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Other responses point out to the fact that the movement of ZCTU activists into the political arena, drains the social movement of its skilled personnel. They pointed out to the movement of the ZCTUs top leadership to join the MDC, and the tendency of the MDC leadership to make appointments from the hierarchy of the labour body. Accordingly this has weakened the labour body as new leaders have to be groomed. Today, the ZCTU does not retain the same power that it had in the late 1980s and 90s.

Further, the problem of migration militates against the workers' efforts to fight for living wage as they are forced to accept policies from labour become limited by the larger political environment that demands more than just addressing the demands of the workers.



Other responses pointed out to the argument that historically, ZANU PF government has labelled any association of individual with a contrary opinion to be enemies of the state. They are seen as working against the government. In this regard, the coming into being of the MDC through labour, has now meant that genuine labour demands are now easily passed off as political demands by the ZANU PF government. This makes it difficult for workers to demand better wages.

Finally, the leadership that has moved over to political positions is perceived as having tended to regard their new found life as personal greener pastures rather than an opportunity to further the cause of the union and the workers. As the MDC went into

public office, at local and national levels, allegations of corruption became very rampant (Sunday News, 21, July, 2012).

## **7.2.5 Perception on utilisation of Judicial (litigation) mechanism**

### **7.2.5.1 Perception on utilisation of Judicial mechanism**

The judiciary in Zimbabwe has been used by the ZCTU, its affiliates or individual members in a variety of labour disputes (Labour Court and Supreme Court) and other court injunctions (High Court and Supreme Court) (Brian Raftopolous: Interview). According to Raftopolous, the ZCTU increasingly used the courts to have the state assert its labour rights to fight for a living wage. In this regard the judicial route enabled the ZCTU to carryout activities that promote public opinion mobilisation such as marches, commemorations and demonstrations, which the state ordinarily denied them. The state denied these as they are perceived to have an impact on the voting patterns of those influenced by such actions. They are also seen to generate general discontent with government performance. Statistically however, the respondents (just as in the case of COSATU) do not seem to have a very positive perception about the Zimbabwean courts being ideal for directly influencing both electoral and living wage redress as shown in figure 7.8 below.

Fifty two per cent of respondents argued that the judiciary is not the most viable means of seeking living wage redress. Asked to qualify this, as in the case of COSATU most respondents tended to refer to remuneration and the fact that the court is not ordinarily used to seek living wage adjustments but to interpret the law. In the same light, Labour Court in particular is mainly used to address individual grievances concerning problems such as breach of contract, unfair dismissals, and non-payment of salaries. With more

emphasis on remuneration, respondents gave further reasons (Table 7.9) as making the judiciary an uninspiring mechanism for addressing living wage issues.

**Table 7.8 Workers Perceptions on role of judicial mechanism**

N=225	Yes	%	No	%
Do you think ZCTU should resort to the judiciary to seek redress on living wage issues?	95	48	103	52
Can ZCTU benefit from approaching the courts on living wage issues?	101	51	97	49
Can Court matters pursued by ZCTU influence election and living wage outcomes?	30	15.2	168	84.8

On a broader note, respondents noted that the Zimbabwean judicial system was heavily politicised and lacked independence to be an impartial adjudicator. A ZCTU Regional Officer argued that *“Questionable judgements have been passed by our judges. Therefore having living wage disputes going to courts reverses the gains of the workers”*. It is largely because of this negative perception of the independence of the Zimbabwean judiciary that the respondents felt that it is not best placed to serve their living wage interests.

**Table 7.9 Reasons for low regard of judicial interventions**

<b>Why judicial mechanisms are described as in-effective</b>
The courts have been corrupted by the political machinery
Many of the Presidents/Judges in the courts are also employers
Court processes take too long to solve matters
The employers use their money to keep appealing to higher courts thereby delaying the resolution through the courts.

Further to this, respondents argued that in instances where courts have passed judgements in favour of labour, they have lacked the means to enforce their judgements. Forty eight percent of the respondents however argued that the judiciary has been helpful to the living wage cause of the workers in Zimbabwe in so far as it has given workers the right to use disruptive mechanisms of forcing the government to reform the political space. The space is essential to promote free and fair political competition and elections. In a free space, the workers will be able to freely vote for a leadership that can advance their living wage cause.

Indeed the ZCTU has on many occasions been rescued by the courts after the state decided to trample on its freedoms provided for in the country's constitution. High profile examples in the past include a 1991 high court interdict preventing Minister of Labour from deregistering the ZCTU; police barring ZCTU general council meetings and other marches and commemorations as well as seeking the discharge of incarcerated ZCTU leadership (van der Walt, 1998).

### **7.2.5.2 Benefit of approaching the courts on living wage issues**

While 52% of the respondents do not think the ZCTU should approach the courts if it needs living wage redress, in the event that the ZCTU still approaches the courts this mechanism can be useful in addressing some of the issues associated with employment relations. According to 51% of the respondents an impartial court system can help individuals represented by their trade unions in terms of the Labour Act to have their grievances addressed, though the process may take too long.

### **7.2.5.3 Judicial influence on election and living wage outcomes**

A majority of respondents (84.8%) believe that utilisation of judicial mechanisms by ZCTU cannot influence the course of electoral outcomes in Zimbabwe or be linked to broad living wage advances for the workers in general. In the event of a failure by the electoral system to produce a fair election, respondents argued that in Zimbabwe, it may still be futile to approach the courts. A ZCTU National Organiser stated that *“The Judiciary is an executive appointment and it is at times not very impartial”*. However, 15.2% of respondents believe that as a social movement, the ZCTU’s utilisation of the judicial space, popularises the organisation, its mandate and shows its resolve to have living wage issues addressed. In that regard once it takes a certain position on elections, its constituency is likely to follow that.

### **7.2.6 International access mechanisms.**

International trade unionism has increasingly taken space in the labour arena and in the era of globalisation, international trade union bodies have increasingly fought for states to adopt global union agreements (Hodkinson, 2001). International trade unions historically also became important partners or leaders in movements for national

liberation, for political and social democracy or for general movements of the poor.

According to Hodkinson (2001:8) they have become an important aspect of,

*the bottom-up global-local-network perspective of “global social movement unionism” in which labour, NSMs and radical NGOs network at the grassroots level to construct a “global solidarity culture” in the interests of mobilising mass direct action in pursuit of a radical transformation of global society.*

In this regard trade union struggles transcend nationalist visions and assume international labour solidarity (Yeros, 2001). It is in this context that the ZCTU has sought the strength of regional, continental and international solidarity by taking membership and networking with regional trade union bodies. Important examples include; membership of the Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council (SATUCC); the Organisation of Africa Trade Union Unity (OATUU) and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). The ZCTU also maintains a host of bilateral relationships with national trade unions in South Africa, Netherlands, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, UK, Canada and the USA among others.

In this study as we sought to understand how trade union social movements seek to influence elections and living wage issues, international access mechanisms emerged as being among those practices that the ZCTU has historically used. Respondents' perceptions were sought regarding the relevance of this mechanism in bringing the desired change. In particular respondents were asked if they thought utilisation of international mechanisms was relevant; if they would have any bearing on election outcomes and if thus in the end this promotes advances towards a living wage.

**Table 7.10 Perceptions of the utilisation of international access mechanism**

N=225	Yes	%	No	%
Do you think ZCTU should seek international collaborations with other labour movements or institutions?	148	74.7	50	25.3
Do you think collaboration with alike labour bodies and institutions around the world may be helpful in election of a political party of your choice?	103	52	95	48
Do you think collaboration with alike labour bodies and institutions around the world may be helpful in advancing your living wage demands?	100	50.5	98	49.5
Do you think these collaborations may sometimes be an impediment to your objective of exerting influence on national elections and living wage issues?	75	37.9	123	62.3

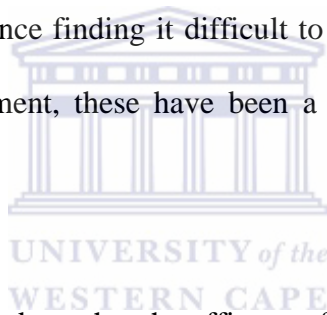
Table 7.10 above shows some of the major responses.

### **7.2.6.1 Perceptions on utilisation of international access mechanisms.**

A majority of respondents, 74.7% pointed out that it is appropriate for the ZCTU to actively seek collaboration with other labour organisations at regional, and international levels. They understood this to be an important avenue for the ZCTU to bring pressure to bear on the government. With respect to collaborations, a former national executive member of the ZCTU affiliate, Zimbabwe Leather Shoe Union posited that *“They add a voice to the struggles of labour through solidarity actions and can assist in consumer boycott activities”*. The Respondents noted that the Zimbabwean socio-political space is characterised by imposition of severe restrictions on the operations of the trade union.

Therefore, it will help if ZCTU link up with these transnational networks so that they can bring pressure on the state from outside.

This is indeed an important avenue as external actors can also shape the international relations of states. If the state is continuously condemned or lobbied against by these external networks, its relations with other states, regional and multilateral bodies will be affected and states try to keep good relations. In the last decade, Zimbabwe has received a huge battering from the international community and a barrage of social movements and other state and non-state actors (Dorman, 2001). The pressure has resulted in a number of reforms including electoral and constitutional reforms as well as reduction in politically motivated violence. Since finding it difficult to fight for a living wage in an unreformed governance environment, these have been a key area of struggle for the ZCTU since the late 1990s.

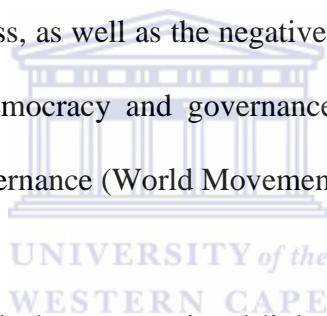


However other respondents pointed out that the efficacy of these transnational networks or collaborations is also determined by the strength of the ZCTU. They believed that these were more useful in the past but have gradually lost steam because of a decline in the power of the ZCTU. They argued that the ZCTU has been weakened by leadership exodus, splits, formation of state sponsored rival unions and the general absence of trade union freedom in the Zimbabwean laws.

#### **7.2.6.2 Perceptions of the influence of international access mechanism on elections.**

Respondents (52%) posited that the international linkages by the ZCTU make its partners aware of which political party it is aligned to and will also support that position as it is in the best interests of the local labour body's constituency. Further to this,

international support may raise the required resources to fight for the election of a party of labour's choice or to make members aware of the appropriate party to vote for. A ZCTU national executive member noted that in fact the labour body has received funding from external partners including, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung; FOS Belgium; HIVOS; OXFAM; Christian Aid; the Labour Solidarity Center and the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO). The executive member noted that the ZCTU membership has been hit hard by the economic meltdown and cannot raise sufficient funds to support the labour body's activities. External funding has been used to cover countrywide election education programmes through civic education workshops focusing on the importance of political participation, particularly in the electoral process, as well as the negative impact of voter intimidation. Other workshops focused on democracy and governance and aimed to improve the participation of trade in local governance (World Movement for Democracy, n.d).



However, 48% of respondents felt that transnational linkages are not always beneficial to ZCTU. Some of the arguments raised included that the organisation has become over dependent on external donors who in the end are now running the labour body's agenda rather than its members. This applies especially to northern based trade union social movements. It is in this context that 37.9% of respondents argued that such transnational collaborations can be retrogressive in respect of elections and the living wage agenda. Others argued that external support for labour has made the government harden its heart as it accuses the ZCTU of puppetry and being agents of the western imperialists. As a result many trade union partner organisations and individuals have been arrested, expelled or barred from entering Zimbabwe. Partners from South Africa, Netherlands, and Norway to name but a few have encountered these problems. Last but not least,

respondents argued that some of the bodies to which the ZCTU is a member, are very weak and almost non-existent in particular SATUCC and the OATUU.

### **7.2.6.3 Perception of the influence of international access mechanism in advancing living wage demands.**

A total of 50.5% believe that there is a link between engaging in transnational collaborations and advancement towards a living wage. For them transnationalisation of labour issues are an important step towards universalising labour rights in the era of globalisation. Further to this, any changes that occur by triggering changes in the political system of a country through transnational network support is likely to result in a better performing economy and better living standards for the working poor.

## **7.3 Summary**

The ZCTU uses a combination of disruptive, political access, public preference, international access and judicial practices in influencing elections and living wages. In general, respondents argued that it is important for the ZCTU to use all these mechanisms in seeking to improve the conditions of Zimbabwe's working poor. However while the ZCTU has used these practices the political environment in which the labour body operates does not fully provide for its freedom to operate. As such increasing effort has been targeting changes in the political process (including electoral process). Lack of local resources has meant that the labour body has had to rely on external funding and solidarity support. This has at times put it in a collision course with the state which argues that it now pursues the agenda of its paymasters rather than the demands of its constituency.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

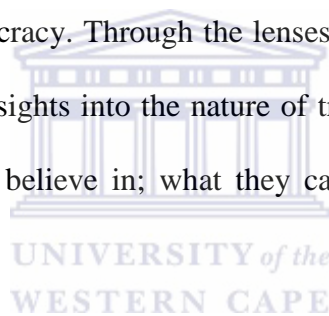
#### 8.0 Introduction

This study investigated workers' perceptions of COSATU and ZCTU practices in influencing election and living wage issues from a social movement perspective, from the Apartheid (South Africa) and Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) (Zimbabwe) eras to 2009. The study viewed social movements from Tilly's (2004) definition which perceives them as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others (i.e. elites, authorities, other groups or cultural codes). In order to ensure a broader coverage, these contentious performances, displays and campaigns were discussed according to Kolb's (2007) classification, namely disruption mechanisms, public preference mechanisms (public opinion mobilisation), political access mechanisms, judicial mechanisms (litigation) and international access mechanisms. In the context of social movements, the trade union social movement perspective refers to labour movements that develop a socio-political character, and concern themselves not only with workplace issues but with broad social and political issues. The two trade unions assumed social movement unionism character after realising that their living wage concerns were also influenced by the state's actions rather than by the employer only hence the need to influence the political system and public leadership.

The study was precipitated by the fact that, in the two countries, limited research exists that pulls together and discuss a consolidated array of practices that COSATU and ZCTU use to influence elections and living wage issues. Further, a study of the practices of COSATU and ZCTU in particular at this time in the field of social movements is

consistent with current calls for a conceptual shift, away from looking for invariant causes and effects to looking for mechanisms and processes that occur in many different kinds of movements that lead to different outcomes depending on the specific contexts within which they occur.

Furthermore, a selection of the two case studies was based on the fact that the quest for democracy and economic progress dominate collective action in the two countries where the political parties in power have not changed since liberation. Studying COSATU and ZCTU practices also enables reflection on two trade union social movements that struggle in contrasting political settings, one constantly democratising and the other constantly seeking to stifle democracy. Through the lenses of elections and living wage issues the study also provided insights into the nature of trade union social movements in the two countries; what they believe in; what they can do and how they do it in pursuing their vision.



Specifically, the study selected only two aspects of broader union activity and argues that the two social movements seek to influence changes in the political system (through elections) as a means to securing living wages. However the argument of this research is not that these are the only factors accounting for trade union social movement action. The study also neither argues that the labour unions secure final victories or losses when they engage in the business of influencing elections to gain living wages but instead as both COSATU and ZCTU cases reveal, in this process there are advances and at times setbacks for the labour movements.

## **8.1 Framing Social Movement Trade Unionism**

In investigating the trade union social movement practices, social movement unionism theory was used as a way of providing a comprehensive view of understanding the practices. The theory identifies key features associated with COSATU and ZCTU practices that justifies why they can be classied as social movements.

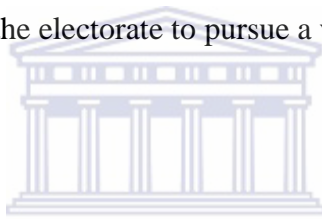
## **8.2 Summary of Research Findings**

### **8.2.1 Social Movement Trade Unionism**

Social movements promote or resist social change through various practices. They identify a problem, determine that responsible parties are failing to address it adequately, and therefore take action, themselves. In seeking to bring about the desired change, social movements have either engaged formal political institutions by mobilising voters, lobbying policy makers and other strategic institutions or engaged in “outsider” strategies such as public demonstrations and civil disobedience or both strategies. As a result, there has been a plethora of social movements throughout history that have dramatically contributed to the human condition. Distinguishable social movements evolved in the late 18th and 19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in Western Europe and North America. Increased proletarianisation during this period caused by growth in the proportion of the population depending on wage labour for survival spurred social movements. A narrative of Africa’s liberation and its democratisation today will also not be complete without the contribution of social movements. Trade unions, burial societies, students, religious movements, gender movements and environmental movements that have been shaping the African social landscape are also an illustration of the complexity and breadth of African social movements. In this light, trade union

social movements have not only contributed to democratisation of the politics but of the workplace as well.

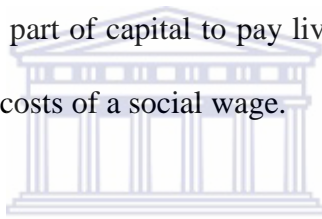
Trade union social movements in South Africa and Zimbabwe have been popular due to their use of social movement strategies. They pursue social movement trade unionism which is concerned with broad social and political issues as well as the immediate concerns of their members. The rationale of the trade unions' utilisation of this form of unionism is that they believe it breaks the workplace barrier and enables them to participate in the national and global decision processes that affect the working poor. It also enables them, their general membership, alliance partners and sympathisers to exert influence on political parties and the electorate to pursue a vision that is in line with their living wage aspirations.



The study observed that COSATU, ZCTU and their general membership contend that they combine bread-and-butter struggles with broader social, political and economic campaigns because they cannot win any living wage concessions if they solely concern themselves with workplace struggles as the broader political context determines the payment of a living wage. They believe that engagement and struggles on a broad platform would deliver more to the working poor than a narrow workplace economic approach. It is in the context of this social movement unionism perspective that this research establishes a connection between elections and living wage campaigns by COSATU and ZCTU and the attendant practices.

### **8.2.2 Social Context of COSATU and ZCTU Practices**

The struggle for democracy and economic emancipation by labour in the apartheid and UDI eras in South Africa and Zimbabwe was influenced by numerous conditions that were not favourable to the worker. The two systems were characterised by socio-political and economic segregation and deprivation. Deliberate legislations were promulgated to promote proletarianisation, low wage labour and abrogation of workers' rights. Due to these conditions labour's main agenda was to unite all workers so that they could primarily and collectively improve their wages, working conditions and defend their jobs. This is a vision that COSATU and ZCTU continue to occupy themselves with in the post liberation period in light of increasing poverty, inequality and specifically reluctance on the part of capital to pay living wages and the reluctance of the state to shoulder additional costs of a social wage.



### **8.2.3 COSATU and ZCTU Practices**

A consolidated view of the study is that COSATU and ZCTU adopted a social movement character to fight for social change in South Africa and Zimbabwe. In the case of this study they seek to influence elections and living wage issues. Workers argue that the state is responsible for crafting the framework regulating the labour market and therefore state policies can effectively be influenced by labour to bring desired changes such as living wages. One way in which this can be done is through influencing election into public office of a leadership or party that labour believes will best represent its interests. In seeking to influence elections and living wage issues, COSATU and ZCTU utilise an array of practices, namely disruption, public preference (public opinion mobilisation), political access, judicial and international access mechanisms. While workers place significant importance in these mechanisms, statistically however, the

general perception of their influence was lower in Zimbabwe as compared to South Africa. This may be due to the fact that Zimbabwe still lags behind in democracy and workers often face state repression.

### **8.2.3.1 Disruptive practices**

Disruptive mechanisms have been used to pressure a government of labour's choice to follow on, on leaving wage promises or create public opinion about a government's inadequacies and the need to penalise it in elections. Disruptive mechanisms emerged as one of the practices that workers perceive as necessary for COSATU and ZCTU to influence election and living wage issues. Respondents argued that business, which is particular about production time and production levels tend to respond more promptly once it is certain that work stoppage will disrupt business. Even in the public sector, the state has yielded to disruptive action by workers. In an election year, disruptive practices can be used to influence campaigning parties to incorporate living wage issues in their campaign promises. However the study concludes that disruptive mechanisms may be effective as a means of advancing living wage issues on their own without necessarily being conducted around election times. However despite the disruptive practices being a fairly winning formulae, in Zimbabwe, this has increasingly been met with state brutality against the unions as the state increasingly ran out of resources to appease the discontented workers or felt its power threatened. While disruptive mechanisms appear to often yield results in South Africa, the study also concluded that they do not necessarily provide a winners-take-all situation for the workers. On many occasions in South Africa, industry or the state have not given in to the actual percentages requested by workers but have imposed their final position.

### **8.2.3.2 Public Opinion Mobilisation**

Public opinion mobilisation (public preference) was also perceived by respondents as an important means by which COSATU and ZCTU seek to create an opinion on the masses regarding the potential of any contesting political party to address living wage issues upon assuming power. It is in this context that COSATU has been campaigning for the ANC in each national election since the first of the democratic era, in 1994, and supporting President Jacob Zuma's bid for the presidency of the party and state. Such massive participation by COSATU has resulted in worker revolutionary demands (such as living wage issues) being more pronounced in the ANC's election manifestos and policy pronouncements.

Using a different method, the ZCTU engages in public opinion mobilisation by conducting countrywide election education programmes through civic education workshops focusing on the importance of political participation, particularly in the electoral process, as well as the negative impact of voter intimidation. Other workshops have focused on democracy and governance with the aim of improving the participation of trade unions in local governance. At election times, it also publicly spells out what it deems would be a free and fair election. In that regard, in both countries, public opinion mobilisation practice is used to significantly raise the tempo of the election environment and concentrate voters about the wisdom of choosing certain political parties. However in the case of ZCTU such activities have appealed more to the urban base (where workers are concentrated) and political parties that it has allied with have only done well in the urban areas. On the other hand the case of the Western Cape and Kwa-Zulu Natal provinces show that factors such as race and ethnicity may still take precedence over any

efforts by COSATU to convince the electorate to vote for the ANC. Voters in the two provinces do not seem to be generously attracted to vote for the ANC.

### **8.2.3.3 Political Access**

Political access mechanisms are viewed by both COSATU and ZCTU members as critical to influencing government. With regards to elections and living wage issues, political access mechanisms include the act of entering into alliances with political parties, seconding union members to political parties to contest elections and or establishing parliamentary liaison offices. Respondents noted that political access mechanisms are an important aspect of trade union practices that promote the struggle for living wages. This is because political organisations are seen as an arena for advancing worker interests. It is believed that involvement of labour in politics orients the vision of such political institutions towards addressing living wage issues. In this regard COSATU has allied with the ANC and regards the party as “our movement”. The ZCTU has previously allied with ZANU PF, ZUM and now the MDC, which it regards as “our project”.

However despite utilisation of political access practices by unions, there is often a disjuncture between policies proposed in alliances and what the party goes on to implement once in government. While this may be viewed by architectures of negotiated settlements as compromise politics, respondents argued that labour leaders in alliances simply begin to ignore the demands and interests of the workers who voted them into office and join the “elite train”.

#### **8.2.3.4 Judicial practices**

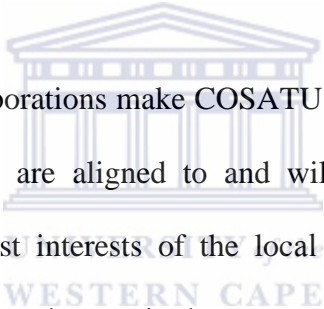
COSATU and ZCTU have utilised this tool on many different occasions. However workers' confidence in this mechanism ranked much lower in both countries when compared to other mechanisms. Respondents felt that resorting to the courts is not one of the most effective routes with regards to remuneration aspect of the living wage. One argument is largely based on the view that the judiciary only interprets the law rather than impose remuneration adjustments.

Another argument is that the judicial process is not only slow but often once an issue is before the courts it becomes sub judice and other practices will no longer be easily applicable on the matter. Further to this, the judiciary does not have the means of enforcing the judgments that it passes. However both COSATU and the ZCTU have consistently approached the judiciary with respect to the exercise of their constitutional rights and or the constitutionality or absence thereof. In some instances this has impact on elections as it raises voter awareness regarding the ills of a government or facilitates a fair electoral environment. However the Zimbabwean judiciary has at times been accused of not being impartial.

#### **8.2.3.5 International Access**

COSATU and the ZCTU have sought the strength of transnational solidarity by taking membership and networking with wider trade union bodies. Important examples include; membership of the Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council (SATUCC); the Organisation of Africa Trade Union Unity (OATUU); Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC) and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). They also maintain a host of bilateral relationships with national trade unions in

countries such as the Netherlands, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, UK, Canada and the USA among others. In general, transnationalisation of labour issues are an important step towards universalising labour rights in the era of globalisation. Respondents believed that transnational solidarity is an important avenue for COSATU and the ZCTU to bring pressure to bear on their governments with respect to elections and living wage issues as transnational unions can exert pressure on the multinationals, business in general and the state from outside. This is indeed an important avenue as external actors can also shape the international relations of states. If the state is continuously condemned or lobbied against by these external networks, its relations with other states, regional and multilateral bodies will be affected and states try to keep good relations.



Further to this transnational collaborations make COSATU and ZCTU partners aware of which political party the unions are aligned to and will also support that position internationally as it is in the best interests of the local labour body's constituency. International support may also raise the required resources to fight for the election of a party of labour's choice; to make members aware of the appropriate party to vote for and the essence of voting. International resources in Zimbabwe have been used to defend labour rights. However some respondents noted that transnational networks can easily make a national union lose its agenda in favour of a global view that is not in psych with local needs.

#### **8.4 Possible Areas for Future Research**

*Growth of non-standard forms of work* - In seeking to influence the state, one of the biggest challenges emerging is that non-standard forms of work are creating a broad base of the ununionised who however have the potential to help COSATU regain its

more effective militancy of the Apartheid era or help the ZCTU grow its membership that has dwindled due to that country's comatose economy. There is potential to conduct research to find out the impacts of the growing ununionised sector on the power and conditions of unions and the prospects of them joining the unions.

*Relevance of alliance politics* - The tendency of the ANC and the MDC (when it was in the unity government) to ignore its alliance partners in the crafting of fundamental policy issues brings to question the relevance of alliance politics for trade unions. There is need to investigate the role of these alliances and if they are still relevant in today's governance setting.

## **8.5 Summary**

Five practices are mainly used by COSATU and the ZCTU to influence election and living wage issues, namely disruption mechanisms, public preference mechanisms, political access mechanisms; judicial mechanisms and international access mechanisms. The two unions' workers perceive these to be necessary means to influence election outcomes that favour a political leadership or government which supports a living wage. These mechanisms are not used either sequentially or independent of each other. However, the nature of the political environment, resource mobilisation capacity and ability to frame issues in ways that resonate with the workers determines the extent to which each of these mechanisms can be effectively applied. This is to the extent that the perception of their utility in Zimbabwe is ranked lower than in South Africa given that country's limitations in its governance system.

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6. (a) Is COSATU/ZCTU involved in trying to influence the political trajectory of the country?

Yes No

(b) Why

.....  
.....

7. If your trade union is involved in trying to influence national politics, what precipitated its decision to enter the political area? .....

.....

8. (a) Do you think there is a link between a particular party/leadership being elected into power and a commitment to addressing living wage issues? Yes No

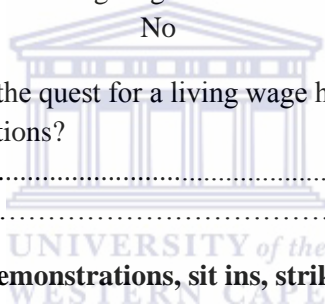
(b) If yes, how do you envisage this link?

.....  
.....

9. (a) Do you think the quest for a living wage has been advanced by labour's participation in national elections? Yes No

(b) If yes, how do you think the quest for a living wage has been advanced by labour's participation in national elections?

.....  
.....



**Disruption mechanisms (protest, demonstrations, sit ins, strikes)**

10. (a) Do you think resorting to strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins is an effective means of drawing attention to living wage demands? Yes No

(b) If yes in what ways are these effective tools for making living wage demands?

.....  
.....

11. (a) Do you think the effectiveness of strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins for living wage is enhanced if staged around a period close to the conducting of national elections? Yes No

(b) Why

.....  
.....

12. (a) If you can identify any, which are some of the most outstanding strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins carried out towards elections both in the apartheid/UDI era and the post liberation eras .....

.....

(b) What were the outcomes of each of the above mentioned strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins as regards to living wage demands?  
.....  
.....

13. (a) In general, which other strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins that occurred outside the election period both before and after liberation that you think had significant impact on living wage demands?  
.....  
.....

(b) What were the living wage impacts for each of the actions you mentioned above?  
.....  
.....

(c) What were the other gains of the strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins mentioned in 13 (a)  
.....  
.....

14. (a) Can COSATU/ZCTU strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins influence voting behavior and national elections? Yes No

(b) If yes, how can COSATU/ZCTU strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins impact on national elections? .....  
.....

(c) If yes, can you remember any strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins that had impact on national elections both prior to and after liberation?  
.....  
.....

15. (a) What are some of the challenges your union has faced in trying to utilise strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins to further your demands for a living wage?  
.....  
.....

(b) What are some of the challenges your union has faced in trying to utilise strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins to further any other union interests?  
.....  
.....

**Political access mechanisms (alliances with political parties or factions of political parties, taking up positions in politics and public institutions).**

16. (a) Briefly outline COSATU/ZCTU history of alliances with political parties/movements?  
.....  
.....

(b) Outline what labour achieved by aligning with each of these political parties/movements of which it would not have been able to achieve outside the alliance?.....

.....

17. (a) Do you think there is a link between going into these alliances and labour's advances towards securing a living wage? Yes No

(b) If yes please explain the link

.....  
.....

18. (a) Briefly outline COSATU/ZCTU history of alliances with any factions of political parties?

.....  
.....

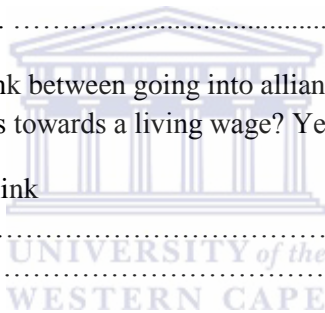
(b) Outline what labour achieved by aligning with each of these factions of political parties of which it would not have been able to achieve outside this alliance?.....

.....

19. (a) Do you think there is a link between going into alliance with factions of political parties and labour's advances towards a living wage? Yes No

(b) If yes please explain the link

.....  
.....



20. (a) Do you think labour leaders should leave the unions and take up positions in political and public institutions? Yes No

(b)

Why.....  
.....

21. (a) Do you think the taking up of positions in political parties and public institutions promotes labour's struggles for a living wage? Yes No

(b)

Why.....  
.....

22. Other than living wages, what other labour interests is COSATU/ZCTU likely to gain from the movement deployment of labour leaders into positions in political parties and public institutions?

.....  
.....

23. (a) Would you remember any key positions that labour leaders have taken up in politics or public institutions? Yes No

(b) Identify some of the key appointments you may remember.....  
.....

(c) If yes to 23(a), how did labour gain from each of these appointments/movements?  
.....  
.....

24. (a) What are some of the challenges your union has faced in trying to utilise alliances/participation in political and public institutions to further demands for a living wage?  
.....  
.....

(b) What are the other challenges your union has faced in trying to utilise alliances/participation in political and public institutions to further any other labour interests?  
.....  
.....

**Judicial mechanisms (litigation)**

25. (a) Do you think your union should resort to judicial means to have a national election issue addressed?      Yes      No

(b) Why  
.....  
.....

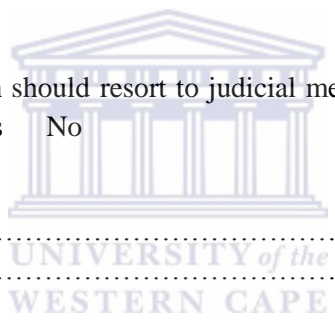
(c) In what ways can resorting to the judiciary promote the workers' quest for a living wage?  
.....  
.....

26. (a) Do you think your union should resort to judicial means to have a living wage issue addressed?      Yes      No

(b) Why  
.....  
.....

27. What other issues of interest do you think will warrant labour approaching the courts for redress?.....  
.....

28. (a) Would you remember instances when your union approached the courts for redress?  
Yes      No



(b) If yes outline some of the instances

.....  
.....

(c) What did labour gain from the recourse to the courts in each instance mentioned in 29 (b)?

.....  
.....

29. (a) What are some of the challenges your union has faced in trying to utilise the courts to further your demands for a living wage?

.....  
.....

(b) What are some other challenges your union has faced in trying to utilise the courts to further other labour interests?

.....  
.....

**Public preference mechanisms (public opinion mobilisation)**

30. (a) Does your trade union appeal to the electorate to change public opinions and attitudes towards voting for a political party of the labour movement's choice? Yes

No

(b) In what ways does your union appeal to the public to change opinions and attitudes towards voting for a political party of the labour movement's choice?

.....  
.....

(c) In what ways may this approach have a bearing on your demands for a living wage?

.....  
.....

(d) Other than 30 (c), in what ways may labour gain from having the electorate vote for a party of its (labour's) choice?

.....  
.....

31. Outline the history of your union's involvement in mobilising voters for national elections

.....  
.....

32. What could be some of the challenges that your union has faced in mobilising voters to vote for the party of your choice?

.....  
.....

**International access mechanisms (transnational networks, treaties, global markets)**

33. (a) Do you think collaboration with alike labour bodies and institutions around the world may be helpful in advancing your living wage demands? Yes No

(b) In what ways may these collaborations influence your struggle for a living wage?  
.....  
.....

(c) Outline some of the key collaborations that have advanced your struggles for a living wage.

.....  
.....

34. (a) Do you think these collaborations may sometimes be an impediment to your objective of securing a living wage? Yes No

(b) Why?.....  
.....

35. In what ways have these collaborations helped you exert influence on national election issues?.....  
.....

36. (a) Do you think these collaborations may sometimes be an impediment to your objective of exerting influence on national elections? Yes No

(b) Why?.....  
.....

37. There is a view that labour can fight for a living wage through influencing national election outcomes. What is your opinion?

.....  
.....

**THAN YOU**

## APPENDIX B



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The following questionnaire constitutes the primary data collection instrument for the study of a Doctor of Philosophy (Public Administration) in the Center for African Citizenship and Democracy (University of the Western Cape) by Mr Tyanai Masiya. This research's main objective is to analyse COSATU and ZCTU practices on elections and living wage issues. The data collected shall be used primarily for academic purposes and will not in any way be used to identify, incriminate, prejudice or obstruct activities (private or public) of individual respondents, individuals and organisations whose being makes this study successful.

### Semi structured Questionnaire for Affiliates

#### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Gender            Male                                  Female (tick appropriate)
2. Your Age Group (tick appropriate)  
Below 21 years    21-30 years    31-40 years    41-50 years    Above 51 years
3. (a) Are you a member of COSATU/ZCTU?    Yes                                  No  
(b) If no, are you a member of any labour organisation? Yes                                  No  
(c) What are the reasons for your choice to belong or not to belong to a labour organisation?..  
.....  
.....
4. There are arguments that the role of trade unions should be confined to the workplace not national politics. What is your opinion regarding this view?.....  
.....
5. There are arguments that the state is too powerful to be influenced by the labour movement in its policy process. What is your opinion?.....  
.....
6. (a) Do you think COSATU/ZCTU can influence government policy? Yes                                  No

(b) How do you think COSATU/ZCTU influences government policy?.....  
.....

7. (a) Do you think strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins can have an impact towards addressing living wage demands in your country? Yes No

(b)Why.....  
.....

(c) If yes to 7(a) what are some of the strikes/ protests/demonstrations/sit ins that you think had a significant impact towards addressing living wage demands  
.....  
.....

8. (a) Do you think strikes/ protests/demonstration/sit ins can influence national election outcomes in your country? Yes No

(b)Why.....  
.....

9. (a) Would you remember occasion when the labour movement had to go on strikes/ protests/demonstration/sit ins as a way of attempting to influence national election outcomes in your country? Yes No

(b) If yes which elections were these? .....  
.....

10. (a) Do you think mobilisation activities of potential voters by labour unions can influence your choice of the political party you vote for in an election? Yes No

(b) Why?  
.....  
.....

11. (a) Would you remember occasion where labour went around mobilising voters or used any means to encourage voters to vote for a particular party? Yes No

(b) If yes which years were these?  
.....

(c) If yes to 11(a), How did labour seek to influence your voting?  
.....  
.....

12. (a) Do you think if a political party of labour's choice wins an election, this enhances opportunity for having living wage demands addressed? Yes No

(b) Why?  
.....  
.....

13. (a) If yes to (a) do you remember a time when a party of labour's choice won the elections? Yes No

(b) If yes, in what ways did the wining party go about attempting to address living wage issues?

.....  
.....

.....**END**.....



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