020
19	RWUZ	38,403	19845	18,152
20	SESTUZ	0		0
21	TAX & DRIVERS UNION	0	204594	187,137
22	ZRAWU	18,000	30000	27,440
23	UNZAAWU	97,536	129365	118,327
24	UNZARALU	166,150	216175	197,730
25	WUTAZ	96,000	92007	84,157
26	ZNUHAW	59,457	88900	81,315
27	ZAGRAWU	6,296	17632	16,128
28	ZNUT	1,197,229	1106807	1,012,462
29	ZUJ	26,477	11493	10,512
30	JAWUZ	0	46000	42,075
31	HWUZ	0	24100	22,044
32	ZULAWU	89,616	4603344	4,210,569
33	ZUNO	35,000	20000	18,294
34	GMWUZ	1,000	5101	4,666
35	GMAWUZ	6,610	500	457
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5,944,693</b>	<b>11255662</b>	<b>10,295,380</b>

### (g) Results on financial management and internal reviews

The evaluation revealed both positive and negative results associated with financial management and internal practices. At the outset, it should be mentioned that the weight of positive attributes did not outweigh the negative sentiments. In brief, the positive elements include:

- Commendable overall financial management of the programme cooperation;
- Experienced financial administrator; and
- ZCTU is a viable going concern for the next 12 months as determined by the asset portfolio.

The negative attributes that would need to be addressed can be listed as follows:

- Lack of an up-to-date financial rules and regulations;
- Long delays in submitting the Audited Financial Statements and Activity Reports, especially in the last two years of the current cooperation agreement;
- High staff costs, at the risk of no activities being undertaken;
- Variances mentioned in management report and responses to auditors report not exhaustive or convincing
- Inability to effect statutory deductions

An example of the implications for delayed reporting is the ZCTUs Annual Reports for 2011 received by LO on 26 March 2012. But since it did not fully include results to the indicators, a revised report was only submitted on 17 April 2012, which was rather late for LO-Norway reporting obligations to NORAD. Even then, there is a clear dissatisfaction on the part of LO-Norway to the submitted reports. A letter from LO-Norway in 2013, expressed “profound disappointment” on the late reporting despite reminders. LO-Norway reported that the delays are adversely affecting reporting obligations to NORAD, “with the risk of losing support for all solidarity work globally. The delays have not constituted a health relationship for the mutual cooperation.

At the same time, there has been rather “carefree” responses to the delayed reporting by the ZCTU. Some of the letters indicated that “accounts have been delayed due to other reports which were still under compilation within the same period.” Moreover, no reasons are given for failure to submit statistical information or inability to meet expected outcomes as defined in the indicators of achievements agreed by the partners.

ZCTU need to seriously address its debt obligations and the matters raised in the Auditors’ Management Letter, especially in relation to the statutory obligations and retired/former staff terminal benefits.

On a positive note, it was reported that payment plans for the statutory institutions have been made and ZCTU has promise to adhere to them. In this regard, as at the end of 2009, ZCTU’s principal debt was about K 4,331,307,512 (approximately USD 902,356). The indicator of achievement was deferred liabilities to be decreased by 1.238 billion. But in actual fact, deferred liabilities during the first half of 2013 stood at ZMK 2.8 million due to the provision made for gratuities and terminal benefits for retrenched and retired staff.

In a similar vein, whilst the indicator of achievement for current liabilities expected an increase by ZMK 1.6 billion, but in reality increased by ZMK 7.2 billion by June 2013.

## **(h) Results on union constitutions**

It was reported that most of the unions are amending their constitutions to ensure that they are in line with democratic principles and that they become inclusive. ZCTU has set an example in his area. Some of the notable amendments to the ZCTU constitution are:

- Article 3(20) to include participation of the marginalized,
- Article 16(2), 17(a) and Article 19(1)(b) and(c) to include women and the youth,
- Article 21 to create the women’s organ, and
- Article 22 to create the youth wing

The case of Civil Servants and Allied Workers Union of Zambia (CSAWUZ)

New articles:

Objects of the Union

4.1 (k) To promote gender equality and enhance women participation in decision making processes

4.1 (l) To promote the participation of young workers in decision making processes

Increase of union organs from three to five: by introducing the Biannual Conference and Provincial Executive Committee, in addition to the Quadrennial Conference, the National Executive Council and Branches.

Increase in the composition of delegates to the Quadrennial Conference to include additional delegates from Provincial Executive Committee (4), Women's Provincial Executive Committee (4), and one member from every Branch leadership.

Also introduced Women's Committee at Branch level.

However, it is noticeable that there are disturbing loopholes in the new constitutions. For example, Article 10.4 (r) "The Chairperson for the National Women's Committee may from time to time attend National Executive Council Meetings, but will only be allowed to address the meeting on issues pertaining to women after which she shall leave the meeting. (Emphasis showing difficult issues in the constitution)

## **IV.5: ZCTU sustainability**

In determining the sustainability of the ZCTU, the evaluation team considered the durability of the national centre, its effects and impact after the withdrawal of the programme cooperation and more general with the absence of external funds. The assessment of the sustainability of the programme cooperation was undertaken by addressing the questions below:

- Is ZCTU able to continue the project activities when LO-Norway support ends?
- Has the capacity of the organisation been permanently improved? If so, what are the indicators of this?

In response to these questions, the opinion of the evaluation team is that ZCTU is rather mixed or ambiguous. In the year ended December 2011 ZCTU recorded a surplus of ZMK 295 million, as opposed to a deficit of ZMK 1.9 billion in 2010. Unfortunately, the current situation has reversed with the ZCTU posting a deficit of ZMK 2.318 billion for the year ended 31 December 2012.

Moreover, current liabilities have continued to exceed current assets. The excess has actually increased from ZMK 6.3 billion in 2011 to ZMK 6.6 billion in 2012. The deficit in membership subscriptions has also been increasing from ZMK 1.9 billion in 2011 to ZMK 4.2 billion in 2012.

ZCTU has a daunting liquidity problem because of its heavy debt arising from non-remittances to statutory bodies, especially the Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA) and National Pension Scheme Authority (NAPSA). In addition, there are terminal benefits of former and deceased officials and staff. External auditors and LO-Norway has repeatedly advised ZCTU on this matter. On a positive note, ZCTU has informally agreed with the relevant authorities and remittances are now undertaken.

To improve its financial resources ZCTU has stepped up its efforts to engage its affiliates and employers to implement the direct check-off arrangement. This has so far succeeded with the

unions in the public sector, especially CSAWUZ, Basic Teachers Union and National Union of Teachers (ZNUT).

ZCTU has adopted a vigorous campaign to ensure that all subscription income is collected at source. It is reported that 90% of the subscriptions are now collected at source, with the exception of MUZ and ZULAWU.

## **IV.6: External impact**

The Terms of Reference posed to questions with respect to determining the external support of the ZCTU:

- Has ZCTU been able to make a positive impact for the benefit of its members and society in its engagement with government, employers and other relevant national organisations as a result of the project?
- Are there indicators of improved trade union rights, better labour legislation, etc., that may be directly or indirectly linked to the project?

The evaluation has established that the ZCTU is an institution with a national and international outlook. The national centre has been the cornerstone of the strength of the labour movement in the country and indeed in the sub-region. Although not many of the external collaborators could be interviewed during the evaluation, on the whole it can be said that there is a strong support to the role played by ZCTU in its interventions in human and trade union sphere in the country.

On the political environment, there have been disturbing reports of conflicts between the ZCTU leadership that the Minister of Labour and Social Security. The public outbursts have somehow dented the atmosphere between the labour movement and the government.

The evidence of the high visibility of ZCTU to external factors includes the following:

- Comments on issues paper on labour law review process (November 2012) when ZCTU held two consultative workshops - retirement age to be 60 years, with an option for early retirement of 55 years,
- Comments on minimum wage regulation,
- Trade union policy position paper on socio-economic policies for inclusive growth, sustainment economic development and decent work in Zambia (May 2012), and
- Resolutions on the Draft Constitution of the Republic of Zambia (May 2012)

It was strange, however, not to have received good ratings from the local office of the ILO. It was alleged that ZCTU were not forceful enough to take its place in the programme activities of the ILO. Interview with the Director revealed that ZCTU had very limited interactions with the ILO Office in Lusaka.

## **IV.7: Gender issues**

To determine the practice of these principles within the context of the programme under consideration, the evaluation team considered the following three questions:

- Has gender been mainstreamed in the project?
- Are the numbers of male and female beneficiaries equal?
- Has the project improved the women situation?

Women participation in ZCTU leadership level is still very low. There were only two women in the 10-person Executive Board as the beginning of the cooperation agreement, and nothing has changed. The highest position occupied by women in the Board is that of a trustee. According to the baseline survey undertaken by the ZCTU Gender Department, at National Executive Committee, in affiliated unions, 20% of leaders were women in 2010. Anecdotal information during the evaluation exercise indicated a further decline of women in leadership position.

The ZCTU gender policy recognizes the need to full integrate women and men in the development process. It support the principle of equity of opportunity in employment and trade union movement and opposed all forms of discrimination. It also encourages its affiliates to ensure effective participation of the working women in trade union activities, leadership, management, mobilization, lobby and all issues that relate to trade union work. It is reported that 11 unions have implemented gender policies. These are NUGEGW, ZNUT, BETUZ, CSAWUZ, NUPSW, NUCIW, HCTWUZ, ZNUHAW, ZUNO, UNZAAWU and MUZ.

At least 20% of women were reported to have been engaged in collective bargaining processes.

It was difficult to clearly establish the level of women participation in trade union activities as estimates of total membership are far from precise. But, on the whole, the evaluation established that the ZCTU is not exactly committed to consistently advocate for equality between men and women.

## **IV.8: Internal democracy**

According to the appendix to the cooperation agreement, the results planned for internal democracy was that unions will have good constitutions that are democratic and are respected and adhered to. It was expected that ZCTU will continue to adhere to the constitution, which among other things, ensures legitimisation of its leadership and allows affiliates to participate in the formulation of policies and programmes of activities for the organisation.

The evaluation established that democracy is respected in the ZCTU affiliate unions. Members participate actively in decision making processes and union structures function in a democratic manner. Indeed, union members democratically elect their leaders at district, branch and national levels freely and in a transparent manner. Union constitutions provide for specific organs with specific share of representatives in various constitutional and decision making organs to control and direct operations of the organs.

The constitutions are always respected by most unions. This is evident by holding of constitutional meetings. Table 4 shows that ZCTU and most of its affiliates have constantly respected the constitutions by holding their respective quadrennial congresses.

**Table 4: Holding of quadrennial congress by ZCTU and affiliates**

Union	Date of last quadrennial
1 Zambia Congress of Trade Unions ( <b>ZCTU</b> )	2011
2 Basic Education Teachers Union of Zambia ( <b>BETUZ</b> )	2013
3 Zambia National Union of Teachers ( <b>ZNUT</b> )	2013
4 Health Workers Union of Zambia ( <b>HWUZ</b> )	2013
5 Zambia National Union of Health and Allied Workers ( <b>ZNHUAW</b> )	2013
6 National Unions of Technical Education Lecturers and Allied Workers ( <b>NUTALAW</b> )	2013
7 Zambia Union Local Government and Allied Workers Union ( <b>ZULAWU</b> )	2013
8 National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers ( <b>NUCIW</b> )	2011
9 Civil Servants and Allied Workers Union of Zambia ( <b>CSAWUZ</b> )	2011
10 National Union of Public Service Workers ( <b>NUPSW</b> )	2011
11 Zambia Union of Security Officers and Allied Workers ( <b>ZUSOAW</b> )	2010
12 Gemstones and Allied Workers Union of Zambia ( <b>AWUZ</b> )	2012
13 Grain and Meat Workers Union of Zambia ( <b>GRAMUZ</b> )	2010
14 National Union of Building Engineering and General Workers ( <b>NUBEGW</b> )	2013
15 Mine Workers Union of Zambia ( <b>MUZ</b> )	2012
16 Railway Workers Union of Zambia ( <b>RWUZ</b> )	2012
17 Airways and Allied Workers Union of Zambia ( <b>AAWUZA</b> )	2011
18 National Union of Communication Workers ( <b>NUCW</b> )	2012
19 University of Zambia and Allied Workers Union ( <b>UNZAAWU</b> )	2012
20 Zambia Bus and Taxis Workers Union ( <b>ZABTWU</b> )	INTERIM
21 Petroleum and Allied Workers Union ( <b>PAWU</b> )	INTERIM
22 National Energy Sector and Allied Workers Union ( <b>NESAWU</b> )	2010
23 Zambia Revenue Authority and Allied Workers Union ( <b>ZRAWU</b> )	2012
24 Judicial and Allied Workers Union of Zambia ( <b>JAWUZ</b> )	2012
25 Workers Union of TAZARA ( <b>WUTAZ</b> )	2011
26 Zambia Union of Journalists ( <b>ZUJ</b> )	?
27 Copper belt University Academics Workers Union of Zambia ( <b>CBUAWUZ</b> )	2012
28 National Union of Plantation and Allied Workers ( <b>NUPAW</b> )	2010
29 Mining Contractors Workers Union ( <b>MCWU</b> )	2011
30 Copper belt Workers Union of Zambia ( <b>CBWUZ</b> )	2011
31 ZAGRAWU	2010
32 Zambia Union of Nurses Organizations ( <b>ZUNO</b> )	2011
33 United House and Domestic Workers Union ( <b>UHDWU</b> )	?
34 Bankers Union of Zambia ( <b>BUZ</b> )	?
35 Copper belt Senior Administrative, Professional and Technical Staff Union ( <b>CBSAPTSU</b> )	2013
36 The Zambia Bureau of Standards Workers Union ( <b>ZBSWU</b> )	INTERIM



## IV.9: Risks analysis

The last finding considered by the evaluation is to answer the following question:

- To what extent have political tensions and the unstable economic climate impacted on trade union operations and functions, and ultimately programme implementation?

The global economic and financial crisis as well as local effects from the social, economic and political spheres, coupled with internal trade union dynamics, has had conflicting effects to the implementation of the programme cooperation during the current. This situation is likely to persist in the immediate period ahead.

The period under review coincided with election of the Patriotic Front party leader, Michael Chilufya Sata as President of Zambia following 2011 elections. The wave of optimism upon which the president, Michael Sata, and the Patriotic Front (PF) swept to power in 2011 has largely subsided in light of the government's slow progress in meeting its campaign promises—notably to reduce unemployment and corruption.

One would have expected that with the four former trade union leaders elected to the National Assembly on the ruling party ticket the relations between government and ZCTU would have been enhanced. This is not the case as there are continuous public misunderstandings between Minister of Labour and the leadership of the ZCTU.

## V Internal Perceptions of ZCTU's Mission and Vision

The questionnaires that were provided to union leaders of ZCTU affiliates based in Lusaka required them to make brief comments on what they perceived to be the strengths and weaknesses of the federation. Table 5 reproduces the responses received.

**Table 5: Perceived strengths and weaknesses of ZCTU**

<b>Strengths</b>	<b>Weaknesses</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increased membership</li> <li>- Bold and visionary leadership</li> <li>- Qualified directorate</li> <li>- Organising workers countrywide</li> <li>- Participating in tripartite forums</li> <li>- Ability to challenge government</li> <li>- International solidarity and co-operating partners</li> <li>- Most representative national centre</li> <li>- Provision of education opportunities</li> <li>- Ease of accessibility of headquarters</li> <li>- Clear organizational structure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Highly donor dependent</li> <li>- Weak regional structures</li> <li>- Splinter unions and failure to maintain unity among unions</li> <li>- Lack of militancy to challenge unfriendly employers</li> <li>- Lack of consultations with workplace leadership</li> <li>- Timekeeping when holding meetings</li> <li>- Becoming dictatorial in dealing with some affiliates</li> <li>- Some leaders are compromised by government</li> </ul>

- Lack of coordinated programmes
- Failure to organise and mobilise membership towards certain goals
- Ignorant rank and file
- Slow to respond to union requests

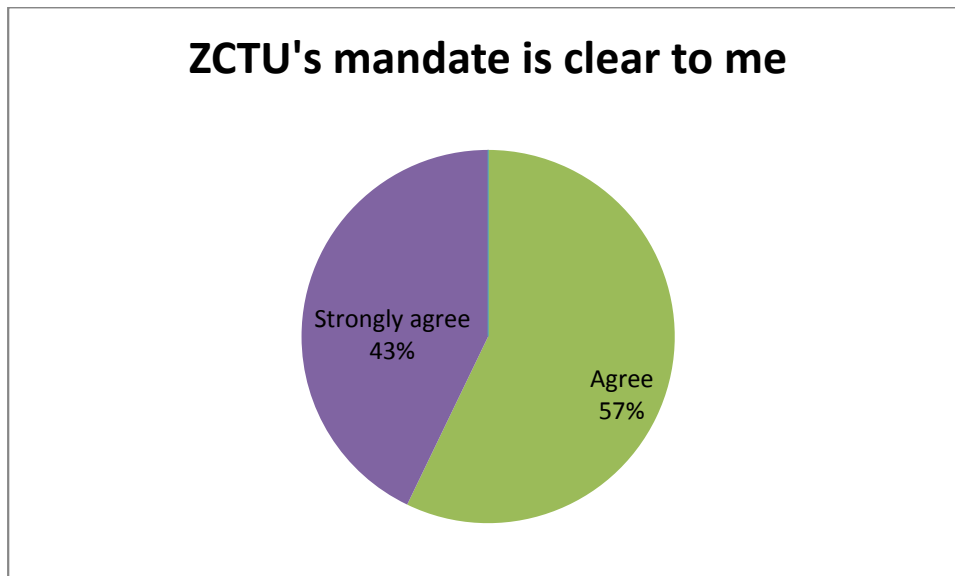
The affiliates were also requested to make any suggestions as to how ZCTU could improve itself. Table 6 gives the responses pertaining to areas of future work.

**Table 6: Areas of ZCTU's Future Work**

- Focus on membership recruitment and organizing, including the informal economy
- Leadership training on basic trade union principles
- Capacity building for sustainability
- Education programmes on trade union activism, with special focus on women and youth
- Trade union research on thematic issues
- Negotiation and collective bargaining

Figure 3 below shows that there was unanimity that the ZCTU's affiliates were clear about the mission and the vision of the federation.

**Figure 3: Clarity of ZCTU Mandate**



An important strength from the point of view of affiliates was the calibre of staff at ZCTU. Figure 4 shows that union leaders were of the opinion that the members staff were of high professional calibre.

**Figure 4: Level of Leadership and Professional Staff at ZCTU**

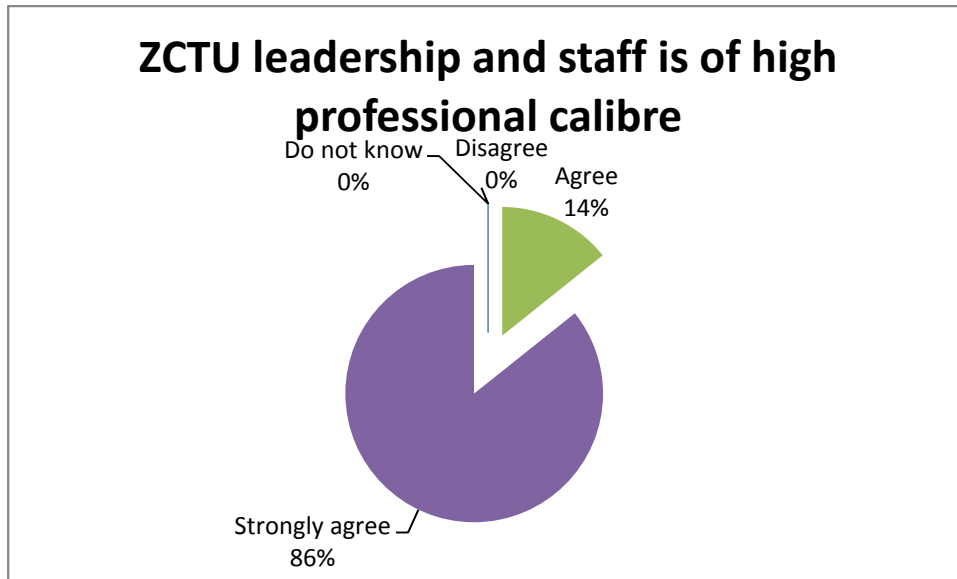


Figure 5 shows that almost all union leaders interviewed strongly believed that ZCTU understand their needs.

**Figure 5: Does ZCTU Understand our needs?**

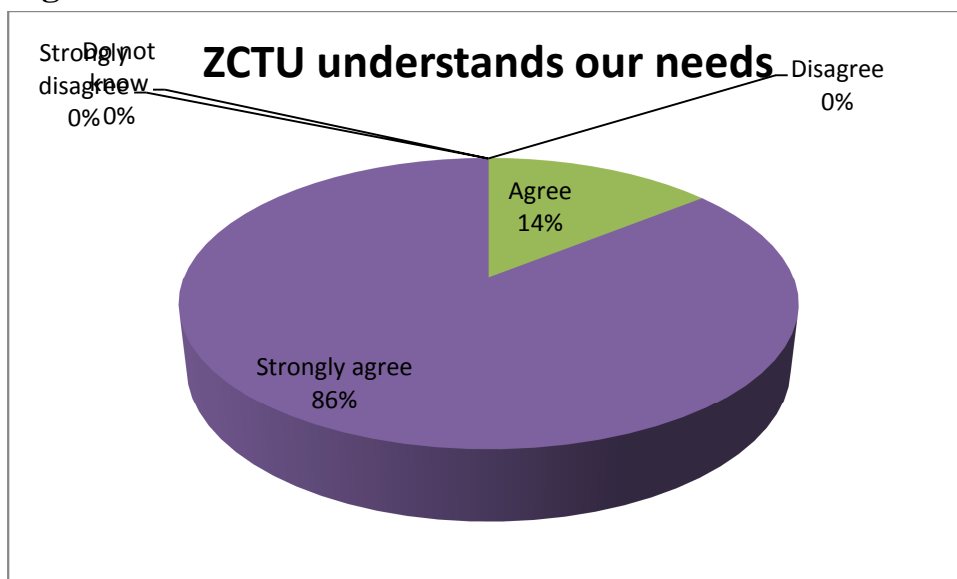
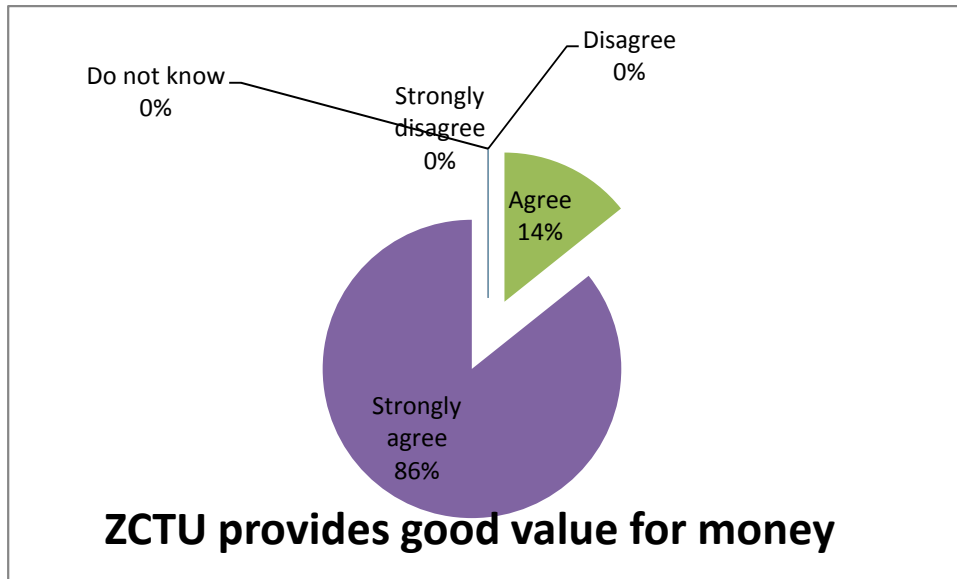


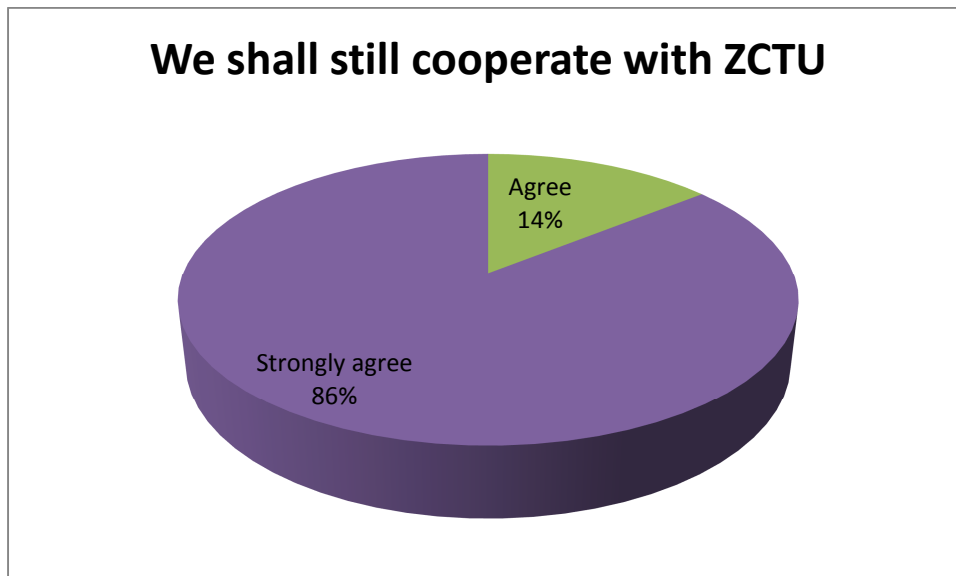
Figure 6 depicts the general satisfaction of ZCTU membership. It indicates that majority (86%) strongly agree that they get the value of the membership dues paid to ZCTU.

**Figure 6: Does ZCTU provide good value for money?**



The last chart (Figure 7) was aimed at finding out if the stated weaknesses afflicting ZCTU could lead to disaffiliation. All the respondents said that they were not considering abandoning ZCTU for anything else.

**Figure 7: Will you still co-operate with ZCTU?**



## VI: Recommendations

### VI.1 Overall recommendations

On the basis of the analysis, the evaluator recommends for a continuation of the co-operation between LO-Norway and ZCTU, but based on different modalities. It is the views of the evaluator that the format of the current programme cooperation has run its course. It is strongly recommended that should the partners choose to continue with their cooperation, it must be in accordance with clear and specific indicators of achievement that are subject to internal periodic monitoring and evaluation.

The need to change the course of the cooperation between ZCTU and LO-Norway is not coming as a surprise to any of the parties. In a memo dated April 2012, the idea of phasing out the current cooperation modalities was already mooted. In other words, ZCTU was already informed of LO-Norway's decision to phase out organizational development support during the tenure of the current cooperation agreement and no alternative financial support was promised after 2014.

It is the informed opinion of the evaluator that the next phase of cooperation between LO-Norway and ZCTU should be based on specific and mutually agreed themes. Some of the relevant thematic areas for consideration include the following:

1. Enhance the role of gender mainstreaming
  - Gender policy
  - Allocation of budget to gender mainstreaming
  - Support to Women's Committee as will be enshrined in the constitutional amendments
  - All campaigns and activities must ensure the promotion of gender equality
2. Enhance trade union solidarity and mergers
  - Building from the Livingstone UNITE workshop, undertake a detailed analysis on the current impasse with regard to mergers and amalgamations to respond to the following concerns:
    - i. What sort of shape do these new mechanisms find the trade union movement in?
    - ii. What do trade unions want to achieve in the coming years, and how can unions work together to make that happen?
    - iii. What will be the mission and vision of the new dispensation?
    - iv. How will this mechanism affect the existing local, sectoral, national, sub-regional and regional trade union structures?
3. Integration of youth issues in trade union work
  - Cultivate and nurture a sense of interest in union issues amongst the youth membership.
    - i. Develop youth policy
    - ii. Awareness creation on youth issues
    - iii. Youth in leadership
    - iv. Youth projects

1. Social networking
2. Cooperatives
  
4. Enhance social dialogue at national, sectoral and local levels
  - national dialogue,
  - sectoral dialogue
  - local level dialogue (district and workplace)
  
5. New and innovative measures to enhance membership recruitment and organizing
  - Recruitment policy
  - Enhancing membership benefits
  - Innovative approaches to organizing

## VI.2 Other recommendations

Prior to the commencement of the future cooperation, it would be prudent to put in place mechanisms that would enhance programme implementation. Some of these mechanisms may include the following:

- Formulation of internal financial regulations or union rules  
The evaluator was informed of the existence of financial regulations, but no copies could be found. In fact, not only the current leadership or the external auditor have ever seen the regulations. It is important to establish ground rules to the financial operations of the national centre.
  
- Baseline survey and database on union membership  
The main objective of undertaking a baseline survey on union members should be to get a better picture of developments in the areas of union membership and collective bargaining in Zambia, so that ZCTU and its affiliated national unions can be more effective and provide a better service to their members. The survey should explore the expectations and attitudes of workers towards trade unions, as well as their experiences as union members. The database will be critical for monitoring and planning purposes.
  
- Enhanced commitment on the role of gender mainstreaming in trade union work  
There is need for a strong and deliberate political commitment towards gender mainstreaming in ZCTU. As it stands, there is very little political will to implement in a coordinated and efficient manner any relevant programmes on gender and women empowerment by ZCTU and its affiliated unions.
  
- Engage in an early search for a replacement LO-Norway regional consultant that would oversee future programme cooperation  
It is now apparent that the current LO-Norway regional consultant covering Zambia will be retiring at the end of 2014. Should it be decided to continue with the cooperation, it will be prudent to usher in a new consultant before the commencement of the next phase.

- Need for a better profiled external auditor that would reflect the stature of ZCTU and LO-Norway

Given the size of LO-Norway support to ZCTU and the importance associated with this programme cooperation, it is desirable for ZCTU to identify an external auditing firm with a more recognized profile. It is the opinion of the evaluator that the ambience and location of the current external auditor during the field visit did not suit the stature of ZCTU or the LO-Norway. This was largely attributable to the fact that it was not initially easy to establish the premises of the external auditor. Additionally, the evaluator was able to interview only one of the members of staff at the auditing firm, whilst rules of the accounting and auditing process requires clear delineation of responsibilities.

## **Annex 1: Terms of Reference**

### TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR EVALUATION OF LO-NORWAY ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT TO ZCTU IN ZAMBIA

#### Background

The present project-based cooperation between the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO-Norway) and Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) started in 1997, and has aimed at strengthening the trade union movement in Zambia in general and the capacity of the ZCTU in particular.

A new Cooperation agreement was signed between LO Norway and ZCTU-Zambia in 2011, covering the period 2010-2014. The overall objective of the cooperation is to: “Build a financially viable, effective, democratic and influential trade union movement in Zambia” with the following five planned programme results/outputs:

1. Plans for organising and recruitment have been formulated and implemented
2. Increased gender equality within the trade unions and increased women's representation.
3. Unions have good constitutions that are democratic and are respected and adhered to.
4. Unions have effective systems for membership management, dues collection and internal and external accountability.
5. Relevant capacities developed at leadership and enterprise/workplace level.

The five year agreement, especially its appendix, between ZCTU and LO-Norway further outlines the outputs, targets and baseline indicators, and should be used as a reference for the first part of the evaluation.

#### Scope and Objectives of the Evaluation

ZCTU-Zambia have identified a range of internal and external challenges they are currently facing, including; its continued weak financial base; fragmentation in the trade union movement; absence of women in decision-making structures; weak recruitment strategies; weak collective bargaining structures; and low trade union density. These challenges, especially mobilizing membership and remaining visible in national policy-making and interventions, are seen as needing new possible options for improving efficiency and improved results.

Although ZCTU are facing a difficult environment of low trade union density, decreasing membership figures, internal fragmentation, and high debt levels, it also scores relatively high on LO Norway's organizational development criteria, and have proven to be a strong national union with visible impact on national policy. ZCTU have a host of donors, and an agreement has been reached to phase out the organizational support from LO Norway at the end of 2014.

It is based on these identified needs that, LO Norway and ZCTU-Zambia want to evaluate the programme co-operation; both to assess the progress and results, the efficiency of the implementation and sustainability issues of the current arrangements; as well as the



programme's continued relevance/need going forward, the added value of LO continued support, and if so identifying and suggesting potential new avenues/areas for cooperation. The evaluation will be an important tool in determining the nature of future support and cooperation.

The main objective of the evaluation is thus twofold, and should include, but not be limited to an assessment of the listed issues below;

- Assessment of progress
  - To assess the relevance of the project cooperation, determining whether the project has targeted the needs of the organisation and whether potential modification made during the implementation has successfully targeted changed needs.
  - To assess the efficiency in the implementation of the project. How efficient has this organisation been in the implementation of the project i.e. has the work been carried out, and the financial and human resources been used in an appropriate and cost-efficient manner?
  - To assess the progress/results of the LO Norway support to ZCTU, and the affiliated national unions, based on agreed targets and indicators. Is it likely that the objectives will be met, and that all the expected results of the project will be produced by the end of 2014? If not, -why? i.e. have the objectives been unclear and/or unrealistic or is it due to other internal and/or external factors? Have recommendations of the member organisations, LO-Norway and internal reviews been followed up in an appropriate manner?
  - To assess the sustainability of LO Norway support to ZCTU. Are ZCTU and the participating organisations able to continue the current level of activities when LO-Norway support ends? Has the capacity of the organisations been permanently improved? If so, what are the indicators of this?
  - To assess the external impact of ZCTU vis-à-vis towards the government, employers and the general public, and whether this is a result of the project cooperation or other. Has ZCTU and the participating partners been able to improve their performance as a result of the project? Has there been an impact of political influence in the society, improved trade union rights, better labour legislation, etc., that may be directly or indirectly linked to the project? The role and strength of the ZCTU in terms of defending workers and workers' rights, the trend and challenges of union membership. The ZCTU's value added in terms of securing unity between and within unions, as well as ensuring mergers.
  - To assess the internal governance structures of ZCTU. Internal democracy, ownership and accountability between ZCTU leadership and secretariat and affiliated unions, including financial management (especially debt management).
  - Particular emphasis should be paid to assess gender issues, to what extent they have been mainstreamed and resulted in women's effective participation as well as whether these issues have been adequately addressed in the project.
- Based on the assessment of progress, to assess the modality of cooperation with ZCTU and provide recommendations for future cooperation and partnership. Special emphasis should be put on:
  - Assessment of ZCTU's current partners and their support vis-à-vis the added value of LO Norway support.
  - Analysis of stated and identified needs of ZCTU and LO Norway's strategic position in relation to these.

The evaluation should include, but not necessarily be limited to, an assessment of the following issues:

The Consultant should review any strengths or weaknesses of the programme and the partners, and make recommendations on how to enhance the achievement of the planned results.

#### Implementation

One external consultant will be contracted to do the evaluation of the ZCTU Organisational Development Programme. The evaluation will start in November 2013. The cost of the evaluation will be covered by the LO-Norway's global evaluation project, 2013NDWEVA.

A field visit will be done to Zambia visiting the ZCTU Headquarter as well as selected affiliated national unions. Interviews with the elected leaders and staff of ZCTU and the affiliated national unions will be of great importance. Further information should be sought through written material and interviews with shop stewards and rank and file members of ZCTU and affiliated unions. Other relevant research institutions, employers' organisations, government authorities, the Norwegian Embassy and the auditor of the project may be interviewed as found necessary. Otherwise the consultant is at liberty to choose the methodology/ies that he considers suitable for the evaluation.

The evaluation report should be limited to approximately 20 pages in addition to an executive summary.

In total 20 working days are calculated for this consultancy. The Consultant should complete a draft report in English to LO by December 15th 2013. Based on comments to the draft report the Consultant will submit a final report by the end of January 2014.

Oslo, 27.09.2013

LO Norway – International Department

Nina Mjøberg

Head of International Solidarity Section

## Annex 2: Questionnaire



Evaluation of LO-Norway Programme of Co-operation with  
Zambia Congress of Trade Unions  
November 2013

Questionnaire for ZCTU Lusaka-based Affiliates

(Friday, 15 November 2013)

**How is ZCTU performing with respect to its vision and mission?**

The evaluation team would like to find out how you feel about ZCTU. Please help us by answering the following questions.

**What services have you received from ZCTU in the past four years?**

Type of service	Dates
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements by putting a  $\checkmark$  in the appropriate box

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Do not know
1.	ZCTU's mandate is clear to me					
2.	ZCTU's leadership and staff is of a high professional calibre					
3	ZCTU's physical location is convenient to us					
4	ZCTU does not place enough emphasis on the quality of service it provides					
5	ZCTU responds quickly to our requests					
6	ZCTU understands our union					
7	ZCTU has demonstrated an understanding of our needs					
8	ZCTU's services have met our expectations					
9	ZCTU follows up its assignments professionally					
10	ZCTU has adhered to agreed timetables					
11	ZCTU's intervention has helped to improve our capacity.					
12	ZCTU is innovative in its approach					
13	ZCTU provides good value for money					
14	We look forward to continued cooperation with ZCTU					

<b>What is important to ZCTU's success? How important is each of the following to ensuring ZCTU's success?</b>						
		Not at all important	Slightly important	Important	Very important	Of utmost importance
15	Strong emphasis on new ideas					
16	Superior delivery of service					
17	Significant impact on affiliated institutions					
18	Regional and international co-operation					
19	Clear organizational vision					
20	Strong organizational values					
21	What do you feel are ZCTU's strengths?					
22	What do you feel are ZCTU's weaknesses?					
23	In what areas might you be interested in working with ZCTU's in future?					
24	In your opinion, how does ZCTU rate in comparison with other labour-related organizations, such as FFTUZ, ZFE, Ministry of Labour?					
	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor		

25	Please feel free to make additional comments below:
	<b>Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire</b>

Name (optional): .....

*All information collected will be kept strictly confidential and the reported results will be anonymous.*

### Annex 3: Persons met and interviewed

#### Monday, 11 November 2013

*ZCTU leadership at Solidarity House:*

Roy E. Mwaba	Secretary General, ZCTU
Cosmas Mukuka	Deputy Secretary General, Organization and Administration, ZCTU
Sifuniso Nyumbu	Trustee and Board Member, ZCTU

*ZCTU Departments:*

Stephen Mumbi	Director of Organization, ZCTU
Luke Makinishi	Director of Education and Training, ZCTU
Fanuel Mkunda	Director of Finance, ZCTU

*National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers:*

Seth Paraza	General Secretary, NUCIW
George Kanyanya	Deputy General Secretary, NUCIW
Stephen Shonga	Deputy General Secretary, NUCIW
Astridah Phiri	Director of Workers' Education, NUCIW

#### Tuesday, 12 November 2013

*ZCTU Women's Committee and Youth Committee:*

Josephine Sakala Nambi	Secretary, Women's Committee, ZCTU
Mwenya Kapasa	Women, Youth, and Child Labour Coordinator, ZCTU
Christine Jango	Vice Chairperson, Youth Interim Committee, ZCTU

*Hotels, Catering, Tourism and Allied Workers Union of Zambia:*

Michelo Chizyuka	General Secretary, HCTAWUZ
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*ILO Country Office Lusaka:*

Martin Clemenson	Director, ILO Lusaka
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*Friedrich Ebert Stiftung:*

Helmut Elischer	Resident Director, FES Zambia Office
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**Wednesday, 13 November 2013**

*Mineworkers Union of Zambia:*

Terry Simbeye            General Treasurer, MUZ  
Webby Mushota        Director of Occupational Health and Safety Department,  
MUZ

*Zambia Union of Security Officers and Allied Workers' Union:*

Stephen N. Chanda      General Secretary, ZUSOAWU

*ZCTU Copperbelt Regional Office:*

Annette Chipeleme     Regional Coordinator, Kitwe Office  
Chola

**Thursday, 14 November 2013**

*National Energy Sector and Allied Workers' Union:*

Precious Njekwa        Treasurer General, NESAWU

*Zambia United Local Authorities Workers Union:*

Kingsley Zulu            General Secretary, ZULAWU  
Irene Mazila            Director of Education, ZULAWU

*Reemos Business Solution:*

Moses N. Bwalya        Managing Partner, Reemos Business Solution (Chartered  
Certified Accountant, Financial, Management and Tax  
Consultants)

*ZCTU Departments:*

Martin Chembe         Director, Public Relations and International Affairs  
Department, ZCTU

**Friday, 15 November 2013**

*Zambia Federation of Employers:*

Harrington Chibanda    Executive Director, ZFE  
Hilary Chilala Hazele    Manager, Economics and Policy Analysis

*Ministry of Labour and Social Services*

Cecilia Mulindeti-      Labour Commissioner, MLSS

Kamanga Khadija Sakala	Senior Labour Officer, MLSS
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*ZCTU Lusaka-based unions*

Michelo Chizyuka	General Secretary, HCTAWUZ
Vincent Makondo	General Secretary, JAWUZ
Shadreck Kalunga	General Secretary, ZRAWU
Mangaliso G. Nkumilla	General Secretary, ZABUTWU
Bartholomew Munanjala	Deputy General Secretary, ZUNO
Makai Makai	National Organizing Secretary, CSAWUZ
Matildah Mwape	National Organizing Secretary, JAWUZ
Kabalo Auster	Director of Education and Training, ZNUT
Seth Paraza	General Secretary, NUCIW
Chanoda Ngwira	Director of Organization, GRAMUZ
Lynette C. Mulenga	Deputy General Secretary (A&O), ZNUHAW
Victoria K. Mbandu	Director, Administration and Human Resources, BETUZ
James Liambai	BABUTWU
Adon Sakala	General Secretary, GRAMUZ

*ZCTU leadership at Solidarity House (final debriefing presentation)*

Leonard Hikaumba	President, ZCTU
Roy Mwaba	Secretary General, ZCTU
Cosmas Mukuka	Deputy Secretary General, Organization and Administration, ZCTU
Sifuniso Nyumbu	Trustee and Board Member, ZCTU
Misheck Nyambose	Trustee and Board Member, ZCTU
Betty Mtambo	Trustee and Board Member, ZCTU
Mable N. Zulu	Vice Secretary, Women's Committee, ZCTU
Luke Makinishi	Director of Education and Training, ZCTU
Mwenya Kapasa	Deputy Director, Research and Economics Department, ZCTU



## **Annex 4: ZCTU Staff list**

(as at 15 November 2013)

### **ZAMBIA CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS**

#### **LIST OF THE NUMBER OF WORKERS**

##### **Elected officers**

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| 1. L . Hikaumba    | President (part time)  |
| 2. Nkole Chishimba | 1 <sup>st</sup> Vice President (part time)                   |
| 3. H. Lungu        | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Vice President (part time)                   |
| 4. Roy Mwaba       | Secretary General (full time)                                |
| 5. Cosmas Mukuka   | Deputy Secretary General (full time)                         |
| 6. Mtumbi Goma     | Deputy Secretary General (full time) currently on suspension |

##### **Full time workers**

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 7. Kunda Fanwell      | - Director of Finance                         |
| 8. Mary Kabwe         | - Director Administration                     |
| 9. Luke Makinishi     | - Director of Education                       |
| 10. Steven Mumbi      | - Director of Organisation & Recruitment      |
| 11. Boniface Phiri    | - Director of Research and Economics          |
| 12. Martin Chembe     | - Director of public and Industrial Relations |
| 13. Kapasa Mwenya     | - Deputy Director Research and Economics      |
| 14. E.C. Musonda      | - Deputy Director of Finance                  |
| 15. Olga Mwanza       | - Regional Organiser                          |
| 16. Annet Chola       | - Regional Organiser                          |
| 17. Kapamba Phiri     | - Confidential Secretary                      |
| 18. Dorothy Mulenga   | - Secretary                                   |
| 19. Katoma Everisto   | - Accounts staff                              |
| 20. Mary Zulu         | - Accounts staff                              |
| 21. Lunati Naomi      | - office Manager                              |
| 22. Chama Bwalya      | - Driver                                      |
| 23. Mubanga Epirius   | - Cleaner                                     |
| 24. Chikontwe Barbara | - Cleaner                                     |
| 25. Kapya Gilbert     | - office orderly                              |
| 26. Rubby Kumwenda    | - Cleaner                                     |