

**LABOUR AND UNION ISSUES IN THE ZIMBABWEAN  
AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IN 2004**

**By**

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**A Research Dissertation**

**University of KwaZulu Natal**

## **DEDICATION**

Dedicated to my wife Carol, and my two daughters, Rachel and Sarah.

Their journey through this life has not always been made easier by the path I have walked. But all along the journey they have filled life with the most amazing love.

## **DECLARATION**

I declare that this dissertation contains my own unaided work except where specific acknowledgement is given. I also declare that this dissertation has not been submitted for examination in any other form for another qualification.

Signed T J Neill ..... Date .....

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to acknowledge the many people who helped me with this enquiry. They are too many to mention them all by name. But there were certain key persons whose contributions need particularly acknowledgement. First, is that of Ms. Gertrude Hambira, the Secretary General of the agricultural union (GAPWUZ), who not only encouraged me to undertake the study but organized the focus group and provided much of the background literature from her union and from her personal sources. In thanking her I am appreciating all that her fellow trade unionist contributed.

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Lastly, I want to acknowledge Carol, my life's faithful companion, whose hard work and inspiration I kept this project moving steadily moving forward.

## **ABSTRACT**

### **Aim**

#### **Preamble**

The shape of commercial agriculture in Zimbabwe has changed fundamentally as a result of the fast track land reform programme begun in February 2000. Production has declined massively and many workers have lost their jobs. This loss of employment opportunities in agriculture may well be irreversible given the world wide general drift off the land into the urban areas. The drift is particularly pronounced in modern agriculture where mechanization has reduced the demand for labour.

The Management Question this research seeks answers for is:

*“For commercial agriculture to recover its place in the Zimbabwean economy what are the proper concerns of farm labour and the Union, The General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe, that need to taken into account by the various stakeholders for a productive agricultural sector to re-emerge.”*

### **Understanding what this dissertation explores**

Whatever may be said of commercial agriculture in the past the pressures for land re-distribution, the demand to put profit before people, the inequalities of luxury and extreme poverty side by side on the same farm meant that as it was it could not continue indefinitely. The research objective is to uncover, from a labour

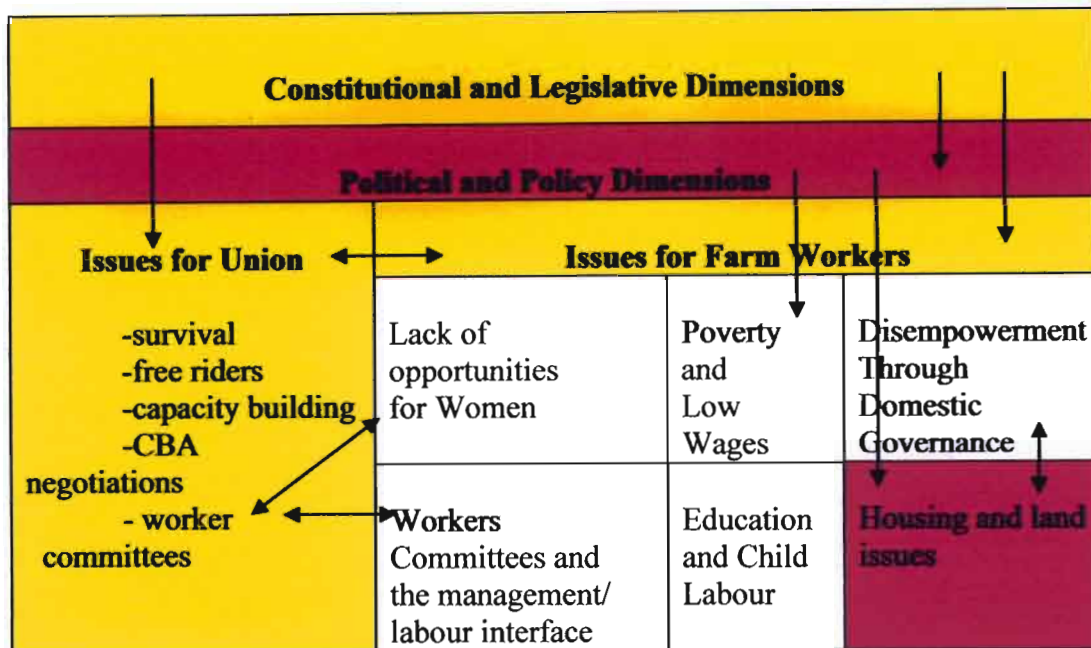
perspective, now that the land has largely passed out of white hands, the issues government, management, farm labourers and Union have to either address or prepare for or do for there to be a significant shift in the *status quo* historically and currently felt by labour away from the poverty and ignominies of the past and in the direction of real dignity and growing prosperity for these workers on the farms.

In order to comprehensively answer this question on proper concerns of labour the dissertation begins with four chapters that explain the key features from the past

- (1) the fundamental changes in agriculture from the fast track land reform programme. By weaving this together with trends in the economy vital dimensions of what has become a crisis situation for the country are better understood. This examination gives substance to the preamble on which the management question is based.
- (2) the historic positive and negative issues relating to farm labour and to the Union.
- (3) the fundamentals that have dis-empowered labour generally in Zimbabwe.
- (4) what do labourers and the Union highlight as their proper concerns through the use of questionnaires in the field and a focus group with union officials.

Synthesizing the findings from the secondary research (1 to 3 above) with (4) the dissertation isolates the concerns and develops strategies for workers and the Union. It takes cognizance of the need to somehow integrate labour interests with concerns of management.

A matrix for analyzing the issues would look like this:



## Methodology

The research question is in relation to future re-emergence of commercial agriculture. Secondary research examines how that future is being shaped by past and present basic relevant issues. Field research using questionnaires sought to collect data for analysis to gain insights first hand into farm labour issues. A focus group with GAPWUZ union officials sought to understand the Union and labour issues in greater depth.

## Key Findings

### A. Constitutional and Legislative Dimensions

1. The Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe is a critical source of labour dis-empowerment. Everyone in the labour movement is affected by the Constitution's deficiencies over the right to strike and the right to free

collective bargaining. The Constitution needs to incorporate those basic rights if workers are to be able to have their rightful share of the country's national wealth and democratic freedom in any sector whether agriculture or otherwise.

2. The Labour Relations Act is also in need of fundamental revision. Particularly, the procedural requirements for a legal strike which are so convoluted that there has never been, since Independence, one legal strike in Zimbabwe.

#### B. Political and Policy Dimensions

1. The present land tenure system following fast track land reform is all acquired land is now state land. Settlers only have a "right to occupy and use" their farms. This impacts job security, employment patterns and welfare of farm workers. Labour and tenure issues are tied together.
2. Farm workers have been almost totally disregarded in the land reform process, less than 3 per cent have been given land. The numbers employed has dropped greatly since land reform. The research found those workers who are in A1 settlement areas are in desperate poverty. Not accessing land has added to their plight.
3. The undermining by government of the wage negotiations at National Employment Council is causing wages to be agreed at which are for the average worker less than the poverty datum line.

#### C. Issues for Farm Workers

1. Poverty, hardship and dis-empowerment are facts of life for farm workers. In most agricultural settings farm workers depend on having accommodation on the farm they are employed on. When this is combined with the constitutional and legislative flaws the result is



that workers are forced to live with what are poverty level wages or less unless they are on agri-business farms. Even there their wages are, on average, not enough to feed a family of three.

2. The trend of the early years of the land reform process towards non-permanent forms of employment seems to have changed. A growing proportion of workers are becoming permanent employees.
3. The workers committees are functioning and are getting a better deal for workers.
4. The dimension of availability of secondary schools for children of farm workers needs to be addressed because of the loss of potential lifelong earnings for children of farm workers.
5. While wages are at below or near the poverty datum line present interest rates of 50% to 250% a high labour cost could fully erode reasonable returns on investment. Labour, the union and management are going to need to restructure the reward systems so that monthly wage bill are minimized but total annual remuneration increases. Recovery for agriculture will have to be accompanied by a change in the present practice of poverty level remuneration. Total annual remuneration through some sort of profit sharing will keep labour affordable.
6. Women workers are significantly disadvantaged in employment opportunities and status. The research found that they generally stay out of worker committee involvement, and if that changed their employment and their prospects are more likely to improve.

#### D. Issues for the Union

1. The Union suffered a massive loss of members in the year 2000 but has steadily rebuilt constituency in spite of hostility from government and

problems created by 'rogue' unions.

2. The indicators from the research are that the Union can expect to continue to grow and, especially if constitutional and legislative changes take place, the employer/labour interface will change markedly as the farm workers become increasingly unionized. The research established that the general model of paternalistic domestic government on farms is evolving with workers committees achieving a better deal for workers. One of the needs that will arise will be for industrial relations training for management since union members were found to be more militant and aware of their rights.
3. The Union until now has only the tactic of skillful negotiating in Collective Bargaining Agreements and wage negotiations at the National Employment Council. The threat or actual collective job strike action to get a better deal for labour has not been possible. The dynamics of the collective bargaining process at the National Employment Council will significantly change in democratic free society.
4. The Union is being negatively affected by the large numbers of 'free riders' causing capacity problems for it and undermining its effectiveness.
5. The continuing practice of using child labour and the plight of old workers calls for further follow-up research.

## **Motivation**

In December 2001 the organization that I direct, Zimbabwe Community Development Trust, began humanitarian assistance work with farm workers, focusing especially on those who had been displaced from their homes as a result

of the farm invasions. We experienced, first hand, shocking tales of torture, rape and the systematic deprivation of basic human rights of farm workers at the hands of war veterans and state security agents.

But the history of hardship for farm workers reaches right back into the colonial period. This work is borne out of a desire to see a new and better deal for farm labour.

## CONTENTS

Dedication.....	i
Declaration.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
<i>Aim</i> .....	iv
<i>Understanding what this dissertation explores</i> .....	iv
<i>Methodology</i> .....	vi
<i>Key Findings</i> .....	vi
<i>Motivation</i> .....	ix
Contents of Tables.....	xv
Contents of Graphs.....	xx
1. Shaping the Matrix-Land Reform and the Economy.....	1
1.1 Agriculture: A broken backbone? .....	1
1.2 Land tenure changes.....	1
1.3 Problems to do with the land reform process.....	5
1.4 An economy in collapse.....	7
2. Issues for Farm Workers-Famine in the Breadbasket.....	10
2.1 Introduction.....	10
2.2 Changes after the first ten years of Independence in 1980.....	12
2.3 The 1990s and the effect of ESAP.....	13
2.4 The effects of the fast track land reform process.....	15
3. Understanding the Wider Milieu -Poverty is Created just as Wealth is.....	19
3.1 Fundamental matters in the constitution.....	19
3.2 A long standing omission in the LRA.....	21
3.3 The trade union movement and the politics of the time.....	22

4. What causes What and Why? GAPWUZ in its context.....	25
4.1 Organization and democracy at local level.....	25
4.2 Collective bargaining agreements.....	27
4.3 Sound financial base.....	28
4.4 Unity and solidarity within the trade union movement.....	29
4.5 Solidarity from the wider trade union movement.....	29
4.6Critical dimensions of land reform and the union.....	30
5 Literature Review.....	33
5.1 The land question.....	33
5.2 Farm workers.....	34
5.3 The constitutional and legislative dimensions.....	35
5.4 Understanding the union.....	36
6 Methodology.....	37
6.1 Aim.....	37
6.2 Sampling.....	38
6.3Sample size.....	39
6.4 The questionnaires.....	39
6.5The focus group.....	40
6.6Some problems.....	40
7. Results: A from field questionnaire.....	42
7.1Some general matters.....	42
7.2Exploringthe data in relation to earnings.....	46
7.3 Gender.....	52
7.4 Farm workers and GAPWUZ.....	58
7.5 Workers committees.....	62
7.6 Where to concentrate the union's efforts.....	71
7.7 Education matters.....	73

7.8 Worker consciousness .....	77
7.9 B. <i>Results from the focus group: On the land issue</i> .....	83
7.10 Land Tenure .....	84
7.11 Farming implements .....	84
7.12 Wages and salaries .....	85
7.13 Equity sharing .....	85
7.14 Gender .....	86
7.15 Child labour .....	86
7.16 Interests and rights .....	87
7.17 New settlers .....	88
7.18 Union improvement .....	88
7.19 Healthy union .....	89
7.20 Labour issues .....	89
<b>8 Recommendations and conclusions</b> .....	90
8.1 Constitutional and Legislative Matters.....	90
8.2 Resolution of the Land Question and Security of Tenure.....	91
8.3 Wage and Remuneration Restructuring.....	91
8.4 Women farm workers.....	93
8.5 High Illiteracy and Education.....	94
8.6 Industrial Relations.....	94
8.7 Union Matters.....	95
Conclusion.....	96
References .....	99
Appendix I .....	106
Appendix II .....	107

Appendix III .....	109
Appendix IV .....	120
Appendix V .....	122
Appendix VI .....	124

## CONTENTS OF TABLES

<i>Table 1.1</i> Allocation of Model A1 and A2 Beneficiaries under “Fast Track” Phase July 2000 to 31 July 2003	p.5
<i>Table 1.2</i> Zimbabwe Trade Statistics Exports to All Countries (US\$)	p.6
<i>Table 1.3</i> Analysis of falls in crop production since 1999	p.6
<i>Table 1.4</i> Selected Human Development Indices	p.8
<i>Table 2.1</i> 1980’s Trends in Nominal and Real Wages for Agricultural Workers	p.12
<i>Table 2.2</i> Summary of Employment and Tenancy levels by Province	p.15
<i>Table 2.3</i> The district pattern of job farm losses by 2002 caused by the land reform.	p.16
<i>Table 2.4</i> Allocation of land by number of recipients per province	p.17
<i>Table 4.1</i> Union membership trends 1999 - 2004	p.31
<i>Table 7.1</i> District Analysis	p.42
<i>Table 7.2</i> Kind of farm Analysis	p.43
<i>Table 7.3</i> Work Status 2003* Kind of farm	p.44
<i>Table 7.4</i> Working status present and kind of farm	p.45



<i>Table 7.5 Responsibility mean wage vs. minimum wage</i>	p.48
<i>Table 7.6 Group statistics analysis</i>	p.51
<i>Table 7.7 T Test independent samples test.</i>	p.51
<i>Table 7.8 Work responsibility and gender of respondents'</i>	p.53
<i>Table 7.9 Working status present*Gender of respondents</i>	p.53
<i>Table 7.10 Chi-Square tests of working status and gender</i>	p.54
<i>Table 7.11 Reason for not joining GAPWUZ*Gender of respondents</i>	p.56
<i>Table 7.12 Resolution of labour dispute issues and gender</i>	p.56
<i>Table 7.13 Chi-Square Tests of dispute resolution vs. gender</i>	p.57
<i>Table 7.14 Did you participate in the election vs. gender of respondents'</i>	p.57
<i>Table 7.15 Chi-Square Tests participation in the election vs. gender</i>	p.58
<i>Table 7.16 Member of GAPWUZ</i>	p.59
<i>Table 7.17 Resolution of disputes and membership of GAPWUZ</i>	p.59
<i>Table 7.18 Chi-Square Tests resolution of labour vs. membership of union</i>	p.60

<i>Table 7.19</i> Length of time as a member of the union	p.61
<i>Table 7.20</i> Health of GAPWUZ	p.61
<i>Table 7.21</i> Reasons for joining the union	p.62
<i>Table 7.22</i> Effectiveness of workers committees'	p.62
<i>Table 7.23</i> Access to health care facilities vs. effectiveness of workers committees	p. 63
<i>Table 7.24</i> Medical aid vs. effectiveness of workers committees'	p.64
<i>Table 7.25</i> Good pension vs. effectiveness of workers committees'	p.65
<i>Table 7.26</i> Acceptable accommodation vs. effectiveness of workers committees'	p.67
<i>Table 7.27</i> Access to clean water vs. effectiveness of workers committees'	p.68
<i>Table 7.28</i> Access to a fair hearing of labour disputes vs. effectiveness of workers committees'	p.69
<i>Table 7.29</i> Satisfactory employee/employer relationships vs. effectiveness of workers committees'	p.70
<i>Table 7.30</i> Ranked importance of various possible interventions vs. gender	p.71
<i>Table 7.31</i> T Test of ranked importance vs. gender	p.72
<i>Table 7.32</i> Pre school accessibility	p.74
<i>Table 7.33</i> Primary school accessibility	p.74
<i>Table 7.34</i> Secondary education to O level accessibility	p.74
<i>Table 7.35</i> Secondary education to A level accessibility	p.75

<i>Table 7.36</i> Affordable schooling	p.75
<i>Table 7. 37</i> Do all your children attend school?	p.76
<i>Table 7.38</i> Children at school vs. cash earned	p.76
<i>Table 7.39</i> T Test results for children attending school and cash earned	p.77
<i>Table 7.40</i> Ranks for certain key labour issues	p.78
<i>Table 7.41</i> Crosstabulation of strike action and gender	p.79
<i>Table 7.42</i> Chi-Square Tests on strike action and gender	p.80
<i>Table 7.43</i> Crosstabulation of strike action and membership of the Union	p 80
<i>Table 7.44</i> Chi-Square Tests on strike action and Union membership	p 81
<i>Table 7.45</i> Crosstabulation awareness of a CBA and membership of the union	p.81
<i>Table 7.46</i> Chi-Square Tests awareness of CBA vs Union membership	p 81
<i>Table 7.47</i> Is the CBA relevant vs. membership of the union	p.82
<i>Table 7.48</i> Chi-Square test CBA relevance vs. union membership	p.82

<i>Table V.1 Where the union should concentrate efforts, opinion in relation to age</i>	p.122
<i>Table V.2 20 – 30 age groups vs 50 – 60 age groups + test</i>	p.123
<i>Table VI.1 Order of importance of labour issues and to gender</i>	p.124
<i>Table VI.2 T Test. Importance is issues and gender</i>	p.125
<i>Table VI.3 Labour Issues and membership of the union</i>	p.126
<i>Table VI.4 T Test. Labour issues and membership of the union</i>	p.127

## CONTENTS OF GRAPHS

<i>Graph 7.1</i> Age Categories of respondents'	p.43
<i>Graph 7.2</i> Employment status 2003 and kind of farm	p.44
<i>Graph 7.3</i> Employment status present and kind of farm	p.45
<i>Graph 7.4</i> Earnings analyses	p.46
<i>Graphs 7.5</i> Mean cash, farm & poverty lines	p.47
<i>Graph 7.6</i> Cash earned in various labour categories	p.49
<i>Graph 7.7</i> Payment in kind analyses in relation to kind of farm	p.50
<i>Graph 7.8</i> Mean earnings in relation to participation in strikes	p.51
<i>Graph 7.9</i> Earnings and gender	p.52
<i>Graph 7.10</i> Working status and gender	p. 55
<i>Graph 7.11</i> The effectiveness of the workers committees and access to good healthcare facilities	p.64
<i>Graph 7.12</i> The effectiveness of the workers committees and access to medical aid	p.65
<i>Graph 7.13</i> The effectiveness of the workers committee and a good pension	p.66
<i>Graph 7.14</i> The effectiveness of the workers committee and having acceptable accommodation	p.67

*Graph 7.15* The effectiveness of the workers committee and access to clean water p.68

*Graph 7.16* The effectiveness of the workers committee and access to a fair hearing of labour disputes p.69

*Graph 7.17* The effectiveness of the workers committee and having satisfactory employer/employee relations p.70

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **SHAPING THE MATRIX - ZIMBABWE'S LAND REFORM AND THE ECONOMY**

The Management Question this research seeks answers for is “For commercial agriculture to recover its place in the Zimbabwean economy what are the proper concerns of farm labour and the Union, The General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe, that need to be taken into account by the various stakeholders for a productive agricultural sector to re-emerge.” The shape of commercial agriculture in Zimbabwe has changed fundamentally as a result of the fast track land reform programme begun in February 2000. This chapter seeks to answer the key sub-question of what has been happening in agriculture and the economy particularly focusing on the last five years. These changes have dramatically affected farm workers and therefore set the foundations on which the research question into legitimate farm labour concerns rests.

#### **1.1 Agriculture: A broken backbone?**

As before 1980, post-independent agriculture was the backbone of the economy. Before the start of the fast track land reform agriculture was the source of around 50% of the country's annual export earnings. (See *Table 1.2* p.6) The success of commercial agriculture was such that Zimbabwe boasted it was the breadbasket of Africa. But fast track land reform process, begun in February 2000, ended its key contribution to the life of the nation.

#### **1.2 Land tenure changes**

In understanding the collapse of agriculture over the last four years the salient point is the significant shift in Zimbabwe's total land tenure patterns. The basic types of land tenure in Zimbabwe since Independence are:

Large Scale Commercial Farms (LSCF) and Urban areas.

LSCF land could be bought, sold or used as collateral against loans and title deeds could be attained. Black farmers began to hold land in the LSCF only after independence, and by 1994 of the 4 400 LSCF farmers about 400 were black. (Magaramombe (2004) reported around 320,000 full time workers on these farms at the start of the fast track land reform programme)

Freehold Tenure of Small Scale Commercial Farms (SSCF).

Title deeds could be attained and farms could be bought and sold and used as collateral but the process was more difficult.

State Owned Land: Leasehold and Resettlement Permit

There are no title deeds because the land is state owned but the land is leased to the occupier. Resettlement land is used for free.

Communal Areas.

Created in the colonial era and very largely in poorer agro-ecological regions. Tenure is insecure as traditional leaders re-allocate land-use rights from time to time to account for demographic changes.

State Land

This is state owned land in both urban and rural areas.

The actual land itself is divided into five natural regions (NR I –NR V) based on average rainfall. The 1930 Land Apportionment Act put the best agricultural land (in terms of soil type and rainfall) into the hands of white farmers and blacks were given the marginal areas to subsist in. (Utete Commission, 2003) In the period immediately following the passing of the Act blacks were not only forcibly re-located but also often had to sell their cattle to the new white settler farmers at



prices over which they had no choice. (Mr. A. Dhlamini and Mr. E. Kahari : personal accounts).

In 1994, of the 16.35 million hectares of communal land which were home to 60% of the population, 74 per cent of the land fell into the poorer natural regions IV and V. Small-scale commercial land totalled 1.38 million hectares but only 18% was in the better regions I & II. Resettled land amounted to 3.29 million hectares with 19% of that in natural regions I & II.

By contrast large-scale commercial land totalled 11.2 million hectares, 35 per cent of the land fell into natural regions I and II. It was farmed by about 4 400 farmers, the large majority of whom were white. Of the nation's 6.17million hectares in natural regions I and II 3.89 million hectares was LSCF land, only 1.41 million hectares communal land, 0.25 million hectares SSCF and 0.62 million hectares resettlement. (Rukuni Commission Report, 1994)

The Lancaster House Settlement that led to Independence sought to protect property rights, especially land. Under it land had to be acquired on a willing seller-buyer basis and the UK government committed to pay 'dollar for dollar' that the Zimbabwean government paid for land. The new government was soon to start running short of money and the pace of land reform was slow. (IMF staff report, 2003)

The Rukuni Commission of 1994 did an assessment of land ownership patterns and its imbalance; it explored the differing tenure issues (communal, freehold and state ownership) and advocated for the maintenance of the freehold system within commercial agriculture while addressing the racial imbalances in ownership. The government never took up its recommendations.

In 1998 a donor – government conference reached general agreement on a phased acquisition of 5 million of the 11 million hectares of the white commercial farmers' land. There was very little political will to implement the conference's recommendations, the President expressed frustration with the slowness of land reform and avoided ratifying by signing the agreement. The government pushed ahead with land reform beginning in earnest February 2000. (Utete Commission Report, 2003)

The fast track land reform is known locally as *jambanja*, which means hitting back. Officially it is dubbed the 3rd Chimurenga, which means the third liberation war (against whites). It began in February 2000 following the electorate's rejection in a referendum of the government's proposed new constitution. ZANU PF had sold the proposed referendum on the basis that under it land would be returned to the people. The farm invasions by the so called 'war veterans' started in the Mazvingo area of Zimbabwe soon after the defeat of the constitution was announced. The invasions quickly spread as 'war veterans' took the law into their own hands with impunity. (Sachikonye, 2003)

*Jambanja* was given further impetus in 2001 when the President used presidential powers to amend the Land Acquisition Act, giving the government the right to take immediate ownership of targeted farms. Armed militia of the government stepped up efforts to enforce eviction orders in 2002. By early 2003, the majority of farmers had complied with eviction orders and more than 8.3 million hectares out of the 11 million they had had been compulsorily acquired. (Sachikonye, 2003). This is contrary to the 2000 stated objectives of the Fast Track Resettlement Programme, which according to The Zimbabwe Institute's Zimbabwe Land Policy Study (June 2004 p.13) was the "immediate identification for compulsory acquisition of no less than 5 million hectares for Phase II of the Resettlement Programme for the benefit of landless peasant households".

In understanding what has happened to the acquired land a most important fact is that the state has assumed ownership of all the land. The issue of getting title deeds was complicated in that banks often held the title deeds as collateral. Farmers whose farms were acquired did not have to hand in their title deeds.

The new farmers are allocated land but have no security of tenure. There are no title deeds, rather a dispensation to occupy and use from government. The Utete Commission established to audit the reform process recommended that government address as quickly as possible the issue of tenure because of the effect that tenure insecurity was having on commercial agriculture. (Utete Commission 2003).

In mid 2004 300–400 white farmers were still active in farming from more than 4000 in February 2000 and the government is continuing to take their farms. (Justice for Agriculture, 2004) *Table 1.1* gives an analysis of how acquired land has been allocated up to 31st July 2003. The importance of this for the research objective is raised in the next chapter because the transitions in land holding and tenure patterns has had a direct effect on farm labour particularly as generally smaller farming units have been created. Moreover, the field research uncovered that the changes have created some specific new concerns for labour.

*Table 1.1* Allocation of Model A1 and A2 Beneficiaries under “Fast Track” Phase July 2000 to 31 July 2003

Model A1	
Area (ha)	4 231 080
Beneficiaries	127 192
Model A2	
Area (ha)	2 198 814
Beneficiaries	7 260

(Source: *Utete Commision report 2003*)

(Note: Appendix 1 has more information on A1 and A2 resettlement)

### **1.3 Problems to do with the land reform process**

The acquisitions have been fraught with a raft of problems. One of the most important was a breakdown in the rule of law, constitutional safeguards were ignored by the state and ‘war veterans’ spread violence, terror and intimidation into commercial farming areas. International pressure mounted leading to an assurance given by the government in Abuja, Nigeria on the 6th September 2001, that there will be no further occupations of farmlands. Under Abuja (2001 p.6) there were promises made of “commitment to restore the rule of law to the process of the land reform programme; commitment to freedom of expression as guaranteed by the constitution of Zimbabwe and to take firm action against violence and intimidation”. The promises came to nothing.

Another problem, as Dr. L. Maduku points out, was that the Supreme Court in December 2000 proclaimed, “The rule of law in the commercial farming areas has been overthrown”. (2004 p.142) The context of that judgment means that the manner in which the government was conducting the land reform was unlawful. But the Supreme Court then itself acted unlawfully in that it gave the government six months to continue with land acquisitions even though it considered the acquisitions unlawful. “A court of law has no jurisdiction to order that which is against the law.”(2004 p.143)

In terms of the economy and export earnings *Table 1.2* gives statistics of the effect on export earnings on these transitions. It shows that by 2003 agriculture’s export earnings had collapsed from 50% to 11% of the total export earnings.

*Table 1.2 Zimbabwe Trade Statistics Exports to All Countries (US\$)*

	1991	1994	1997	2000	2001	2002	2003
Tobacco	428,423,131	422,486,488	566,657,977	459,491,821	585,245,262	311,184,944	122,742,810
Other Agric	199,428,584	393,228,911	473,781,335	270,767,564	96,829,514	235,525,913	160,517,356
<b>Total Agric</b>	<b>627,851,715</b>	<b>815,715,399</b>	<b>1,040,439,312</b>	<b>730,259,385</b>	<b>682,074,776</b>	<b>546,710,857</b>	<b>283,260,166</b>
Minerals	377,776,467	418,046,000	511,987,546	363,765,844	367,251,073	1,030,915,055	2,036,398,876
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>1,005,628,182</b>	<b>1,233,761,399</b>	<b>1,552,426,858</b>	<b>1,094,025,229</b>	<b>1,049,325,849</b>	<b>1,577,625,912</b>	<b>2,319,659,042</b>
All Other	241,605,230	417,217,163	505,495,473	358,809,964	142,116,178	362,371,408	196,759,511
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,247,233,412</b>	<b>1,650,978,562</b>	<b>2,057,922,331</b>	<b>1,452,835,193</b>	<b>1,191,442,027</b>	<b>1,939,997,320</b>	<b>2,516,418,553</b>
<b>%</b>							
Agriculture	50%	49%	51%	50%	57%	28%	11%

(Source: *ZimTrade Trade Information Centre. Data sourced from Central Statistical Office*)

The reason for the collapse is the reductions in the size of the commercial crops. In particular, the exported tobacco crop has been hard hit as shown in *Table 1.3* below

*Table 1.3 Analysis of falls in crop production since 1999*

Produce	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Maize (t)	648 000	810 000	384 000	185 400	80 000	275 000*
Soya beans (t)	150 000	169 000	65 000	35 000	58 500	60 000
Wheat (t)	281 250	225 000	282 000	115 000	93 000	105 000
Tobacco (000kgs)	191 510	232 250	197 200	159 360	82 000	60 000**

\*Estimate Tonnes based on a total National Maize Production 750-850 000

**\*\* Large scale production 47 million kgs, 13 million small scale (estimate ZTA)**  
(Source: *Commercial Agriculture in Zimbabwe, published by Justice for Agriculture, 2004*)

The July 2004 Food and Agriculture Organization report on Zimbabwe warned of famine impacting more than 4 million due to the reduced (estimated) size of the grain harvest. (FAO Special Report, 2004)

#### **1.4 An economy in collapse**

The economy of Zimbabwe was already in trouble in 1998 before the deleterious effects of the land reform process compounded them. The domestic debt was such that interest on the debt alone was greater than the spending on health and education combined. With agriculture contributing some 20% of GDP and 50% of the country's export earnings *jambanja* exacerbated the economic crisis.

According to research done for Stanbic Bank by Banyi (2004) one effect was that the moderate real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate of 1.7% in 1999 became negative contraction (-4.8%) in 2000. Real GDP then fell by another – 8.6% in 2001, -13.7% in 2002, -13.2% in 2003 and an estimated –8.5% in 2004. Since 1999 the economy has been therefore in recession, declined by a cumulative 40%. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates that overall agricultural output decline is 70% since 2000.

The IMF found that in 2001, the government dealt with the high domestic debt burden by artificially lowering nominal interest rates. The highly negative real interest rates fed credit growth and led to speculation in the money markets and levels of saving dropped. Inflation soared as the board money growth accelerated to 165 percent in 2002 from 103 percent in 2001. As inflation went spiralling upwards so the exchange rate depreciated. In December 2003, the new head of the Reserve Bank, Mr. Gideon Gono, moved to bring in monetary policies that would slow inflation rates, address problems of corruption and boost investor confidence. Inflation rates fell from above 600% year/ year to marginally above 300% year/year. (IMF Staff Report, 2004) However the downward trend turned

after the May 2004 figure of 6% month on month becoming 9.2% in June (month on month) rising to 9.5% for July 2004. (Chartered Institute of Accountants of Zimbabwe, 2004)

The economy has continued to contract. Concern over Zimbabwe's lack of respect for basic human rights, the rule of law, democracy and good governance has meant that virtually all aid except humanitarian assistance has now halted. (IMF Staff Report 2003) The Human Development Index (HDI) has declined steadily. The HDI measures continuous achievements in three aspects of human development, longevity, knowledge and a decent standard of living. The effect of these consecutive years of GDP decline on the Zimbabwean Human Development Index is shown in *Table 1.4*.

*Table 1.4* Selected Human Development Indices

		YEAR			
HDI Ranking	Country	1990	1995	2000	2002
1	Norway	0.911	0.935	0.954	0.956
2	Sweden	0.895	0.928	0.943	0.946
8	United States	0.914	0.926	0.935	0.939
10	Ireland	0.869	0.893	0.926	0.936
12	UK	0.883	0.921	0.932	0.936
119	South Africa	0.729	0.735	0.690	0.666
147	Zimbabwe	0.617	0.571	0.511	0.491
176	Niger	0.259	0.265	0.279	0.292

(Source: *UNDP Human Development Report 2003*)

The poor are growing poorer; the real GDP per person has fallen steadily since 1998 to levels marginally above the rest of sub-Saharan Africa. (1998 real per capita GDP in 1990 US\$ terms was US\$860. By 2002 it had fallen to US\$640). (IMF staff report, 2003)

If there is one lesson to learn in all this it has to be that it is impossible to correct an injustice with more injustice. The next chapter shows that while commercial agriculture prospered it did so by the exploitation of labour. The backbone was financially strong but morally weak.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **ISSUES FOR FARM WORKERS FAMINE IN THE BREADBASKET**

In seeking to determine the research question's proper concerns of farm labour the important fact is that farm workers have had a hard deal for many years except perhaps in the first five years of Independence. If labour is to enjoy dignity and a growing prosperity there is need to see where things have gone wrong at the local level before and since the fast track land reform. Without understanding the historic issues it would be difficult to identify for research question the essentials necessary for future good labour relations in a re-emerging commercial agricultural sector.

#### **2.1 Introduction**

"It has long been a paradox of Zimbabwe, the food security base of Southern Africa that workers producing food crops have amongst the lowest food security themselves. In 1980 rural levels of underweight and stunting in large scale commercial farms were approximately double those in urban areas," Loewenson (2001 p.74).

Kanyenze, an economist with the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) reported (2001 p.105) "Apart from 1995, the real minimum wage declined sharply during the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) period (1991 – 1998), from a level of Z\$42.81 in 1990 to Z\$24.02 by 1996, using 1980 as the base. Following the strikes of 1997, the real minimum wage improved to Z\$28.30 in 1997 and Z\$28.81 in 1998. However, the real minimum wage was below the 1980 level of Z\$30...." Many farm workers were barely surviving and were worse off economically than they were twenty years ago.

Loewenson (2001) contrasts the success of agriculture and the vast amount of food produced during the Structural Adjustment period with the malnourishment



and hunger of the farm workers. Drawing information and research done on agricultural workers' conditions and she concludes that they were impoverished physically, mentally and socially.

According to Rutherford (2001) this impoverishment is due to domestic government and fact that farm workers are largely accommodated on the farm they work on. Domestic government is the term used to describe the dominant model of management – labour relations in Zimbabwean large scale farming operations. In the colonial past, farm workers were largely the domestic responsibility of the European farmers themselves, and there was little direct government involvement, even through health or education. The farm worker and his family lived and worked on the farm in an authoritarian and paternalistic framework of labour relations.

Although, as shown below, with the attainment of Independence, the regulations would change and a dominant labour relations model would be modified, domestic government stubbornly remained the dominant model for the next twenty years. The fundamental reason why it never changed was due to the fact that farm workers live on the farm they work on. A few have their own homes in communal areas so for the overwhelming number losing employment means homelessness. (Rutherford, 2001).

The subject of farm accommodation is therefore an important dimension of the labourers' lives. Magaramombe (2001) reported overcrowding, poor structures, and highlights a common link between poor accommodation and clean water availability. He advocates for workers to have their own homes with security of tenure as necessary for their long term welfare.

But there is another important dimension due to the growth in resettlement without security of tenure as fast track land reform has advanced. Research similar resettlement schemes in Zimbabwe by Maposa (1992) showed that most farmers did not put up good houses for themselves because they have “less to lose” if the farm is taken from them. The same consideration will apply to investing in accommodation and clean water for their workers.

## 2.2 Changes after the first ten years of Independence in 1980

Immediately after Independence in 1980, there was widespread dissatisfaction by the country's workers who agitated and demanded improved working conditions, the removal of harsh managers and higher wages. This dissatisfaction resulted in the strongest labour unrest in the country since 1948. ZANU (PF) responded to the crisis by introducing mandatory minimum wages for all sectors. (Rutherford, 2001)

The Ministry of Labour initiated and set the minimum wages. The ZANU PF government worked to establish village committees on commercial farms that then became workers committees. The workers committees were forums for raising grievances, demanding overtime payment and worked to temper traditional violence by management. This power was due being closely aligned to the local ZANU (PF) party structures. For the farm workers there were tangible benefits and the 1980's saw real growth in wages:

*Table 2.1* 1980's Trends in Monthly Nominal and Real Wages for Farm Workers

Period	Nominal wages (Z\$)	Real wage (Z\$)
1980	30	30
1981	30	26.50
1982	50	39.90
1983	55	35.70
1984	65	35.10
1985	75	37.30
1986	85	37
1987	85	32.90
1988	100	36
1989	116	37
1990	133	36.20

(Source: Kanyenze, 2001, p99, calculated from the *Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, CSO)

After winning the 1985 elections, the government altered its pro-labour direction and became more sympathetic to commercial farmer's concerns. Rutherford states that the power of the village committees and the farm workers became weakened, as the government policy was not to "disrupt" commercial agriculture. "the domestic responsibilities of farmers over farm workers was re-emphasized in official discourse. This remained the guiding model of government on commercial farms throughout the 1980s" (Rutherford, 2001, p.46)

Farm labour is classified into permanent and non-permanent employees. A permanent labourer is better off since he/she has employment full time with monthly wages often above minimum levels and there are no dismissals without state or union consent. (Lowenson, 1992)

### **2.3 The 1990's and the effects of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme**

Tandon (2001 p.221) using the Zimbabwe Ministry of Social Welfare's definition of poverty, which is "the inability to afford a defined basket of consumption items (food and non-food) which are necessary to sustain life." reports on their 1997 survey results "poverty in Zimbabwe seems very high with about 61 per cent of the population living in households with incomes per person below a level sufficient to provide basic needs...nationwide the sectoral distribution of poverty is about 84 per cent total poor in the communal areas, 70 per cent in the small scale commercial farms and resettlement areas, 57 per cent in the large scale commercial farms and 39 per cent in the urban areas "

Kanyenze (2001) found that two changes exacerbated the poverty of the farm workers in what was a time of growing employment. First, the patterns of employment changed. The numbers of full time permanent employees declined from 58 per cent in 1990 to 49 per cent in 1997 more women were employed and the numbers of persons employed on contract or as seasonal workers increased.

The other change was the rising inflation that steadily eroded the gains seen in the first ten years of Independence in the purchasing power of farm workers. The result was that farm workers were as worse off as they were in 1973/74. The real wage index of 130.4 in 1990 declined to 78.9 by 1997. Inflation was compounded by a terrible drought in the 1991/1992 season causing real wages to fall from \$117.6 per month in 1991 to \$69.8 in 1992.

Real average earnings collapsed but productivity levels remained high. During ESAP productivity levels doubled from those of the both the pre- and post Independence periods yet the farm workers were still paid poor wages. Average real earnings for the period 1991 – 1997 were \$30.92 (*based on 1980 prices. For indices, 1980=100*) but productivity averaged \$189.27 over the same period. That is six times average real earnings. (Kanyenze, 2001)

In June 1997 the workers resorted to direct action to draw attention to their situation. “Taking whatever farm instruments came to hand, they ran amok in small groups, slashing fields, burning down tobacco barns, blocking rural roads, setting alight cars belonging to (white) commercial farmers, and looting shops, most of them farm stores....It was, in all likelihood, a spontaneous outburst triggered by desperation. The police were slow to control the situation, and the action petered out just as suddenly and mysteriously as it had started.” (Tandon, 2001 p.222)

There were allegations that GAPWUZ was working behind the scenes to incite workers. Commenting on the allegation Mtisi (1998) wrote “the farm workers did not need external influence to know that they were hungry, that the Z\$359 a month they were being given bore no or little relation to the cost of living.” (Mtisi 1998 p.79) He maintains that the strike was in response to poverty and frustration and was well organized with farm workers from different farms working together. The importance of these events lies not only in the desperation that continuing poverty caused but that the workers can and do organize themselves against exploitation.

## 2.4 The effects of the fast track land reform process

Commercial farmers and the farm workers were against land reform because they stood to lose their livelihoods so they were perceived to be supporters of the opposition. The fast track land reform process was deeply politicized and there was widespread displacement and violence to varying degrees in different parts of the country. “Violent farm occupations led by war veterans and ZANUPF militias became a hallmark of the process between the beginning of 2000 and mid 2002” (*Displaced and Forgotten* (15 July 2003) p.5)

The alternatives experienced by farm workers and their families in the early days in response to owners or managers having to leave were

- Remaining on the farm with access to paid employment by the new farm owner
- Remaining on the farm with no access to land and only ad hoc opportunities for employment
- Being forced into a situation of internal displacement

The June 2002 vulnerability assessment report of the Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe (FCTZ) reported the following findings on the changes that took place in different categories of employment:

*Table 2.2* Summary of Employment and Tenancy levels by Province

Province	Permanent workers normally employed	Seasonal workers normally employed	Permanent workers currently employed	Seasonal workers currently employed	Permanent workers who normally lived on farm	Seasonal workers who normally lived on farm	Permanent workers who currently live on farm	Seasonal workers who currently live on farm
Mash East	5 520	4 800	3 693	2462	5 563	4 111	3 918	4 417
Mash West	6855	7930	4151	2472	6640	6818	5362	4 347
Mash Central	3 637	3 550	1 060	457	3 702	3 109	1 952	2 019
Manica land	1432	1398	1061	505	1325	1102	1198	770
<b>Total</b>	<b>18 876</b>	<b>17 678</b>	<b>9 965</b>	<b>5 895</b>	<b>17 230</b>	<b>15 140</b>	<b>12 430</b>	<b>11 553</b>

Analysis of the table shows 47 percent of all permanent workers and 77 percent of seasonal workers had lost employment in the four provinces of Mashonaland East, West, Central and Manicaland covered by the assessment. In terms of tenancy, 72 percent of all permanent workers and 76 percent of all seasonal workers still lived on the farms. (The parliamentary Utete Commission (2003) reported that 70 per cent of farm workers stayed on the farms.)

Research carried out in February 2003 by the Zimbabwe Community Development Trust in three large scale commercial farming areas reported that 47 per cent of farm workers had lost employment as a result of the land reform process. Of the 53 per cent that were employed, 58 per cent were still employed by the old farmer and another 40 per cent by the new farmer. However their employment status had greatly changed in that most of those employed, especially by the new farmers, were casual workers working in piecework.

Sachikonye (2003) reported job losses increased through the last quarter of 2002 as 90 per cent of the commercial farmers 2002 left their farms following legislation that came into effect in August 2002 and he adds that an estimated 200,000 farm workers lost their jobs between 2000 and 2002. Sachikonye's data reflected in *Table 2.3* shows a relatively smaller number of job losses in Manicaland. This is because of the concentration of plantations in the province. Plantations were not initially targeted in the reform process.

*Table 2.3* The district pattern of job farm losses by 2002 caused by the land reform.

Province	Estimated numbers Of workers affected
Mashonaland West	18 300
Mashonaland East	11 260
Mashonaland Central	15 000
Manicaland	2 260
TOTAL	46 820

(Source: *Sachikonye, 2003 p.44*)

According to the Food and Agriculture organization's special report on Zimbabwe dated the 5th July 2004, only 2018 farm workers, or about 0.1 per cent of farm workers got land in the reform programme. The Utete Commission reported a higher 2.3 per cent as shown below but an important point remains that farm workers were marginalized by government in the re-distribution of land. This marginalization, as will seen later is a real concern for labour and the Union.

*Table 2.4 Allocation of land by number of recipients per province*

Province	Ordinary		Total	Farm Workers		Total	Farm Workers as % of Total
	A1	A2		A1	A2		
Manicaland	11 019	463	11 482	1080		1080	9.4%
Mashonaland Central	14 756	1 684	16 440	476	7	483	2.9%
Mashonaland East	16 702	1 646	18 348	236		236	1.2%
Mashonaland West	27 052	2003	29 055	450		450	1.5%
Masvingo	22670	773	23 443	128		128	0,5%
Matabeleland North	9 901	191	10 092	225		225	2.2%
Matabeleland South	8 923	271	9 194	244		244	2.7%
Midlands	16 169	229	16 398	377		377	2%
Total	127 192	7 260	134 452	3216	7	3223	2,3%

(Source: *Presidential Utete Committee Report 2003*)

The Food and Agriculture organization's report (2004) also found that A1 farmers who are small scale farmers find it difficult to afford hired labour and so do not often hire, A2 farmers have the money to hire but do not always pay the minimum wage to their farm workers.

The reform process became high jacked by those with political influence. “The gradual shift by the land reform programme from its redistribution goal towards promoting the land demands of various categories of indigenous elite’s further weakened the position of farm workers. ” (Magaramombe, (2004) p 38)

When the presidential Utete Commission of Zimbabwe 2003 audited the controversial land reform process at no point in all their interviews did they interview either farm workers or GAPWUZ officials even though thousands of farm workers had been affected. Instead, the farm workers are described in terms of burden and are criminalized. (Utete Commission Report (2003), p 29)

The government’s policy has been to not give workers land and to marginalize them by ignoring them in their dialogues with various stakeholders over land. For the research question there is a legitimate concern felt by workers and the Union of official marginalization because the government’s marginalization policy is not only in regard to land. Farm workers were not allowed to vote in local government elections until 1998. (Tandon, 2001) As the next chapter focuses on fundamentals affecting labour the point to bear in mind is that a significant paradigm shift in attitude at government level is necessary before labour’s concerns will be meaningfully addressed.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **UNDERSTANDING THE WIDER MILIEU POVERTY IS CREATED JUST AS WEALTH IS**

In Zimbabwe there are fundamental constitutional and legislative flaws that countervail workers power and affect labour relations generally in all sectors of the economy. The research question's enquiry into farm labour issues has to take these into account. This chapter brings out that they exist because they part of the political agenda of the time.

#### **3.1 Fundamental Matters in the Constitution**

In the post-Independent Zimbabwean situation there are two deficiencies in the constitution which undermine the power of the workers movement to balance the power of capital through free collective bargaining and legal strike action.

#### **No constitutional rights for trade unions to engage in free collective bargaining.**

In Zimbabwe the legal entitlement to engage in collective bargaining processes is set out in the Labour Relations Act, but this is not a constitutionally entrenched right. If the right was protected constitutionally a number of provisions in the labour act could be challenged. Without that constitutional protection the LRA cannot be challenged and effectively weakens labour power in a number of ways.

(a) The Act automatically grants every registered trade union the right to engage in collective bargaining, regardless of its level of membership. In theory, there could be number of unions in a sector resulting in a number of collective bargaining agreements.

(b) Under the Act an industry wide collective bargaining agreement (CBA) fashioned in the National Employment Council (for each sector) is binding on all,

employers and employees. This means that no union may demand payment from the “free riders” who benefit from the particular CBA. This has the effect of weakening the unions. (Note: Employers in agriculture may for exemption from an NEC wage agreement (NEC, 2004). That undermines the bargaining process and also the perception of the union’s power in the eyes of the workers.)

(c) Perhaps more importantly, the process of collective bargaining sees such involvement of government that it unduly interferes with the freedoms of the parties involved in negotiation. The government not only lays the framework for collective bargaining but Minister of Labour has discretionary power to withhold the registration of collective bargaining agreement. Without registration it is not binding. The minister makes use of those powers. For example, the Minister of Labour refused to register the September 2002 wage agreement concluded between the Agricultural Labour Bureau representing farmers and the farm workers union, GAPWUZ. (Tarabuku, 2003) Therefore, the important dimension of free collective bargaining is both absent and there is little labour can do about it without constitutional protection of a basic right.

### **No constitutional protection of the right to strike.**

The right to withdraw one’s labour is as basic to justice and a fair deal for the worker as the twin right to free collective bargaining. In Zimbabwe the right to a legal strike is subject to so many sanctions and restrictions that workers are effectively denied the right. The process for getting a strike “legal” is long, bureaucratic and complex. Consider:

(a) No strikes are permitted in “essential service” but the definition of “essential service” is extremely wide - “(h) any other service or occupation whose interruption would endanger the life, health or safety of the whole or part of the population and which the Minister may, after consultation with the appropriate trade union and employers organization, declare by statutory instrument to be an essential service” (Labour Relations Act Chapter 28:01 Section 102)

(b) Section 104(1) of the Labour Relations Act provides for “the right to resort to collective job action” but this does not apply to public service workers who are governed by a separate act. In the absence of a constitutional right to strike, public service workers in Zimbabwe have no right to strike.

(c) Managerial employees may not strike. On farms management was able to make a larger number of employees ‘managers’ and thereby disempowering them without meaningful changes in their actual job content. Rutherford (2001) in “Working on the Margins” reported a growth in the numbers of foremen and clerks on farms.

(d) The Labour Relations Act was amended in 2002 and the amendment in relation to the right to collective job action was further constrained making it virtually impossible to carry out a legal strike. Therefore, trade union representatives cannot seriously threaten strike action when meeting at National Employment Council for collective bargaining or wage negotiating sessions.

Kanyenze (2001) points out that there has never been a legal strike in Zimbabwe. The powers structures in the management/labour interface are thus significantly affected by this legislation. The lack of constitutional protection makes the legislation possible. The result is that labour suffers. (Appendix II carries the text of this section in the labour legislation).

### **3.2 A long standing omission in the LRA - Insufficient Organisational Rights**

The Labour Relations Act of 1985 and the 1992 Amendments did not recognize leave for trade union purposes, or access for trade unions to the workplace during working hours, or an effective check-off system. However, the revisions in 2002 amendments did address this deficiency but it would be fair to argue for damage to union membership growth and effectiveness due to these organizational rights not being in the Act early on. (Maduku, 2001)

### **3.3 The Trade Union Movement and the Politics of the Time**

Raftopolous (2001) reporting on the roots of trade unionism in Zimbabwe makes the significant point that the successful armed liberation struggle took place in the rural areas. The site of the liberation struggle was rural not urban. During the Lancaster House meetings, leading to Independence, between the British Government, the Liberation Movements and the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia delegation there was no significant role for labour over the transition to majority rule. There was no united labour federation and, initially, the new ruling party considered labour to be of negligible legitimacy. (Raftopolous, 2001)

In the early years of Independence the ZANU-PF government established the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) in order to extend its control into the labour movement. In 1985 a new Labour Relations Act was passed that introduced “one industry, one union”. The rights of workers to join unions and worker committees were enhanced, the right to strike was severely restricted and power was concentrated in the Ministry of Labour. Significantly, the ZCTU played no part in the drafting of the legislation. (Raftopolous, 2001)

New leadership emerged in 1988 with the election of Morgan Tsvangirai as Secretary General. The result was a restructuring of the ZCTU, a growth in affiliated trade unions and a stabilization of membership. By 1990 “the labour movement had moved from being a pliant wing of the ruling party to a more autonomous critical force, which began to make broader societal alliances in an attempt to link the issues around economic policy to the problems of governance” (Raftopolous, 2001 p.7)

In 1992, in line with the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme the government passed the Labour Relations Amendment Act, which deregulated labour relations, constrained union power at shop floor level whilst the Minister of Labour retained wide-ranging powers. It abandoned the ‘one industry, one union’ principle of the 1985 legislation. (Raftopolous, 2001)

In 1999 a statement to the U.S. Department of the Treasury entitled The Development Gap reported that the policy of deregulation had permitted private

companies to increase their use of temporary part time and contract workers who did not receive benefits and had no job security. This in effect increased unemployment and decreased real wages. A living wage was no longer guaranteed to those who did find full-time jobs. The lot of the worker was made very hard indeed. (Hellinger, 1999)

As the economy continued to decline and the living conditions of the poor worsened the ZCTU called for a general strike on 9th December 1997. This strike was the most successful general strike in Zimbabwean history. Support came from workers, the middle class and even employers as a wide cross section saw that addressing the issues of governance could only solve the economic crisis. In 1999 the labour movement birthed the political Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) with Morgan Tsvangirai as its president. Within nine months MDC won 57 seats against ZANU (PF)'s 62 in the 2000 elections. (Raftopolous, 2001)

Thereafter, life for the ZCTU has become harder as the government sought to close the space for labour to bring democratic change in Zimbabwe by using the restrictive Public Order and Security Act (POSA) passed on 22nd January 2002. For example, on 8th October 2003, 200 trade union activists were arrested throughout the country including the Secretary General and the President to prevent them from staging a protest against high taxes and inflation in the country. They were charged under POSA. (Section 7(b)) (Human Rights Watch, 2003)

Commenting on the arrests, Human Rights Watch wrote, "Human Rights Watch is concerned that once again the Zimbabwean authorities are using their broad powers under POSA and other repressive legislation to deny freedom of association, expression and assembly to trade unionists seeking to perform legitimate union activities." The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) lodged a complaint with the International Labour Organization (ILO) over the arrests. It expressed concern that several union officials being kept at secret locations by the police and that women trade unionists were being targeted. (Human Rights First, 2003 Internet 1)

Support for the trade union movement from the wider international labour movement has also become less easily expressed. For example, in December of 2002, the Director of the Human and Trade Union Rights at the ICFTU attempted to enter the country to visit its affiliate the ZCTU. He was barred from entering by the government. (ILO, 2002)

“The ILO Committee of Experts said it ‘noted with concern the allegations concerning the persistent violations (by the Government of Zimbabwe) of the Convention (98) in law and practice. The Committee expressed firm hope that in the very near future the necessary measures would be adopted to guarantee that the rights set out in the Convention were effectively applied to all workers and employers, and to their organisations.’”(Tarabuku, 2003)

The workers movement is therefore disabled through the Constitution, the Labour Relations Act and through the attacks on it using the repressive Public Order and Security Act. The closing of the democratic space is imitable to the long-term welfare of the ordinary worker and the nation as a whole. In Zimbabwe in 2004, this is legitimate concern for all and especially those in the labour movement. Moreover, the marginalization of farm workers raised at the end of chapter two has to be seen within the wider context of a national policy to keep the labour controlled by legislation and harassment.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **WHAT CAUSES WHAT AND WHY? THE GENERAL AGRICULTURE AND PLANTATION WORKERS UNION OF ZIMBABWE IN ITS CONTEXT**

Part of the research objective is to identify the concerns of the General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe (GAPWUZ) since it is vital that farm workers have an effective trade union to unite them and the fight on their behalf. This chapter seeks to understand GAPWUZ the context in which it operates because the context shapes the Union's concerns. For the purpose of clarity certain critical factors will be examined. These are

- Organization and democracy at local level
- Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA)
- Sound financial base within the union
- Unity and solidarity within the trade union movement
- Solidarity from the wider trade union labour movement
- Critical dimensions of land reform and the union
- Constitutional protections by government
- Good labour laws

(The last two have entered into this discourse already in the last chapter. They appear again below only as they affect the other categories).

#### **4.1 Organization and democracy at local level**

The problems in relation to organization and democracy are

- (1) Whereas the South African Labour Relations Act seeks to advance “the democratization of the workplace”, in Zimbabwe, farm workers were denied the right to vote in local government (rural council) elections until 1998. Levels of democracy amongst farm workers are perhaps less than

if full democratic rights had been enjoyed from the time of Independence.

(2) Under the first (1985) Act (Section 23) members of a workers committee did not have to be members of the trade union. This meant that a local workers committee were not necessarily part of the union's structure. The union had only the right to ratify workers committee agreements with management and to support them in their negotiations. "The separation of workers committees and unions has undermined the collective strength of the committees and the union's effective 'shop floor' base." (Loewenson, 1992, p.92). This separation remained after the 1992 amendments. In 2002 an amendment to Section 23 made a workers committee part of the union structure "if a trade union is registered to represent the interests of not less than fifty *per centum* of the employees at the workplace where a workers committees is to be established, every member of the workers committee shall be a member of the trade union concerned". The secondary and primary research found real growth recently in the Union membership and this amendment means that the Union should expect more and more workers committees to be part the Union's structure. The shape of industrial relations in agriculture will therefore change significantly.

(3) The 1992 Labour Relations Act Chapter 28:01 Section 23 legislated that no managerial employee shall be appointed or elected to a workers committee (unless the workers committee is "composed solely of managerial employees appointed or elected to represent their interests"). The committees are to be formed entirely by the farm workers themselves; this brings problems, as the levels of illiteracy are particularly high amongst farm workers. Levine reporting on the 1995 Poverty Assessment Study Survey (PASS) conducted by the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare estimated that the illiteracy level on large-scale commercial farms it was found to be 23.6% and higher than any other setting and 8.6% higher than the national average.



(Levine, 2001). Loewenson (1992) observed this to be one of the serious problems the Union had to confront but interestingly, this research found that although not so educated workers, through their workers committees, were able to secure a better deal for themselves.

But those were not the only practical problems. The union itself has not grown from a grassroots movement. After independence, the government created village and workers committees whose first allegiance was to the Party. (Raftopolous, 2001) The origin of its power was not farm workers but the demands of the politics of the early Independence period. Becoming a grassroots movement was one of its critical challenges Mtisi (1998) pointed out. This research has indicated some recent success in this area for the Union.

#### **4.2 Collective Bargaining Agreements**

Under the Labour Relations Act, Section 24, negotiations for collective bargaining can be at enterprise level. In the case of agriculture, that means on the farm. Subsection 3 of 24 does give the union a role as such in a “local” collective bargaining agreement where no CBA for the sector exists. One of the significant achievements of the Union was negotiating Statutory Instrument (SI) 323 of 1993 which defined a CBA for agriculture. Amendments to the present CBA, (SI 323 of 1993) are being sought by GAPWUZ in the September 2004 round of NEC negotiations. The amendments are many but relevant to this category is an amendment that will directly affect the union’s power. This is (i) in Section 11 (headed deductions). The union is seeking the following:

“for the lifespan of the collective bargaining agreement every employer shall levy or deduct 3% from the annual income wages of his/her employees who are non members of the union who directly or indirectly benefit from that agreement and forward the monies so deducted to the union” (GAPWUZ (2004) p.3) The effect would be that the CBA amendment would deal with the serious problem “free

riders”. The union would receive more funds and the incapacities around being cash strapped could begin to resolve themselves.

GAPWUZ are also currently seeking to have the following clauses recommended by the ZCTU included in the CBA to would ensure that another source of weakness is removed. On trade union rights “(2) every employer shall accept recognize and accord the trade union the following rights:

- a. the right to organize themselves freely for the purpose of forming workers committees or (trade union) committees, membership recruitment and membership servicing during working hours;
- b. the right to collective bargaining;
- c. the right to engage in lawful activities of such trade union, workers committees, and protection of their interests and their rights;
- d. the right to access employees at their workplace during working hours;
- e. trade union officials and union members shall be granted paid leave of absence for trade union business, education, and training, over and above paid special leave referred to in section 14b of the Act.” (ZCTU, 2003 p.11)

#### **4.3 Sound financial base of the union**

The problem of “free-riding” previously cited is not merely that it is denying the union significant monies. It also incapacities the union because beneficiaries (of the CBA and wage negotiations) do not feel they need to get involved. The lack of money is a serious problem for the union to this day. Administrative staff may or may not be paid on time and if it were not for support from donors such as SIDA (Swedish International Development Authority) the GAPWUZ would be a very small in-effectual trade union.

#### **4.4 Unity and solidarity within the trade union movement**

From 1985 until 1992 when the 'one industry, one union' legislation was abolished GAPWUZ enjoyed the status of being the only union representing farm workers. It was the union for all enterprises whether on the plantations, the kapenta fishermen or the more traditional farm settings. In 1992 the legislation was changed and the first new union to successfully register was ZISMIWU (the Zimbabwe Sugar Milling Industrial Workers Union). Tandon (2001) reported that the new union organizers were given time to work on union business and transport for meetings for workers. The millennium closed with GAPWUZ having suffered serious fragmentation with another two unions (the Zimbabwe Agro – Industry Workers' Union and the Zimbabwe Horticulture, Crocodile, Ostriches, Sugar and Allied Workers Union (HCSWU) having registered. Except for ZISMIWU, which received organizational support from employers, the three unions – GAPWUZ, Zimbabwe Agro – Industry Workers Unions and HCSWU were poor, each claiming to represent thousands of workers. The organisation of the workers at grassroots level by these unions was very weak. (Tandon, 2001) This fragmentation has diverted the Union towards protecting its power base and away from its first call to get a better deal for labour by weakening its power base through loss of members and therefore weakening it at the negotiating level.

#### **4.5 Solidarity from the wider trade union labour movement**

In Zimbabwe the existing legislation makes no provision for labour to engage in secondary strikes. The unity of the workers expressed through secondary strike action increases worker power significantly. (Finnemore, 2002) In the Zimbabwean Labour Relations Acts of 1985, 1992 or in the 2002 amendments, no provision is made for the right to secondary strike action.

The ZCTU has other ways of expressing solidarity with GAPWUZ (and other unions) by capacity building training for union members and full time staff. This takes the form of:

- Legal training
- Negotiation skills training
- Offering retrenched workers skills training.

According to Ms. J Sithole (2004), a project officer with GAPWUZ, the ZCTU also assists in recruitment drives by GAPWUZ by mobilizing its associated unions to work with GAPWUZ. In July and August 2004 such combined outreaches took place in Kwe Kwe, Chinhoyi, Masvingo and Kariba. This research found a definite trend towards the rebuilding of constituency by the Union and it may be that the help of unionists from the ZCTU affiliates has made a material difference to the trend.

#### **4.6 Critical dimensions of land reform and the union**

Politically government wanted to weaken the MDC through weakening the union movement from which it had grown. In making unions fight for their survival they were less able to encourage democratic sentiments amongst the workers. The government activated in 2000 the Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions (ZFTU) as rival to the ZCTU to undermine the strength of the labour movement. According to the deputy Secretary General of GAPWUZ, Mr. Gift Muti, the unions aligned to the ZFTU undermined GAPWUZ in the early stages of the land reform process. Using strong-arm tactics of war veterans these unions achieved some success in getting more money from farm owners for labour as the owners were driven off the land. However, their reputation was damaged when they (the war veterans, through these other unions) demanded 40% of the money paid to workers by farmers. This left the workers less money than under the retrenchment packages of S1 6. (Muti, interview, 2004).

“Numerous reports have been received to the effect that workers have been prevented from consulting their Trade Union representatives. In a number of cases, both farmers and workers have been told that all labour issues have to be channelled through the war veterans in occupation on the farm.

Within the last seven days, General Agriculture, Plantations Workers Union of Zimbabwe (GAPWUZ), the official trade union representing farm workers in Zimbabwe have had two of their representatives in Mashonaland West South told that they will stop operating with immediate effect under threat of death if they do not do so.” (Agricultural Labour Bureau, 2002 p.26)

In 2000 Mr. Justice Wachi, the provincial administrator for the union in Mashonaland East received death threats, his family was assaulted and he was transferred to Harare. In March 2003 the offices of the union in Chinhoyi were burned down and up to the present time police investigations have yielded no guilty party. The security guard who was on duty has alleged that ZANU PF started the fire. For the six months up to October 2004 the Bindura office has been closed and the union staff are stopped from visiting farms. (Ms G Hambira, 5<sup>th</sup> October 2004, personal interview)

The effect of the land reform process on the Union membership was dramatic and one participant of the focus group said that 15 years work of building up membership was wiped out in a few months. The table below (*Table 4.1*) gives an indication of that but also that GAPWUZ has steadily re-built its constituency even though farm closures continued through the period.

*Table 4.1* Union membership trends 1999 - 2004

	Membership figures
July 2004	47 000
July 2003	27 000
July 2002	15 000
July 2000	10 000
July 1999	60 000

(Source: Ms. J Sithole, GAPWUZ's Gender Project Officer 2004)

(Note: Figures for 2001 were not available)

It is to the credit of the Union that against considerable odds they have remained operating and after losing ground in the early period of the fast track land reform they have steadily re-built constituency. Unfortunately, the context in which they operate fundamentally prescribes the extent of their interventions and limits them both in terms of their own capacity and in terms of broadness of scope. This research established that having beaten right back, particularly in 2000, the Union is set for more growth in spite of the hardships it continues to experience.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The number of documents and reports on the land issue, the fast track land reform programme, and the plight of farm workers make for an extensively covered subject. Only those which more directly relevant to each of the previous four chapters' reports on farm labour concerns are reviewed.

#### **5.1 The Land Question**

In chapter one the focus was on needing to understand the salient features of the land question and particularly the fast track land reform process as something that has changed Zimbabwean commercial agriculture dramatically. Two presidential reports, the Rukuni Commission Report (1994) and the Utete Commission Report (2003) are particularly important. The government did not adopt the Rukuni Commission but if it had the situation in 2004 facing workers and agriculture could have been markedly different because it advocated a land distribution that would end the racially skewedness but maintaining security of tenure based on title deeds. The issue of tenure has an important effect on labour both in terms of job security and welfare.

The Utete Commission 2003 was a report to the President on the implementation of the fast track land reform programme 2000-2002. Comment has already been in chapter two made on the negative views of farm workers that the Commission made. Significantly, it found a "contradiction" between the Constitution and the legal instruments used to take the land. The question of the constitutional legality of the Land Acquisition Act as applied therefore questions the legality of the whole process. This is a concern for all stakeholders, not only labour. Rather, it is a concern for the whole nation.

## 5.2 Farm workers

In the much quoted book *Modern Plantation Agriculture Corporate Wealth and Labour Squalor* (1992) by Lowenson is based on her own work with farm workers in Zimbabwe. She sets the context of their condition within the (necessary) wider economic, social and political framework. She examines their plight in both the pre- and post Independence Zimbabwe up to the start of the implementation of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in the early 1990s. The importance of her work for this dissertation lies therefore in the expose of the different aspects, causes and symptoms of the exploitation of farm labour. Today, the face of commercial agriculture in Zimbabwe is markedly different from the time of her book but certain aspects, like low wages are still a concern .

*“Working on the Margins. Black workers, White farmers in Postcolonial Zimbabwe”* 2001 by Rutherford was written after the author spent time researching the black worker/white management situation on farm in the Hurungwe district of Zimbabwe. Its value for this dissertation lies in the fact that it updated Loewenson’s book referred to above. Even though only some 300/400 white farmer families are left in Zimbabwe the domestic government pattern that he explains and examines remains. The peg he uses of farm workers being “on the margins” is a very useful one on which to hang an understanding of legitimate concerns of farm labour. The marginalization at government policy level is expressed many ways and the Utete’s dismissive attitude of farm labour is a case in point.

The 2003 report produced for Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe by Sachikonye entitled *“The Situation of Commercial Farm Workers after Land Reform in Zimbabwe”* is important in because it is a recent enquiry. It covers the land question in Zimbabwe, the events of the fast track land reform, assesses the impact on farm workers and how they are coping, the new settler/farm worker interface and the problems for farm workers that follow. The work gives a singularly negative picture of “*jambanja*” as far as the workers are concerned.



The report helps to understand some of the main sections of the matrix described in the abstract of this dissertation particularly poverty and low wages, lack of opportunities for women, education, housing and land issues. He provides a benchmark that enable this research to discern trends and make recommendations that relate to the research objectives of this dissertation. He comments on a lack of political will on the part of government to address the issues his research raises and this research found that that is still a key problem for labour and union alike.

The 2004 “*Post Independence Land Reform in Zimbabwe. Controversies and Impact on the Economy*” edited by Masiiwa has a wide scope in its enquires but two chapters were of greater relevance to this enquiry. Whereas the 1994 Rukuni Commission believed that creating smaller commercial farms would mean more workers would be employed the chapter by Magaramombe importantly notes that this has not materialized.

The chapter on law helps to understand the complexities of land reform programme and questions the fairness and justice of the government’s actions. Injustice for farmer and farm worker are tied to the politics of the day.

“*Zimbabwe’s Farm Workers: Policy Dimensions*” (2001) edited by Amanor-Wilks has a wealth of material from labour relations policies to housing, health, education, gender to HIV/AIDS. Land as a political tool used by the ruling party has had massive effects on farm worker communities. The thread running through the book is that injustices were suffered by farm workers at the hands of farmers but government policies and practises either perpetrated further injustice or allowed those existing injustices to go on. For instance “another (Minister), who happened to be the Minister of Labour, fined his workers after a theft at his farm. There was no hearing or recourse to the dispute settlement system” (Kanyenze, 2001 p. 98).

### **5.3 The Constitutional and Legislative Dimensions**

Raftopoulos and Sachiknoye edited “*Striking Back: The Labour Movement and Post-Colonial State in Zimbabwe 1980-2000*” (2001). The chapters on trade

unions and the law and trade unions and agriculture are set within the context of the wider forces at work in the country over the first 20 years of Independence. The book is important to understand the fundamental flaws that dis-empower labour generally and without those being addressed a fair deal for labour will be based on the whims of management.

#### **5.4 Understanding the Union**

The General and Agricultural Workers Union of Zimbabwe was the source of the various legal documents like the Collective Bargaining Agreement and the other Statutory Instruments relating to the subject. The Union also released details of the changes it was seeking in the September 2004 round of negotiations relating to the Collective Bargaining Agreement. This was important for an up-to-date understanding of the Union and for assessing the relevance of the Union. Their report on their conference in February 1997 with politicians from ZANU PF not only highlights issues that require political action but also confirms the Union as a significant force in the push for a better deal for labour. For example, the conference (held in February 1997) raised the issue of the disenfranchisement of farm workers in rural local government elections. Later on that year the legislation was changed.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **6.1 Aim**

The management question is “ for commercial agriculture to recover its place in the Zimbabwean economy what are the proper concerns for farm labour and the Union, The General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe (GAPWUZ), that need to taken into account by the various stakeholders for a productive agricultural sector to re-emerge.”

The field research using structured questionnaires with farm workers on farms and a less structured focus group discussion with the GAPWUZ staff sought **firsthand what labourers and the Union highlight as their proper concerns.**

The main issues that the questionnaires wanted to find out were

- An understanding of what was happening to them in terms of wages, in kind payments, employment, labour problems and education issues
- What do they say is of importance to them.
- How did workers themselves view collective bargaining agreements, workers committees, and a variety of labour issues?
- An understanding of what they as workers felt about the Union.
- How aware they were of their rights.

After gathering the information and it was entered into the SPSS software for to statistical analysis. The analysis sought to explore the data in general terms and then to build a deeper understanding of the labour issues using various statistical tests. For example, how did the sample population perceive the significance of **workers committees? Did gender affect wages?**

The main intentions of the focus group with GAPWUZ staff and activists were

- To get their views on the range of topics that farm workers had been asked about with the intention of exploring them in more depth than was possible with the structured field questionnaires.

- To find out what they felt were the important issues for the Union and its members.

By combining the secondary research, the results of the statistical analysis and the outcomes of the focus group the intention was to establish the important dimensions for sound industrial labour relations in agriculture in the future.

## 6.2 Sampling

The situation regarding agriculture in Zimbabwe in 2004 is as extremely fluid as it is chaotic. As this dissertation was being written the police burnt down the homes of new settlers who had been previously been encouraged to lay claim to certain farms (*The Mail and Guardian newspaper*, 15th October, 2004), the Bishop of Harare on the 17th September 2004 used the ZANU PF militia to burn the homes of 40 farm workers on the farm government has given him (*Sokanele, Enough is enough*, 27th September 2004) and the government produced a scheme to put prisoners to work for the new farmers who want cheap labour ( *The Sunday Mail*, 26th September, 2004)

The fact that more than 350 questionnaires were successfully filled is remarkable because strangers asking questions is not a welcome concept in the eyes of many. The field researchers went into the principle commercial farming areas where the largest number of workers live that is Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West (North and South) Mashonaland Central and Manicaland.

All researchers were risking temporary incarceration and possible assault and it was the assistance of GAPWUZ officials that made the research possible at all. Without them the only research would have been with farm workers living in the urban or peri-urban areas. This would have made the sample distorted in relation to the majority of the farm workers population. In situations of possible danger the researchers started asking innocuous questions and terminated the interview as unhurriedly as possible. A number of encounters with war veterans took place but there were no incidents of serious harassment or assault.

### 6.3 Sample Size

The sample size decisions was made using the formulae

$$n = \frac{Npq}{d^2 (N-1) + pq} \cdot z^2$$

n = sample size

N = 320 000. (The population size being the number of farm workers employed at the start of “jambanja” in February 2000. Magaramombe, 2004)

q = .22 (Magaramombe (2004) reporting CFU figure of an estimated 70 000 employed in August 2003)

p = (1-q) = .78

d = .06 as the desired accuracy.

z = 1.96

Substituting the sample size of 183 would be adequate. For analysis 368 respondents data was entered after editing and discarding questionnaires that seemed dubious or were incomplete.

### 6.4 The Questionnaires

The questionnaire sought minimal information on family demographics but concentrated on labour issues and trade union matters. The interviewees included men and women, trade union members and non- members. The questionnaire is attached as Appendix III.

## **6.5 The Focus Group**

After running the questionnaire analysis and doing the secondary research relevant topics and probing questions were devised for the focus group with the Union. The group comprised six trade union officials including the Secretary General. Two farm workers, who were union activists, were included. One was from a commercial farm and the other was chairperson of a 400 strong labour force in an agric-business. The focus group questions are attached as Appendix IV

## **6.6 Some Problems**

The context in which the questionnaires were completed had a bearing on the research and contributed to its limitations. One researcher's report reads "We also faced major obstacles in that we were denied the chance to interview farm workers by their employers. Some of the farmers blankly told us that they do not want to see some GAPWUZ workers because they influence their workers. So in most areas the interviews were not successful and at one farm, Hoplands the interviewees dispersed from us when others told them that the Chairman (of ZANU PF) was coming. At Inter-Agric the Manager, Mr.Madzinga refused to give us permission to interview the workers upon the reason that he needed to inform the ZANU PF structures within his farm such that we carry our interviews during their presence. In some A2 farms in Sommsset and Imire in Wedza the war vets threatened us." (Nyaude, 2004) War veterans held another group of researchers working in Mashonaland West South for a number of hours.

There must have been a built in bias in the research that it was impossible, in the environment, to work in a scientifically randomized manner. Whether the effect is negligible or not will only be known when other research programs run in a climate of real law and order.

A member of the Central Intelligence Organization tried to come into the focus group meeting. Fortunately, the man left presumably thinking that a meeting on

farm worker issues would be of little consequence. If he had stayed fear would have materially affected participants' contributions to the research project.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **RESULTS**

#### **A. From Field Questionnaire**

##### **7.1 Some general matters**

The first two tables give an analysis of the areas where the respondents were from and the kind of farms that they were on. *Table 7.1* illustrates that respondents were from the traditional farming areas. In *Table 7.2* the “other” was agro-industrial enterprises and for the purposes of this dissertation it was important that respondents were from A1, A2, white commercial farms and agro-industrial farms.

*Table 7.1*

District Analysis

		Frequency
Valid	Mashonaland East	112
	Mashonaland South	1
	Mashonaland West North	70
	Mashonaland West South	26
	Mashonaland Central	105
	Manicaland/	
	Makoni	54
	Total	368



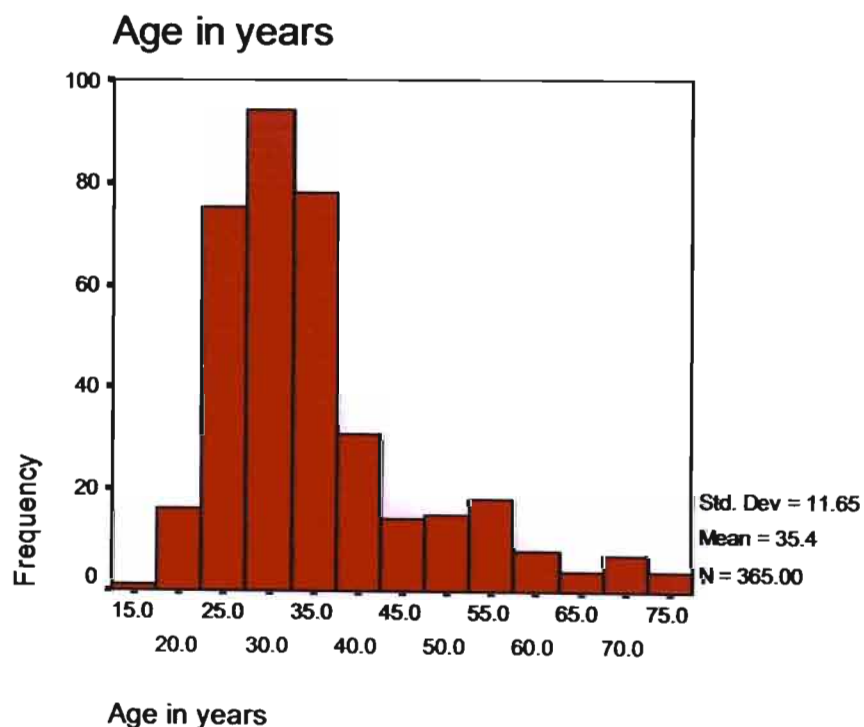
Table 7.2 Kind of farm Analysis

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	A1	23	6.2
	A2	156	42.3
	White commercial	145	39.3
	Other	11	3.0
	999	17	4.9
	Total	353	95.7
Missing	System	16	4.3
Total		368	100.0

(Note: A1 farms are small, usually one family per farm. A2 farms replace the white commercial farms but their size is usually less than the white farms. See Appendix I for more detail)

The ages of respondents was categorized because analyses of labour issues in relation to age group form part of this research.

Graph 7.1 Age Categories of respondents



The 2003 research by L. Sachikonye reported a change in the working status of labourers away from permanent employment into the non-permanent categories as a result of *jambanja*. This research discovered that that trend has changed and the working status in relation to the various farm settings is now towards permanent status and this is particularly the case on the A2 farms. The below *Tables 7.3* and *7.4* and the *Graphs 7.2* and *7.3* reflect the trends analysis.

*Table 7.3* Work Status 2003 \* Kind of farm Crosstabulation

Count		Kind of farm					Total
		A1	A2	White commercial	Other	999	
Work Status 2003	permanent	13	64	84	6	0	167
	contract	3	56	41	3	2	105
	seasonal	5	14	5	1	0	25
	temporary	1	10	11	1	6	29
	unemployed	1	11	3	0	10	25
	999	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total		23	156	144	11	18	352

*Graph 7.2* Employment status 2003 and Kind of farm

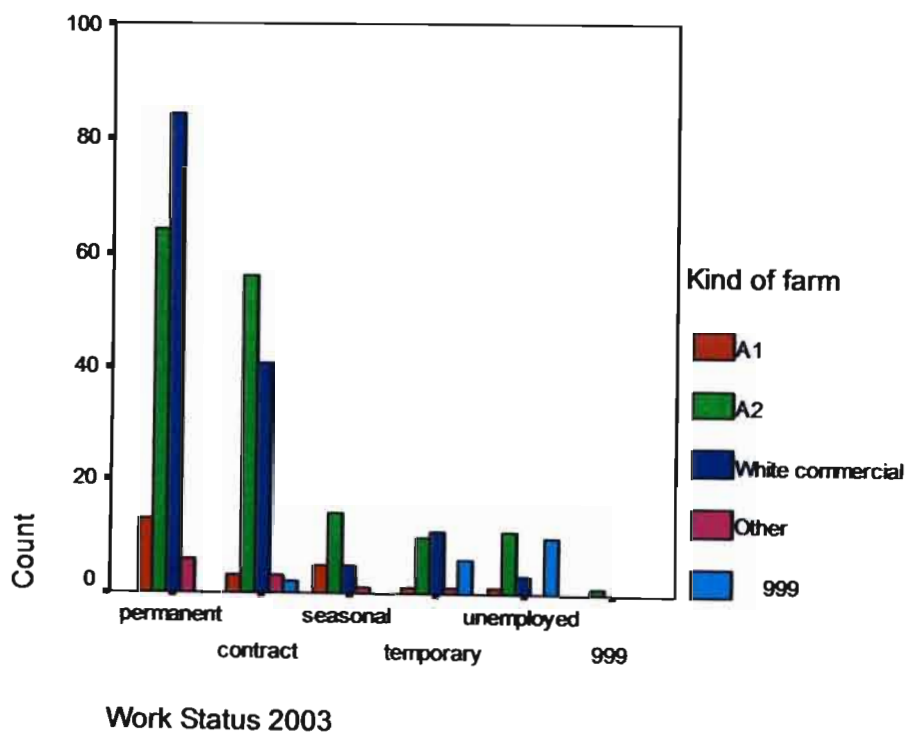
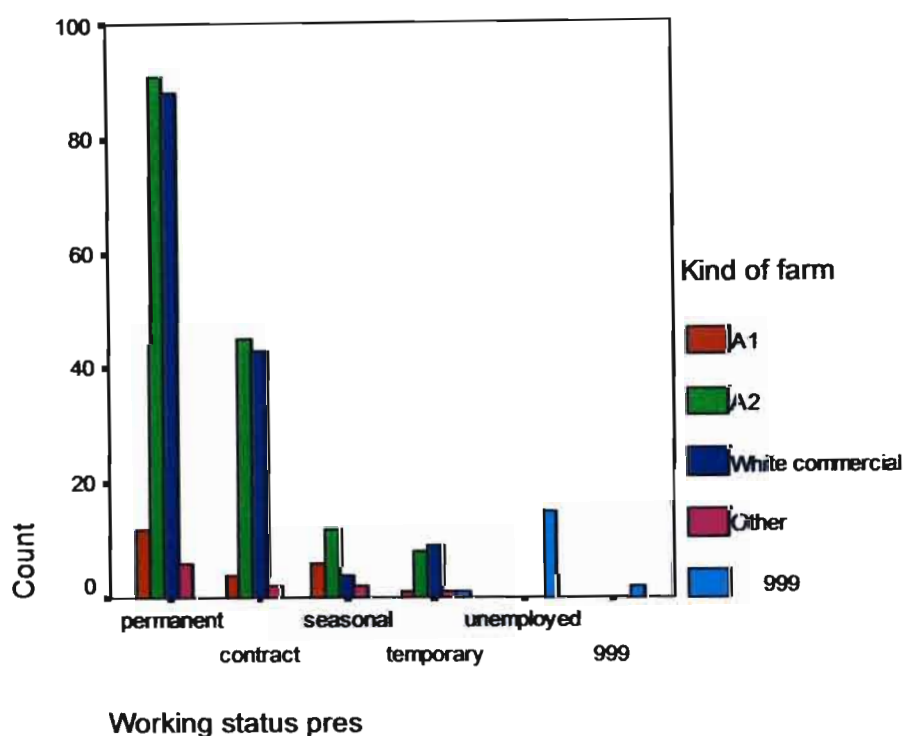


Table 7.4 Working status present and Kind of farm Crosstabulation

Count		Kind of farm					Total
		A1	A2	White commercial	Other	999	
Working status pres	permanent	12	91	88	6	0	197
	contract	4	45	43	2	0	94
	seasonal	6	12	4	2	0	24
	temporary	1	8	9	1	1	20
	unemployed	0	0	0	0	15	15
	999	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total		23	156	144	11	18	352

Graph 7.3 Employment status present and Kind of farm

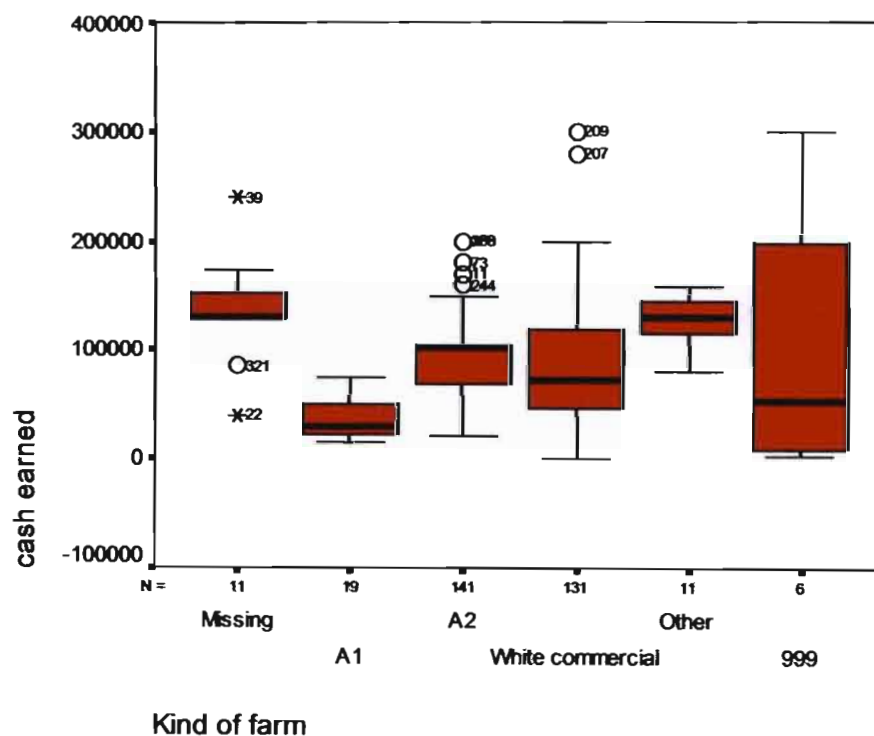


Note: this research found an encouraging trend towards permanent employment and it would have been good to know the numbers involved but regretfully the attempt to get reliable figures on the actual numbers employed was not possible because new farmers are not (yet) filling in NEC papers that collect this data.

## 7.2 Exploring the data in relation to earnings

For the following analyses the respondents were asked “How much money do you bring into your home every month?” This sought to capture information from those do piecework. By including the word “every” the aim was get a measure of wages earned. The assumption that respondents are giving the monthly wage earning level in answering this question is not unreasonable.

Graph 7.4 Earnings analyses



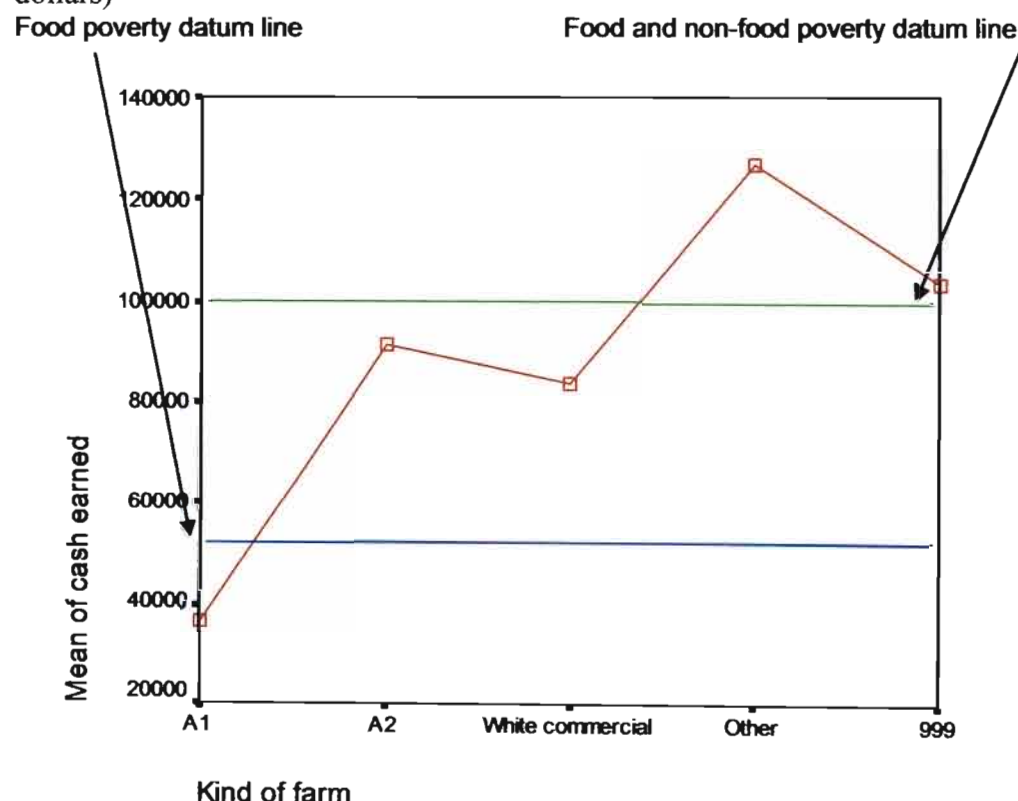
The currency on the vertical axis is Zimbabwe dollars. At the time the research was carried out the Zimbabwe dollar was trading at 5300: 1 US\$ and 850:1 Rand. A farm worker on A1 was therefore getting around US\$7.60 p month and US\$24.50 mean on agri-business industrial farm settings

Notice that the quartile range box for A2 is narrower than for white commercial. This is indicative of the practice of black farmers to pay one wage no matter what an employee may do. The higher wages paid in “other” is what one would expect from agri-businesses.

The revealed mean wages on A1 farms are Z\$37,842 a month (US\$7.14), A2 mean wages are Z\$91,707 (US\$17.30), white commercial Z\$ 83,935 (US\$15.84) and other Z\$126,818 (US\$23.93). The results were affected slightly by a distortion of the mean from A2 farms caused by four extreme values and a wrong value of \$2 in white commercial. If these extreme values are removed the means are A2 Z\$89,300 (US\$16.84) and white commercial Z\$84,600 (US\$15.96).

There are no recent figures for the national poverty datum line but the Food Poverty Line in 1995/6 was Z\$124 per person and the rural Poverty Datum Line (food and nonfood expenditures) was Z\$242.88 per person. (Central Statistical Office, 1998). If 1995 equals 100, in July 2004 the Consumer Price Index is 41,319. (The Institute of Chartered Accountants of Zimbabwe, 2004). Therefore, the present Poverty Datum Line is in the region of Z\$100,355 per person ( shown as upper horizontal line) and the Food Poverty Line is around Z\$51,235 per person (lower horizontal line) in *Table 7.5* below.

*Graph 7.5* Mean cash, farm, & poverty lines (Vertical axis is in Zimbabwe dollars)



For farm workers in A1 settings are not earning enough to feed themselves let alone their families because the analysis of their mean wages is around Z\$13,500 below the food poverty datum line. Farm workers who are now in the A1 small-scale resettlement areas are facing extreme poverty as only a very few have been able to access land. (*Table 2.4*, p.18) Moreover, even though A2 and white commercial means are better off, the fact is that the mean quantity of the cash brought into worker homes cannot address the food demands of the home if there is more than one mouth to feed.

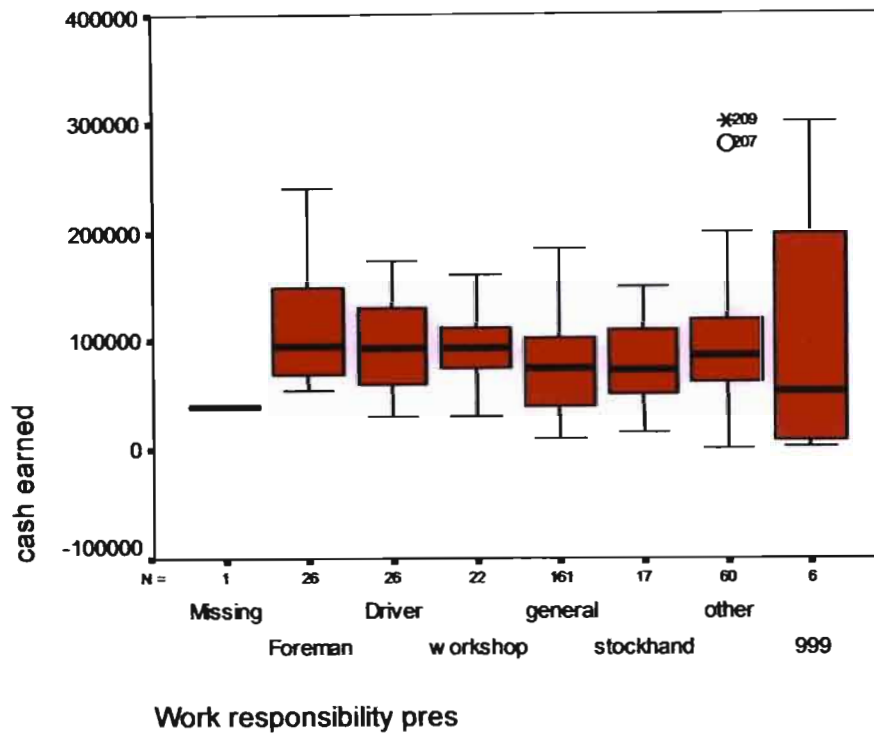
The result of a T test testing the null hypothesis that the mean cash earned by workers on A2 and other and also white commercial and other both rejected the null hypothesis with the two tailed significance was .002 and .007 respectively. Agro-industrial wages are therefore significantly higher than those in general agriculture.

The earnings received in relation to the different categories of responsibility (*Graph 7.6*) were compared with the NEC (2004) minimum from the CBA (*Table 7.5*).

*Table 7.5 Responsibility mean cash vs. CBA minimum wage*

Work responsibility	Statistical Mean	CBA minimum wage
Foreman	\$115,269.23	\$114,639
Driver	\$96,473.08	\$114,639
Workshop	\$93,227.27	\$132,670
General	\$79,375.16	\$72,800
Stockhand	\$75,764.71	\$77,249

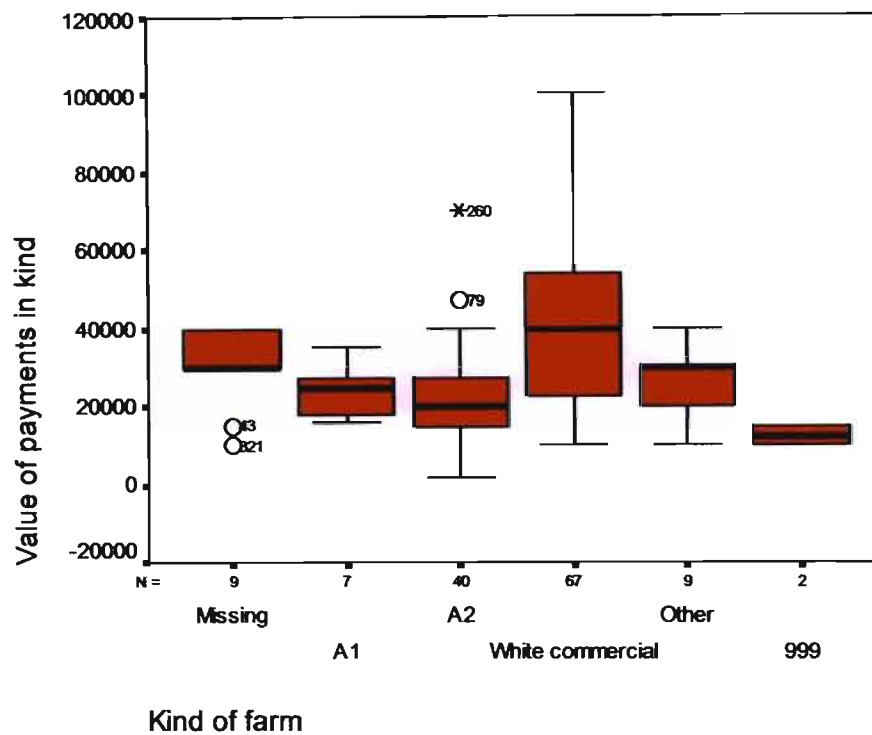
In terms of the CBA the workshop labourers are the most underpaid followed by the drivers and only 'general' and 'foreman' categories are on average paid above the minimum.



Graph 7.6 Cash earned in various labour categories

Payments in kind are not allowed under the CBA but the practice is quite widespread and these were analyzed to get an indication of the scale of the practice. While the mean cash paid is higher on A2 farms compared to white commercial farms the mean value of the in kind payments on the latter is double at \$40 000. In all cases the size of these extra payments do not significantly change the previously made point of poverty level wages.

*Graphs 7.7* Payments in kind analyses in relation to kind of farm



Analysis was run to test the relationship between cash brought home monthly and participation or not in strike action. *Graph 7.8* and the accompanying t test tables are shown below and show the results of that analysis.



Graph 7.8 Mean earnings in relation to participation in strikes

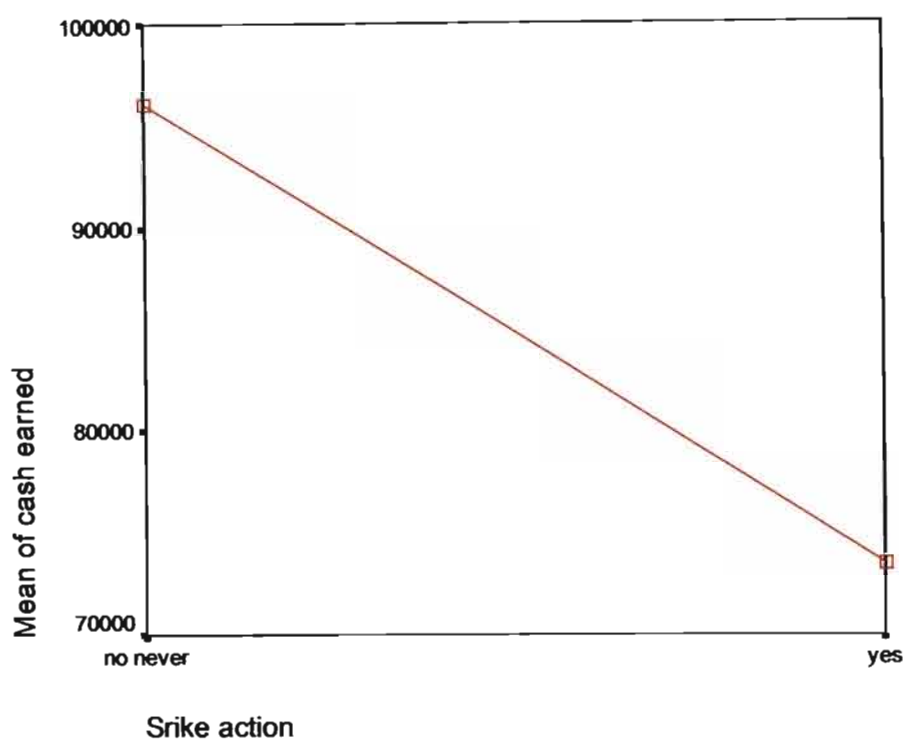


Table 7.6 Group Statistics Analysis

	Strike action	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
cash earned	no never	202	96142.09	46664.341	3283.292
	yes	110	73560.00	46819.543	4464.068

Table 7.7 T Test Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances							
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
cash earned	Equal variances assumed	.016	.898	4.079	310	.000	5536.031	11689.140	33475.039
	Equal variances not assumed			4.075	223.376	.000	5541.472	11661.839	33502.340

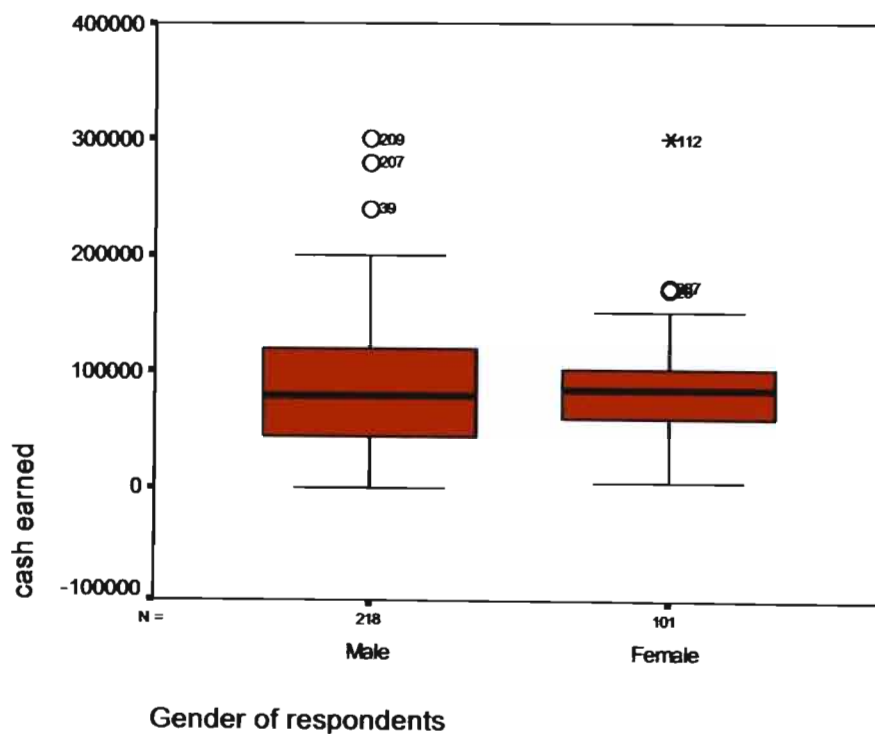
The null hypothesis that the mean cash brought home by those who participate in strikes and those that do not are equal is rejected. Those who do not withdraw their labour earn more. Labour is better off not striking but as previously shown they remain with wages that are basically poverty level or less.

This analysis points to a seriously disempowered and disadvantaged labour force and attention is drawn to the poor constitutional and legislative protections of labour rights previously pointed out in chapter three.

### 7.3 Gender

When gender and earnings are analyzed the mean earnings are not that different as shown in *Graph 7.9* while the means are comparable, the interquartile range is far narrower for women.

*Graph 7.9* Earnings and gender



The reason for the narrowness of the interquartile range for female workers is shown below in *Table 7.8* where there is a heavy concentration of women in the general worker category.

*Table 7.8* Work responsibility & Gender of respondents Crosstabulation

Count

		Gender of respondents		Total
		Male	Female	
Work responsibility present	Foreman	27	0	27
	Driver	30	0	30
	workshop	21	4	25
	general	97	83	180
	stockhand	16	2	18
	other	47	19	66
Total		238	108	346

The concentration on the category 'general' for women is marked. This gender issue is further compounded by the analysis in *Tables 7.9* (below). The percentage of women with permanent status is 40% while for men it is 61%.

*Table 7.9* Working status present \* Gender of respondents Crosstabulation

Count

		Gender of respondents		Total
		Male	Female	
Working status present	permanent	155	47	202
	contract	59	40	99
	seasonal	15	9	24
	temporary	9	11	20
	unemployed	14	7	21
	999	0	2	2
Total		252	116	368

A chi square test to test the null hypothesis that there is no difference in how a male worker resolves a labour problem compared to a female worker gave an analysis that how a labour dispute is solved is independent of gender (*Table 7.13*)

*Table 7.13* Chi-Square Tests of dispute resolution vs. gender

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.259(a)	8	.730
Likelihood Ratio	5.859	8	.663
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.679	1	.102
N of Valid Cases	261		

a 7 cells (38.9%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .30.

The critical value for chi square at 8df and .05 significance is 15.51 which is greater than 5.259 (*Table 7.13*) therefore the null hypothesis is not rejected and how a labour dispute is resolved is independent of gender.

The approach to workers committees in terms of electing representatives was subjected to analysis on the basis of gender (*Table 7.14*) to see if a labourer's participation or not in the election of worker committee members is dependent on the gender of the labourer.

*Table 7.14* Did you participate in elections \* Gender of respondents

Count

		Gender of respondents		Total
		Male	Female	
Did you participate in elections	no	38	30	68
	yes	177	72	249
Total		215	102	317

*Table 7.11* Reason for not joining GAPWUZ \* Gender of respondents

Count

		Gender of respondents		Total
		Male	Female	
Reason for not joining GAPWUZ	union dues too high	6	3	9
	the union is ineffective	8	4	12
	co-worker intimidation	3	0	3
	employer intimidation	3	8	11
	intimidation from other sources	3	4	7
	never heard of it	18	5	23
	member of another union	2	1	3
	don't know	27	13	40
	Total	70	38	108

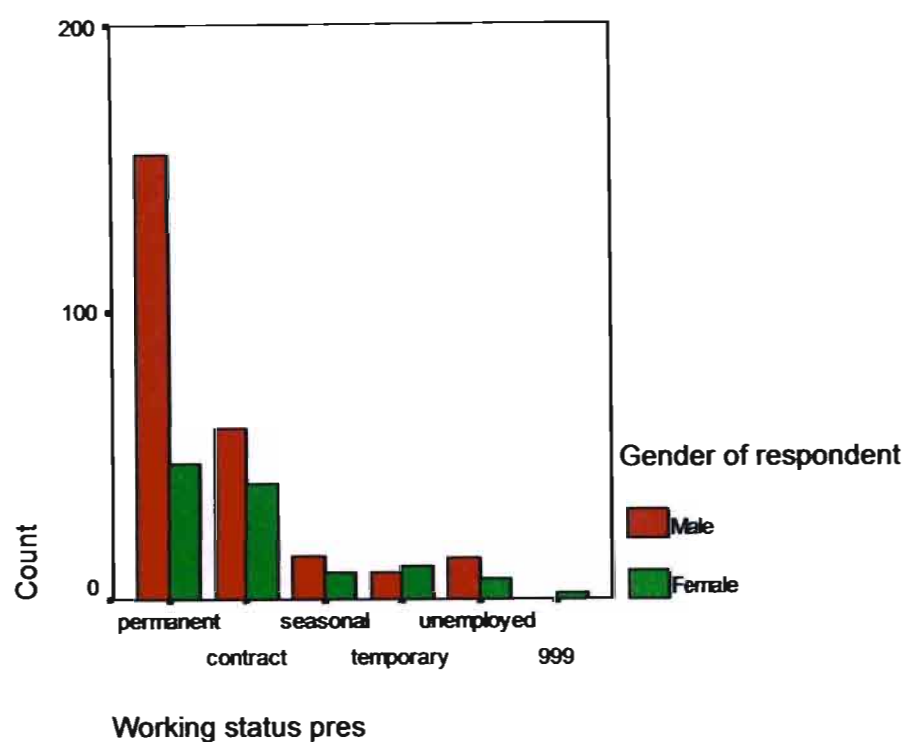
Enquiry was made into whether how a labour dispute is settled is dependent on gender because that could help to understand an aspect of industrial relations in relation to the gender composition of the work force.

*Table 7.12* Resolution of labour dispute issues and gender

Count

		Gender of respondents		Total
		Male	Female	
Resolution procedures	The bosses	18	12	30
	Foreman	11	7	18
	Workers committee	99	39	138
	Zanu chairman	2	2	4
	GAPWUZ	32	12	44
	Self presentation	12	5	17
	Min of Labour	1	0	1
	ZFTU	1	0	1
	Disiplinary committee	7	1	8
	Total	183	78	261

Graph 7.10 Working status and gender



When the issue and gender and Union membership is analyzed (*Table 7.11*) the proportion of ‘employer intimidation’ keeping women out of the Union is highlighted and one third of the reasons why women do not join the Union are from some form of intimidation. The importance of this to the research question is that it highlights a concern that women are kept in menial mind numbing non-permanent jobs and then imitimidated from participating in the movement that could them a better deal.

*Table 7.10* Chi-Square Tests of working status and gender

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.876(a)	5	.001
Likelihood Ratio	19.931	5	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.538	1	.033
N of Valid Cases	368		

a 2 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .63.

The null hypothesis that working status is independent of gender is rejected. Whether a person is in a permanent job or one of the categories of non-permanent worker is directly influenced by gender. Since gender also affects the kind of work a person does for management this must mean that the only incentive for a woman farm worker to work is the money. She has little variety and prospects of promotion compared to her male counter parts. These must also be a missing of latent skills affecting productivity. This gender issue is further compounded by the research results below in *Graph 7.10* which indicate that she also has less job security in that the kind of employment category a female worker is in tends to be one of the non-permanent categories.

*Table 7.15* Chi-Square Tests participation in election vs. gender

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.656(b)	1	.017		
Continuity Correction(a)	4.981	1	.026		
Likelihood Ratio	5.456	1	.020		
Fisher's Exact Test				.020	.014
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.638	1	.018		
N of Valid Cases	317				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 21.88.

If the null hypothesis is that there is no difference in participation in elections on the basis of gender the critical chi square value is 3.84 for 1 df and .05 significance. Therefore at 5.656 (*Table 7.15*) the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternative hypothesis accepted that a labourers participation or not in the election of worker committee members is dependent on the gender of the labourer. The Union, in particular, will need to work with women to make them aware of the importance of the workers committee especially in the light of this research's findings (particularly pages 66 and following) and their relatively poor working conditions compared to men previously highlighted (pages 52 – 54).

(Note: other analyses on gender occur later in relation to other issues)

#### **7.4 Farm workers and GAPWUZ**

Access to farms by researchers was often in the company of GAPWUZ due to the safety issue. The larger number of respondents being in the Union is indicative of officials going to areas where they are known.



*Table 7.16* Member of GAPWUZ

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	no	132	35.8
	yes	231	62.6
	Total	363	98.4
	System	5	.5
Total		368	100.0

The questionnaires sought to find out how labour disputes were resolved on the farms. In analysing the approach that farm workers have to solving labour problems one would expect that if the Union has made workers aware of their rights that that would affect how disputes are resolved. A null hypothesis to test would be that at farm level the dispute resolution procedures are the same for unionists and non-union members.

*Table 7.17* Resolution of labour dispute issues and membership of GAPWUZ

Count

		Member of GAPWUZ		Total
		no	yes	
Resolution proceedures	The bosses	18	12	30
	Foreman	6	12	18
	Workers committee	47	88	135
	Zanu chairman	3	1	4
	GAPWUZ	17	27	44
	Self presentation	4	12	16
	Min of Labour	1	0	1
	ZFTU	0	1	1
	Disciplinary commitee	0	8	8
Total		96	161	257

*Table 7.18* Chi-Square Tests Resolution of Labour disputes vs. membership of union

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.611(a)	8	.024
Likelihood Ratio	20.666	8	.008
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.473	1	.011
N of Valid Cases	257		

a. 7 cells (38.9%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .37.

If the null hypothesis is that there is no difference between how a member of the Union and a non-member resolves labour problems the critical value of chi at 8df and .05 significance 15.51. Therefore, at farm level how a dispute is solved is dependent of membership or otherwise of the union. On *Table 7.17* there is at shop floor level cognizance of the union and workers committees by its members. We may also conclude from *Table 7.17* that a member of the union is less likely to leave the boss to solve a labour dispute. The importance for this dissertation is that the traditional paternalistic system of labour management will not work in a future situation of a strong union. Matters will not be left to either bosses or foremen to be resolved and therefore industrial relations will be different.

The union had a massive number of member losses occurred in the year 2000 (see page 32). The Union has steadily rebuilt itself and by asking respondents how long they have been members the intention was to establish if there was a trend or not. *Table 7.19* shows virtually 50% joined in the last year.

*Table 7.19* Length of time as a member of the Union

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	less than six months	45	12.2	19.8	19.8
	six months - one year	54	14.7	23.8	43.6
	one - two years	43	11.7	18.9	62.6
	two - three years	12	3.3	5.3	67.8
	more than three years	73	19.8	32.2	100.0
	Total	227	61.7	100.0	
Missing	999	80	21.7		
	System	61	16.6		
	Total	141	38.3		
Total		368	100.0		

The respondents were asked to give an estimation of the health of the union. Mostly only members responded and the positive estimation shown below in *Table 7.20* and *7.21* are good indicators of why the union continues to attract members.

*Table 7.20* Health of GAPWUZ

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very healthy	44	11.9	18.7	18.7
	healthy	135	36.6	57.4	76.2
	neither healthy or unhealthy	47	12.7	20.0	96.2
	unhealthy	7	1.9	3.0	99.1
	very unhealthy	2	.5	.9	100.0
	Total	235	63.7	100.0	
Missing	999	72	19.5		
	System	62	16.8		
	Total	134	36.3		
Total		369	100.0		

*Table 7.21* Reason for joining the union

Statistics

	Valid
Other	16
Good reputation of the union	96
Pressure from other workers	16
Union is good for us workers	183

This positive endorsement together with recent membership growth points continuing growth for the union and is further evidence that the dynamics of industrial relations in agriculture will shift to greater balance in the management/labour interface.

### 7.5 Workers committees

Introduced by government the workers committees have been around for over twenty years. The analysis of respondent's views on the workers committees and various issues has been an important component of the research's findings. The estimation of the effectiveness of the committees was the starting point:

*Table 7.22* Effectiveness of workers committees

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	simply useless	67	18.2	19.6	19.6
	not effective	66	17.9	19.3	38.9
	reasonably effective	122	33.2	35.7	74.6
	very effective	86	23.4	25.1	99.7
	Total	342	92.9	100.0	
	Missing	26	7.1		
Total		368	100.0		

The respondents were asked whether they actually had certain basic amenities and rights. These were cross tabulated with their estimation of the effectiveness of the workers committee to see if indeed there was a relationship. This extensive analysis runs from *Table 7.23* to 7.29 and *Graph 7.11* to 7.17. (It is recommended that the reader goes through the following analyses to the end of *Graph 7.17* because the individual findings are more powerful when put together with the others).

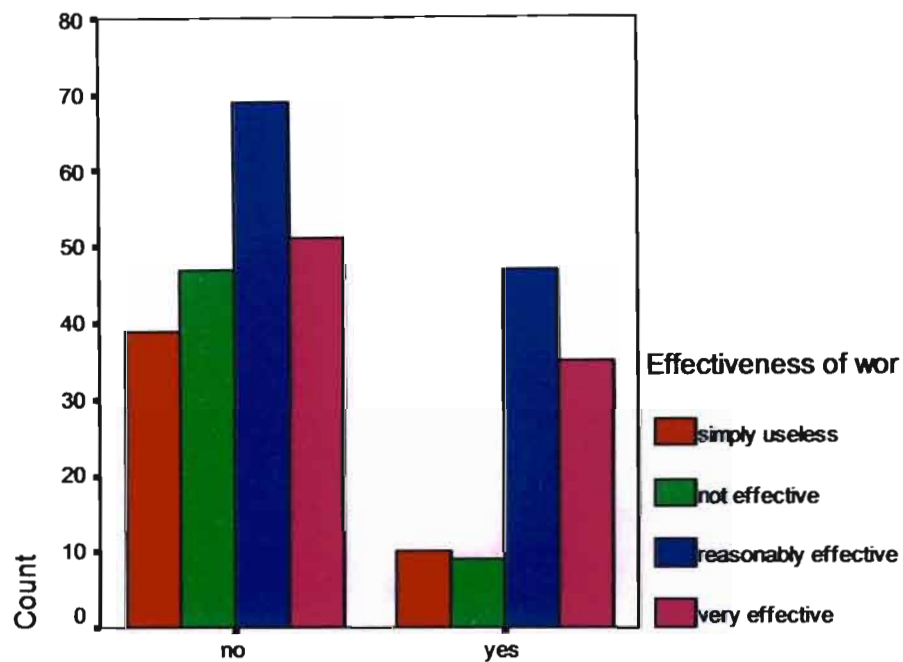
The importance of these findings lies in the fact that workers committees successfully work to get a better deal for labour. Effective committees result in better accommodation, clean water, satisfactory employer/employee relations and proper dispute resolution. This finding has important implications for the shape of industrial relations in the future. For the Union there is an intervention needed to get women workers involved so that they can challenge at local level the terms and conditions and lack of prospects under which they work.

*Table 7.23* Access to good health care facilities \* Effectiveness of workers committee crosstabulation

Count

		Effectiveness of workers committee				Total
		simply useless	not effective	reasonably effective	very effective	
Access to good health care facilities	no	39	47	69	51	206
	yes	10	9	47	35	101
Total		49	56	116	86	307

Graph 7.11 Effectiveness of the workers committee and access to good health care facilities



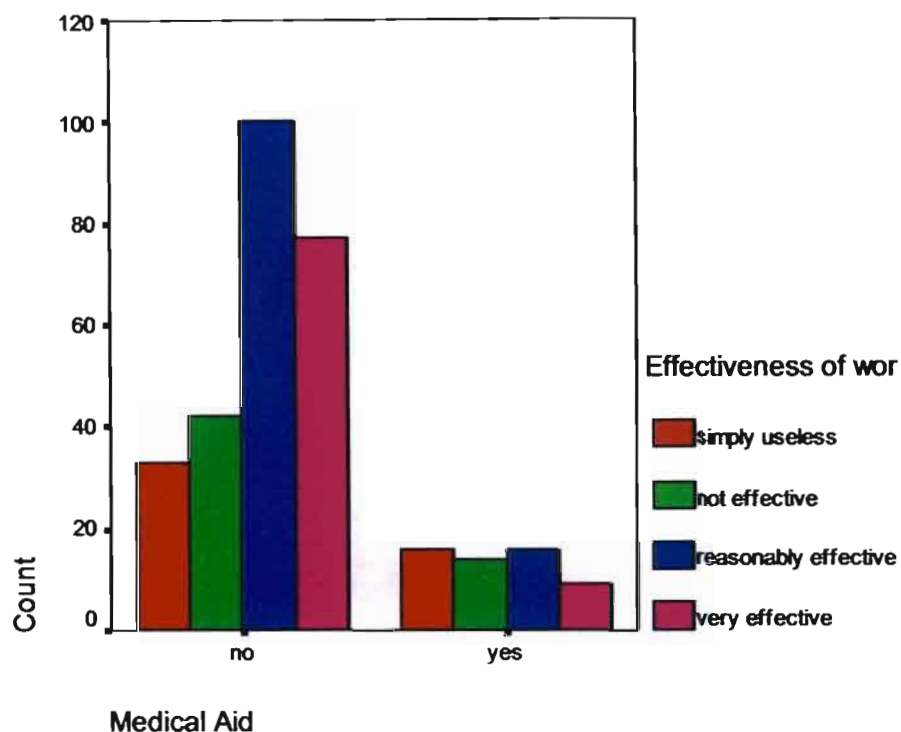
Access to good health care facilities

There is an interesting positive estimation of effectiveness (58%) even though good health care is unavailable. This may indicate a perception that that is outside of the responsibilities of the management.

Table 7.24 Medical Aid \* Effectiveness of workers committee  
Crosstab

		Effectiveness of workers committee				Total
		simply useless	not effective	reasonably effective	very effective	
Medical Aid	no	33	42	100	77	252
	yes	16	14	16	9	55
Total		49	56	116	86	307

Graph 7.12 Effectiveness of the workers committee and access to medical aid cover

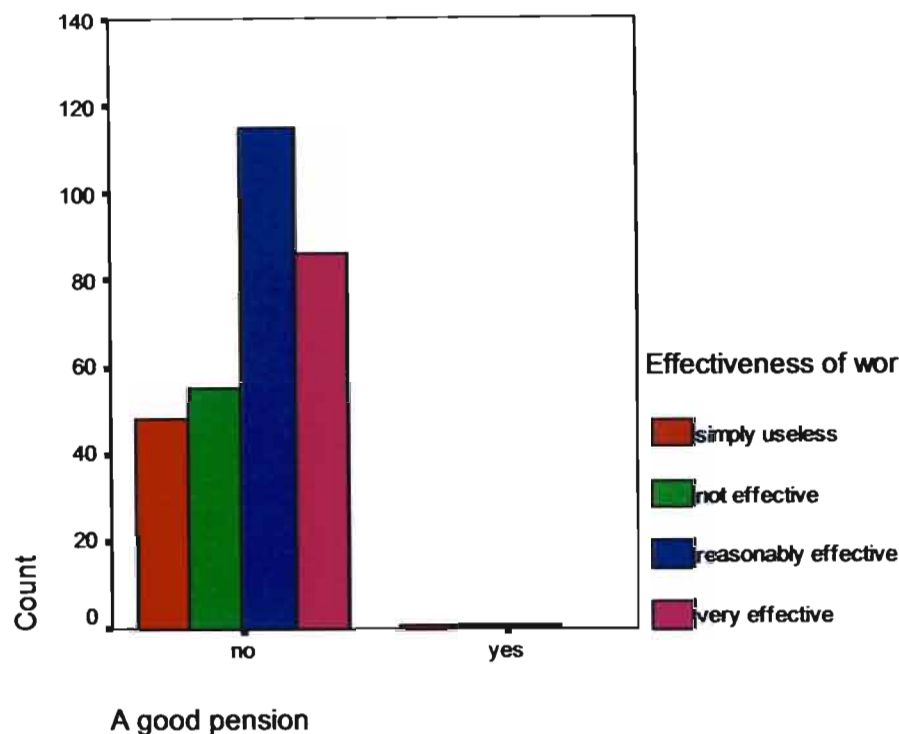


If the response was 'Yes' to medical aid it is independent of the estimation of committee effectiveness by the worker. 55% of respondents who thought negatively of committees enjoyed medical aid. 70% of 'No' had a positive view pointing to an issue of low concern about medical aid to workers. If there is no access to good health care facilities medical aid is presumably not an issue.

Table 7.25 A good pension \* Effectiveness of workers committee  
Crosstabulation

		Effectiveness of workers committee				Total
		simply useless	not effective	reasonably effective	very effective	
A good pension	no	48	55	115	86	304
	yes	1	1	1	0	3
Total		49	56	116	86	307

Graph 7.13 Effectiveness of the workers committee and a good pension



In reading the above graph consideration should be made of the previously cited poor wage earnings of workers. If they cannot earn a good wage they are unlikely to be the recipients of a good pension. The Rukuni Commission expressed concern about retirement for farm workers and these results reflect that the penury a worker has while he works carries on into old age.

The significance of these first three analyses is the positive assessment of workers committees even though issues that would affect their welfare have not been addressed. But the perhaps more pressing issues of clean water and acceptable accommodation, which are also welfare issues, gave some interesting results as shown below.

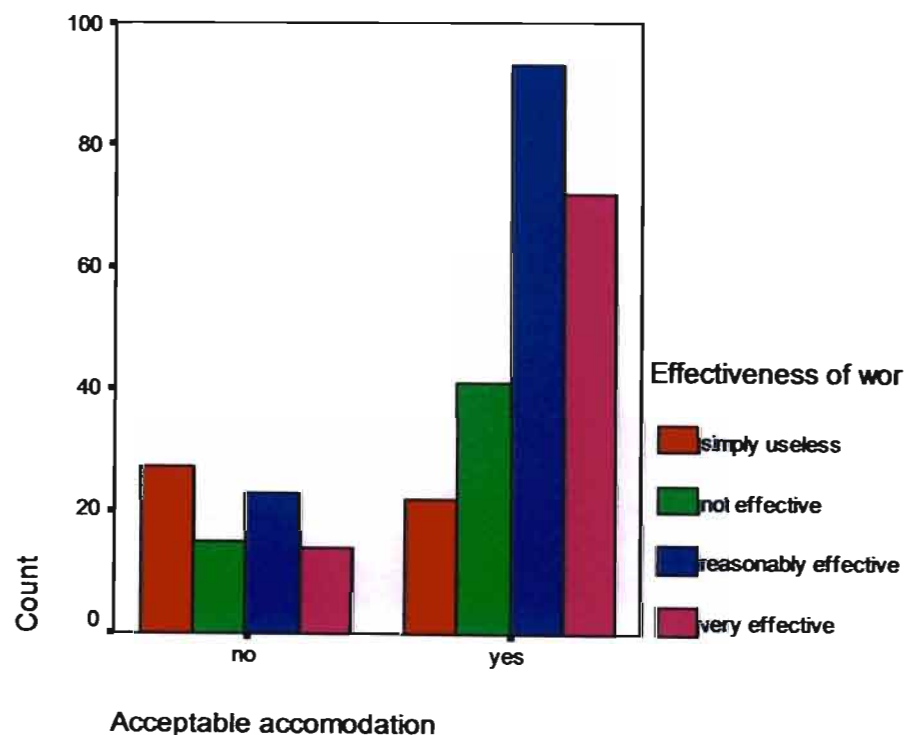


*Table 7.26* Acceptable accomodation \* Effectiveness of workers committee  
Crosstabulation

Count

		Effectiveness of workers committee				Total
		simply useless	not effective	reasonably effective	very effective	
Acceptable accommodation	no	27	15	23	14	79
	yes	22	41	93	72	228
Total		49	56	116	86	307

*Graph 7.14* Effectiveness of the workers committees and having acceptable accommodation



There is a strong link between having acceptable accommodation and an effective workers committee since 72% of respondents answering positively about the committees and having acceptable accommodation. In the eyes of the workers they have that accommodation because of the workers committee.

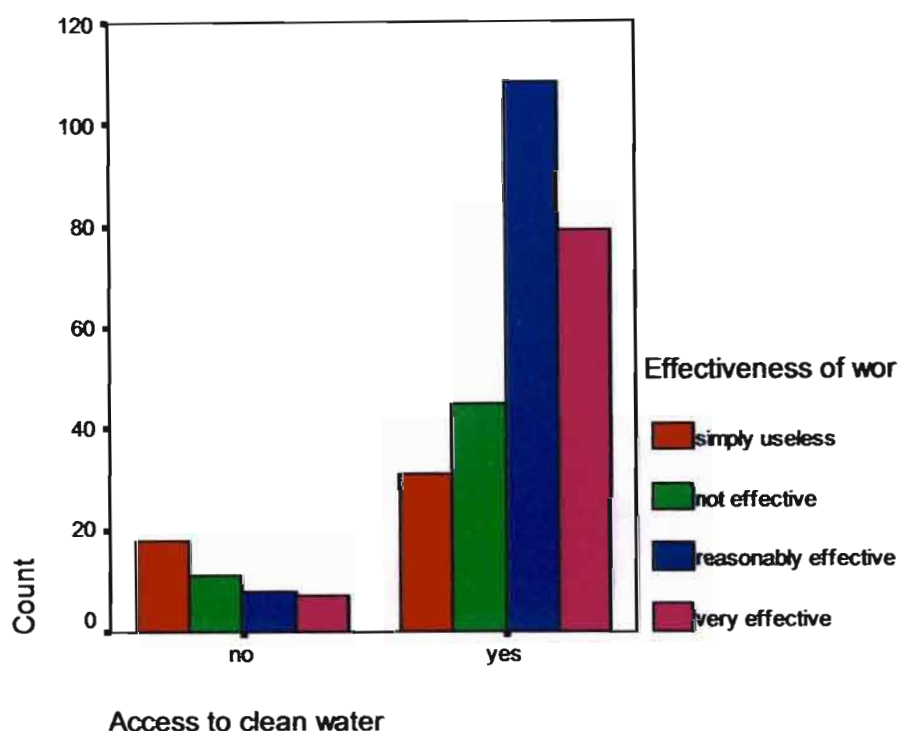
Table 7.27 Access to clean water \* Effectiveness of workers committee

Crosstab

Count

		Effectiveness of workers committee				Total
		simply useless	not effective	reasonably effective	very effective	
Access to clean water	no	18	11	8	7	44
	yes	31	45	108	79	263
Total		49	56	116	86	307

Graph 7.15 Effectiveness of the workers committee and access to clean water



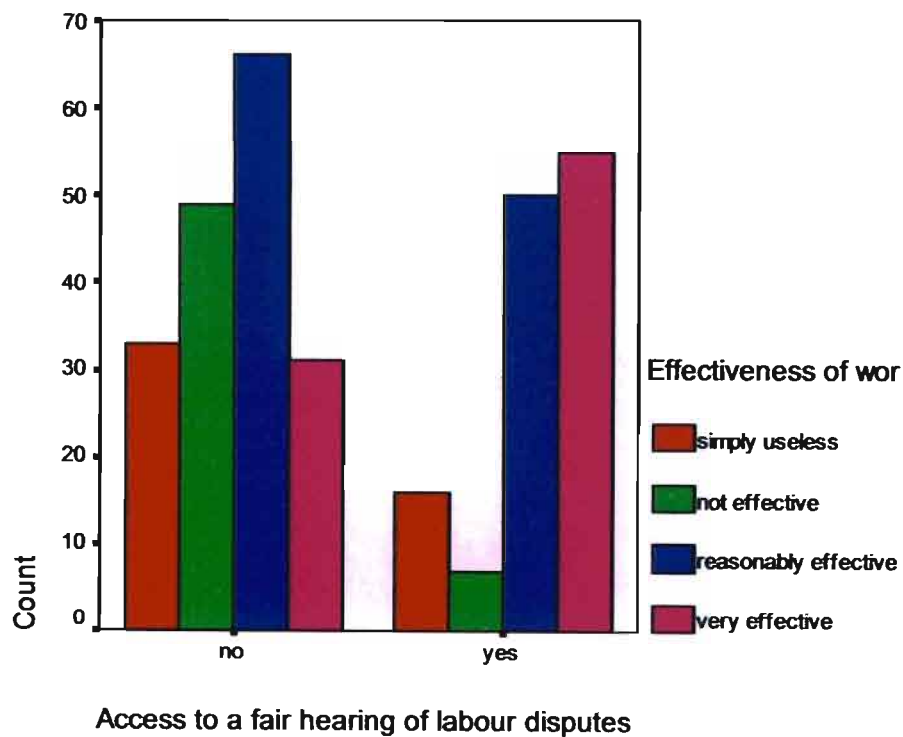
As with acceptable accommodation where workers have clean water there is a high estimation of the effectiveness of the committees and when read together must mean that workers committees do achieve a better deal for labourers. The slope of the graph for those who had no clean water gives a sense of frustration with weakness in committees. Notice that only in both 'no access to acceptable

accommodation'(Table 7.26) and 'no clean water' (Table7.27) that 'simply useless' is the greater number frequency.

*Table 7.28 Access to a fair hearing of labour disputes \* Effectiveness of workers committee crosstabulation*  
Count

		Effectiveness of workers committee				Total
		simply useless	not effective	reasonably effective	very effective	
Access to a fair hearing of labour disputes	no	33	49	66	31	179
	yes	16	7	50	55	128
Total		49	56	116	86	307

*Graph 7.16 Effectiveness of workers committees and Access to a fair hearing of labour disputes*



In the above table and graph a high proportion of those who had no access to fair hearings of disputes 46% ranked the committee simply useless or not effective. In contrast 83% of those who had access to a fair hearing rated the committee

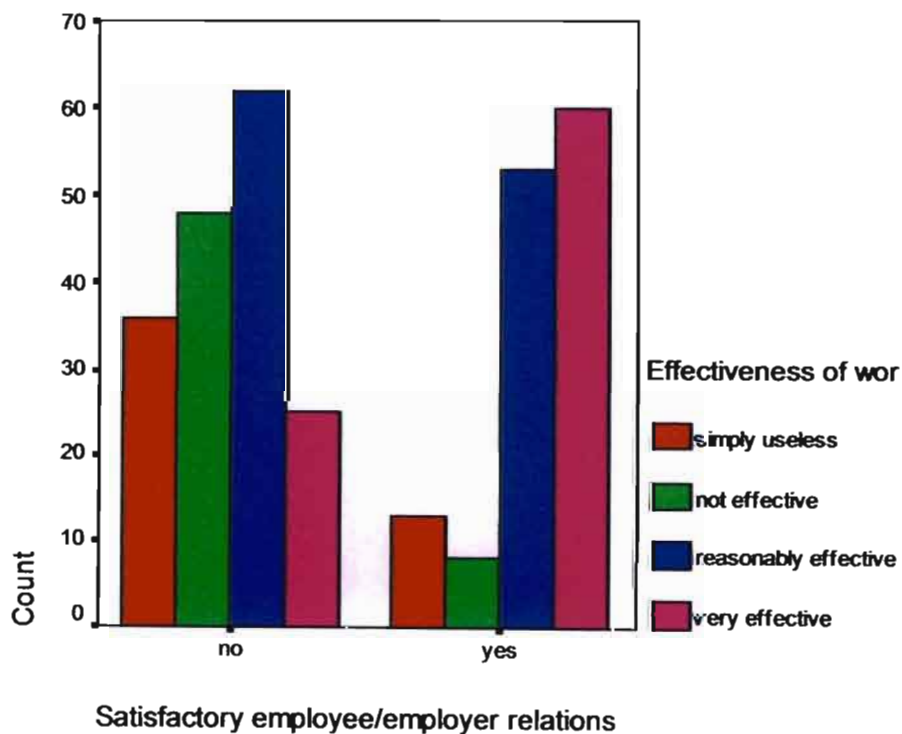
positively. These are indicators that workers consider that workers committees can or should positively facilitate a fair hearing of labour disputes.

*Table 7.29* Satisfactory employee/employer relations \* Effectiveness of workers committee crosstabulation

Count

		Effectiveness of workers committee				Total
		simply useless	not effective	reasonably effective	very effective	
Satisfactory employee/employer relations	no	36	48	62	25	171
	yes	13	8	53	60	134
Total		49	56	115	85	305

*Graph 7.17* Effectiveness of the workers committee and having satisfactory employer/employee relations



In last two analyses good industrial relations based on worker committees is potentially present even if it not entirely clear yet. The importance of these results is that they demonstrate the emergence of an effective model for influencing labour welfare and industrial relations. The system of domestic government where the farmer rules paternalistically will transform as the Union's power and influence grows. The analysis points to some who are finding that workers committees can be positive for labour relations. Emerging commercial agriculture could well further perfect this tool by industrial relations training for managers/owners.

## 7.6 Where to concentrate the Unions efforts

The respondents were asked to scale the importance of specific interventions by the Union. These were then subjected to t tests to test the null hypothesis that gender is immaterial in deciding what is the importance of the interventions. The t test was also run looking at the effect of age in evaluating the importance of those actions.

*Table 7.30* Ranked importance of various possible interventions by the Union vs Gender

### Group Statistics

	Gender of respondents	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Collective bargaining agreements	Male	223	8.69	2.170	.145
	Female	96	7.60	2.528	.258
In dispute resolutions	Male	224	8.68	1.706	.114
	Female	98	8.53	1.730	.175
Protecting women and children	Male	223	8.59	1.910	.128
	Female	97	8.26	1.970	.200
Promoting rights of workers	Male	223	9.04	1.448	.097
	Female	98	8.94	1.406	.142
Conscientising public	Male	224	8.66	1.962	.131
	Female	98	7.86	2.279	.230

Table 7.31 T Test of Ranked importance of various possible interventions by the Union vs Gender

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances				
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Collective bargaining agreements	Equal variances assumed	15.789	.000	3.898	317	.000
	Equal variances not assumed			3.669	158.056	.000
In dispute resolutions	Equal variances assumed	.028	.867	.713	320	.476
	Equal variances not assumed			.709	182.660	.479
Protecting women and children	Equal variances assumed	.552	.458	1.406	318	.161
	Equal variances not assumed			1.389	177.726	.167
Promoting rights of workers	Equal variances assumed	.045	.832	.610	319	.542
	Equal variances not assumed			.617	190.494	.538
Conscientising public	Equal variances assumed	3.484	.063	3.216	320	.001
	Equal variances not assumed			3.033	162.623	.003

From the above two tables the null hypothesis that what a man worker considers to be important is the same as a woman is rejected in the case of Collective Bargaining Agreements and conscientising the public on the plight of farm workers. From the table of means (*Table 7.30*) we may conclude that men felt more strongly about these activities. The management question asks about matters

of proper concern and these results indicate that male members have these two specific concerns.

When the t test is run in relation to these activities the result is the acceptance of the null hypothesis throughout when side-by-side age groups are compared. This means that there is no difference in estimations of importance however, when the twenty to thirty year age group is compared to fifty to sixty the null hypothesis is rejected in relation to collective bargaining agreements with the older group considering those CBAs more important than the younger group.

*(For all these t test results see Appendix V)*

The significance of this lies in the fact that the Union should be aware that the age of its members would affect what they consider to be important interventions on their behalf. The finding that older people consider CBAs more important than younger workers may indicate that there has been an appreciation of the benefits of having a CBA for the sector.

## **7.7 Education Matters**

One of the problems highlighted by researchers in the past has been in relation to education. Sachikonye (2003) reporting on a 1999 survey by Farm Community Trust gives a figure of 13% of farm workers children benefiting from preschooling. He says “The disruptions and evictions associated with the reform programme resulted in the closure of most early childhood and child care facilities.” The results from this research on preschool availability indicate a figure of 30% accessing preschool (*Table 7.32*). If this an indication that there is a growing stability and normality in the farming areas then that would be good.

Of various levels of education revealed that primary schools were the most accessible. The lack of available secondary schooling up to O level and then after into A level is a cause of concern because of the deleterious effect on the life long earning potential of farm worker children (*Table 7. 34 and 35*).

Table 7.32 Preschool accessibility

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no	242	65.6	68.0	68.0
	yes	111	30.1	31.2	99.2
	Total	353	96.5	100.0	
Missing	999	9	1.6		
	System	7	1.9		
	Total	16	3.5		
Total		369	100.0		

Table 7.33 Primary education accessibility

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no	17	4.6	4.8	4.8
	yes	339	91.9	95.2	100.0
	Total	356	96.5	100.0	
Missing	999	6	1.6		
	System	7	1.9		
	Total	13	3.5		
Total		369	100.0		

Table 7.34 Secondary education to O level accessibility

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no	151	40.9	42.4	42.4
	yes	205	55.6	57.6	100.0
	Total	356	96.5	100.0	
Missing	999	6	1.6		
	System	7	1.9		
	Total	13	3.5		
Total		369	100.0		



*Table 7.35 Secondary education to A level accessibility*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no	347	94.0	97.5	97.5
	yes	6	1.6	1.7	99.2
	Total	353	96.5	100.0	
Missing	999	9	1.6		
	System	7	1.9		
	Total	16	3.5		
Total		369	100.0		

The lack of any secondary schooling up to O level (16 years old) for 40.9% and 94% for A level (the university entrance qualification for Zimbabwean universities) means generally children of farm workers will have reduced life long earning potential and it is a concern that cycles of poverty are being perpetuated through the generations.

The respondents were asked about affordable schooling and whether all their children go to school.

*Table 7.36 Affordable schooling*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not applicable as have no children	39	10.6	11.0	11.0
	Not applicable as no local education	58	15.8	16.4	27.5
	No	162	44.0	45.9	73.4
	yes	94	25.5	26.6	100.0
	Total	353	95.9	100.0	

*Table 7.37 Do all your children attend school?*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	126	34.2	40.4	40.4
	Yes	183	49.7	58.7	99.0
	Total	309	84.8	100.0	
Missing	999	47	12.0		
	System	12	3.3		
	Total	59	15.2		
Total		368	100.0		

This information was subjected to further exploration to see if the problem was money in the light of the research's findings of basically poverty level wages. A null hypothesis that the mean cash earnings of those whose children attend school = the mean earnings of those whose children do not. The significance of rejection of the null hypothesis would be that the low wage is the cause of children not going to school and would add another important dimension to the issue of low wages. The results were:

*Table 7.38 Children at school vs cash earned*

	Do all chn. attend school?	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
cash earned	No	97	86977.32	44985.598	4567.595
	Yes	166	87666.87	48696.895	3779.612

Table 7. 39 T Test results for children attending school and cash earned

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
cash earned	Equal variances assumed	.496	.482	-.114	261	.909	-.689.55	6053.428
	Equal variances not assumed			-.116	214.080	.908	-.689.55	5928.608

At .908 significance the null hypothesis is not rejected therefore the reason that a child goes or does not go to school has nothing to do with the level of wages brought home. The issue of children not going to school is not then an economic problem. However, a recent cost analysis conducted by this researcher into cost of sending a child to a government day school for 2004 is Z\$2,035,850 for a years education (that is Z\$169,654 p month). Given the very low wages compared to this high figure it could be that a Type II error is being committed. In this case that would be accepting a null hypothesis when it should be rejected and wages are a significant factor in school attendance. It would need further research which would including the girl child dimension to understand more why so many do not go to school.

## 7.8 Worker Consciousness

In the questionnaire workers were asked to rank, in order of importance to them, certain key labour issues with a view to seeing the degree of worker consciousness of their rights in relation to their needs. The results were:

*Table 7.40* Ranks for certain key labour issues  
Statistics

	N		Mean	Median	Mode	Std. Deviation
	Valid	Missing				
Income	295	73	6.87	9.00	10	3.563
Free assembly	320	48	4.37	4.00	2(a)	2.313
Job security	319	49	5.22	5.00	2	2.802
Land	320	48	5.82	6.00	4	2.930
Education for children	320	48	5.33	6.00	8	2.745
Holidays	293	75	4.95	5.00	1	3.010
The right to withdraw labour	318	50	4.11	3.00	2	2.858
Housing	319	49	6.36	7.00	8	2.282
Pensions	318	50	5.97	6.00	7(a)	2.486
Medical aid	320	48	5.37	5.00	4(a)	2.170

a Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

The significance of these results lies in the concentration on “bread and butter” issues like income, housing and land. The low mean values and left-hand skewness of both free assembly and the right to withdraw labour is in marked contrast to the means and the right-hand skewness of income and housing.

Appendix VI carries the results of t tests run on the above in relation to gender and membership of the union to test that mean estimations of importance are the equal for the sexes and members/non-members of the union. Only in the matter of holidays is the null hypothesis rejected. Men estimated their importance significantly higher than women. This is expected in that for women a holiday is generally a “bus mans” holiday. She would generally work as hard on holiday as at work.

It is in these t tests in relation to worker consciousness that the effect of membership of the Union is most notable. In Appendix Table VI.4 (p. 126) the null hypothesis that what is important to a farm worker is the same for members of the Union as non-members is rejected for income, freedom of assembly, job

security, education for children, holidays, the right to withdraw labour, housing. Only in land, pensions and medical aid is the null accepted that what worker feels about these issues is independent of union membership/non-membership.

Examination of Appendix Table VI.3 (p. 125) where the null is rejected the right of freedom of assembly and the right to withdraw ones labour have means from the members of the union higher than non-members (non-members 3.54 vs. members 4.88 and 2.89 vs. 4.87 respectfully). Those who belong to the Union are both more conscious of those rights and their importance.

Attempting to establish worker consciousness in term so the right to withdraw ones labour led to these findings:

*Table 7.41* Cross tabulation of strike action and gender

Count

		Gender of respondents		Total
		Male	Female	
Strike action	no never	157	69	226
	yes but can't remember when	35	16	51
	two years ago	16	10	26
	in last year	7	5	12
	in last six months	5	6	11
	in last month	24	2	26
	in last two weeks	3	2	5
Total		247	110	357

Table 7.42 Chi-Square Tests on strike action and gender

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.016(a)	6	.088
Likelihood Ratio	12.460	6	.052
Linear-by-Linear Association	.376	1	.540
N of Valid Cases	357		

a 4 cells (28.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.54.

The null hypothesis is that resorting to strike action is the equal for men and women. The critical value of chi at 6df and .05 significance is 12.59 which is greater than 11.016, therefore the null hypothesis is not rejected and the resorting to strike action is independent of gender and there is no difference between men and women when it comes to strike. This, however, may be more indicative of worker solidarity than of workers consciousness of rights.

Table 7.43 Crosstabulation of strike action and membership of the Union

Count

		Member of GAPWUZ		Total
		no	yes	
Strike action	no never	100	123	223
	yes but can't remember when	15	36	51
	two years ago	2	24	26
	in last year	3	9	12
	in last six months	7	4	11
	in last month	0	26	26
	in last two weeks	2	3	5
Total		129	225	354

Table 7.44 Chi-Square Tests on strike action and union membership

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	36.288(a)	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	47.078	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.929	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	354		

a 4 cells (28.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.82.

This is a strong rejection of the null hypothesis and the alternate is that members of the Union are more likely to engage in industrial action. The union members are more militant than non-union members and future industrial relations will have to contend with that increased militancy.

Table 7.45 Crosstabulation awareness of a CBA for agriculture and membership of the Union

Count

	Member of GAPWUZ		Total
	no	yes	
no	106	45	151
yes	16	183	199
Total	122	228	350

Table 7.46 Chi-Square Tests awareness of CBA vs. Union membership

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	147.541(a)	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	158.988	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	138.522	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	352		

a 4 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .35.

The null hypothesis that ignorance of the CBA for agriculture is independent of membership or non-membership of the union is strongly rejected. Members of the Union will know that there is a CBA far more often than non-members. The opportunity for management to exploit a member of the union is therefore less.

Table 7.47 Is the CBA relevant vs. Member of GAPWUZ Cross tabulation

Count

		Member of GAPWUZ		Total
		no	yes	
CBA relevance	no	36	15	51
	yes	28	180	208
Total		64	195	259

Table 7.48 Chi-Square Tests CBA relevance vs. Union membership

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	71.845(b)	1	.000		
Continuity Correction(a)	68.807	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	63.491	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	71.568	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	259				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.60.

Again the chi square critical value is greatly exceeded. A positive estimation of the relevance of the CBA to a worker depends on him/her being in the union and while this by itself is of little value when it is added to previous findings it underscores the fact that the dynamics and components of industrial relationships in the sector are going to change.



## **B. Results From The Focus Group**

### **7.9 On the Land Issue**

Participant's contributions:

- Those who till and work the land should be given first preference in the distribution of land, ahead of those who are for instance, bankers or doctors.
- The issue of land is now problematic as it has been used politically and as a consequence of this events have not gone well for the agricultural community and the country as a whole.
- Most people who were given land have no interest in the land they do not know how to use the land and they have no equipment to use on the land.
- If those who have been given the land don't use it they should not be permitted to keep it simply because they are ministers or because they are chairmen of a political party.
- The present government's policy was "one man one farm" but they then gave themselves more than one farm. The land reform was done haphazardly and now land is lying idle.
- Other political parties should also participate in the land reform process.
- There should not be any discrimination when it comes to land distribution.
- Displaced farm workers are being evicted once again. They stayed on the farms hoping that the government would address their situation but it has not.

These results underscore that fundamental that recovery of agriculture is premised on just resolution of the land problem. The issue has been highly politicized and marked by significant discrimination against workers as Magaramombe (2004) have highlighted (chapter two). This injustice is cause of concern to the labour movement.

### **7.10 Land Tenure**

- “If I am staying in a house that is not my own, will I paint that house knowing I am going to leave it eventually?” Those that have the land don’t know how long they are going to be there and for that reason they cannot employ permanent workers because they are afraid that they will have to pay severance packages to the workers if they are removed from that land.
- There is need for a commission, which comprises of all stakeholders including farm workers so that the problem of agrarian reform can be properly addressed. The situation we are in cannot be reversed but farm workers’ ideas are being dismissed, as people tend to disregard them.
- Farm workers are being given very low wages and cannot be expected to work for poor remuneration.

These inputs express three important labour/union issues- tenure and job security, marginalization of workers, and poor wages.

### **7.11 Farming Implements**

- New farmers tell their workers to come to work with farming implements, it is the employer who should provide the farming implements and the worker should only supply his or her labour.

The significance of workers supplying their own tools is that it increases the injustice of not allowing them to benefit from land reform. Presumably if they had accessed land their tools would have been used to benefit themselves.

### **7.12 Wages and Salaries**

- Fair wages should be discussed as the land keeps changing hands and the new farmers want to be exempted from obeying the labour laws in the name of capacity building.
- Wages are not going hand in hand with inflation
- The new farmers are also derailing the wage negotiations.
- GAPWUZ negotiates with the farm owners and they agree on the wages to be paid. Then the agreement is put before government and often the government refuses the rises in salary. This means the government has the power to demand that GAPWUZ go back to the negotiating table, as they did not take into consideration farmer A or B. This disadvantages the worker and the union, because if there is no salary raise then the farm workers will not pay their membership fees.
- As long as government interferes with wage negotiations the farm workers and the union will always be disempowered.
- Ministers are using their power not to pay their workers.
- Most 'new' farmers do not recognize the union, they are threatening their neighbours who give higher wages to the farm workers.

It is a proper concern of labour that the collective bargaining process be free from interference and the results point to a frustration of the process by government. Discriminating against workers over land coupled with policies that ensure continuing poverty for them is morally questionable.

### **7.13 Equity Sharing**

*(It is common in Zimbabwe for farms and plantations to be run as companies. Most are or were family owned businesses and some are listed companies. This question sought to examine what participants thought about equity sharing schemes for workers. The answers show that the issue has not been thought about.*

*Instead participants centred on the related topic of gratuities and the National Social Security Authority (NSSA))*

- In the farming industry there is no such thing as equity sharing.
- There should an introduction of production bonuses after each harvest of a crop. For example when wheat has been sold the farmer makes a significant profit which he or she usually does not share with the worker.

Views were expressed on causes of poverty for unemployed and retired workers. The idea of profit sharing is taken up in the recommendations that this dissertation makes.

#### **7.14 Gender**

- In the past women were given low wages on the basis of the fact that they were women. Now women are also joining workers union and there is no longer any discrimination when it comes to wages.
- There is a lot that needs to be done in relation to gender issue on the farms. On farms a lot of permanent workers are men and the seasonal workers are all women.
- Only a few women want to participate in labour issues. Employers are discriminatory when it comes to the employment of permanent workers and only a few women are promoted.

The field research analysis basically concurs with each of these sentiments and it is useful to note the discrimination practised against women and their poor participation in labour issues which make it possible to keep them down.

#### **7.15 Child Labour**

- This is a huge problem in the agricultural sector. This problem cannot be solved because most of these children come from child headed households and because of the low wages that

farm workers get, children have to work in order to supplement their parents' incomes.

- The issue of economy contributes to child labour. Children cannot proceed to high school because of lack of finances.
- Abuse of these children is very high, as the children will do anything to keep their jobs. When the “earn and learn” schools on the tea estates were closely monitored, management became suspicious and decided to stop the programs. Three quarters of the children in that school were affected.

This issue of child labour is potentially a human rights issue as much as concern for the labour movement. Research into the issue is beyond the scope of this

#### **7.16 What interests and rights have to be addressed for labour and agriculture?**

- Housing is a problem. Now that farmers have no tenure they develop the land leaving workers living in dilapidated houses. The settlers are also evicting the farm workers out of their houses. Some of the workers who have houses are made to share them so those houses are overpopulated.
- They need villages built for the farm workers, this would reduce congestion in overcrowded farm compound houses. Farm workers should be given title deeds when their village is established.
- The other problem is that of sanitary facilities. No one is responsible for erecting or maintaining these sanitary facilities due to the land invasions.
- The problem of farm housing disempowering workers that a problem that the participants have been advocating for a long time.
- Farm workers need their own houses and access to land. There are no health workers or crèche attendants anymore in the farming areas. Due to land invasions there are no facilities such as schools but if villages were established they could be in the villages.
- Government has the view that as long as farm workers are given land and houses they will no longer go to work. But with no secure accommodation the farm worker becomes stranded after he leaves employment.

- In terms of health the workers are really suffering as the former white farmers who used to provide transport facilities are no longer there. The new settlers are not able to provide these facilities.

The provision of a fair deal for labour is closely tied to workers having tenure rights to homes of their own and each of the respondents' reflections points to the need to empower workers and progress away from labour practises which are strongly shaped by the power relations entailed in domestic government.

#### **7.17 Do the new settlers recognize the union?**

- Some settlers like bankers recognize GAPWUZ as a union, unlike politicians do not always do so. GAPWUZ find that the politicians are the worst exploiters: for instance at a certain farm owned by a Minister in Norton, the Ministry of Labour, GAPWUZ and NEC were called in due to massive exploitation on that farm. On the next visit GAPWUZ personnel were nearly arrested. Also one prominent ZANU PF Harare businesswoman pays her workers at gunpoint.(She was named in the meeting)
- The new settlers pay in kind by paying workers things like sugar, which is against the law.

#### **7.18 What should be done to improve and maintain good union health in the future?**

- Union membership fluctuates, for example seasonal workers only contribute their dues when they are at work.
- If GAPWUZ had 100% payments they would not have a problem as a union.
- GAPWUZ should do intensive sensitization now as 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of next year will not be viable for them as a union. (In March 2005 the parliamentary elections will take place).

It is unlikely that agriculture will emerge as a vibrant sector given the hostility of government towards workers and the Union as in the first point of 7.17 and the

last point in 7.18. A paradigm shift is needed that will have as its aim prosperity and dignity for all is vital for maximum productivity.

#### **7.19 What is a healthy union?**

- An organization that is able to run its own activities using its own resources. Well-wishers should only come in to supplement what GAPWUZ have.
- Union with paid up membership, strong bargaining power and strong negotiating skills.
- It took 15-20 years to create GAPWUZ structures and only a year to destroy those structures.

*(Particularly noticeable in this section of discussion was a lack of a link between democracy and union health. When asked if a healthy union was a democratic union participants were vague)*

#### **7.20 In modern agriculture in Western democratic countries the profit margins are extremely narrow. How would the union press for labour issues while needing sustainable recovery in the agricultural sector?**

- There is need to mobilize workers to understand that they can push for their rights.
- There is need for transparency. Farmers need to provide profit margins of the agricultural sector. There is need for them to supply their financial statements.
- In order to negotiate you need to be on the same level of understanding. There is the need to educate farmers and government itself so that they can understand the life of a farm worker.

A more participatory open style of industrial relations to the mutual benefit of both management and labour was considered to be ingredients for viability.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**

The research sought to explore the subject of agricultural labour with its Union (GAPWUZ) following Zimbabwe's fast track land reform programme to identify legitimate concerns of the labour movement in order that they are taken into account by various stakeholders for a productive agricultural sector to re-emerge. In highlighting what these issues are the research found (for example as on page 79) that some concerns are framed by gender and by whether or not a worker is a member of the Union or not. The variances are taken into account where they apply in the following recommendations.

#### **8.1 Constitutional and Legislative Matters**

To put right the disablements of labour reported on in chapter three and four it is recommended that the right to strike and the right to free collective bargaining be incorporated into the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe. The experiences of labour, since 1985 when the first Labour Relations Act was passed, has proved that it is inadequate to argue that the rights are protected through and covered by the labour legislation.

Furthermore, the research findings regarding the Labour Relations Act with its amendments are that it needs to be re-written

- so that it promotes democratization of the workplace.
- to remove the highly convoluted legislation on collective job action to make it possible for legal strikes to take place in Zimbabwe.
- to deal with the problem of "free riders" that is a systemic cause of weakness to union power
- so that the present powers of the Minister of Labour in relation to the collective bargaining process are restricted and the negotiating process can be made free.



## **8.2 Resolution of the Land Question and Security of Tenure**

Long term development and serious investment is unlikely where people only have the right to occupy and use land and therefore security of tenure with title deeds is tied to the re-emergence of commercial agriculture.

As far labour is concerned, the focus group considered that new farmers were unwilling to grant permanent status to their workers because of severance packages should they lose the farm. However, the fieldwork analysis showed that the trend towards non-permanent employment has changed (Tables 7.3 and 7.4, p.44 and 45) and this may reflect a settling down following the upheavals of 2000 – 2002. Permanent status is increasing in the A2 farms.

But the other important dimension reported previously in chapter two related that I. Maposa's 1992 research on resettlement schemes in Zimbabwe. He showed that most farmers did not put up good houses for themselves because they have "less to lose" if the farm is taken from them. The same basic point came out in the focus group discussion. How much more will that apply to investing in decent accommodation and clean water for their workers? The conclusion is therefore that long term best interests of labour are tied to farmers having security of tenure.

## **8.3 Wage and Remuneration Restructuring**

The research analysis (page 44 and following) revealed farm labourers are being paid near poverty level wages (or less) unless they are on agri-business farms. The implication of this for the various stakeholders is

1. For the Farmers. Herzberg's theory on motivating staff emphasised certain hygiene factors which were not themselves motivators but which have to be met before staff can be motivated to high levels of performance. The practice of paying poverty datum line wages means that attempts by management to motivate for high performance will be illusory because of high levels of dissatisfaction. But raising salaries is not that simple. For example a tobacco farmer borrows for eighteen months to put in the crop. If he is able he could borrow at 50 per cent

per annum compound interest from government but the commercial banks are lending at 250 per cent per annum compound interest. This means that if there is a very high labour cost combined with high interest rates the return on the investment would be negligible. Therefore it is recommended that management and labour work out some sort of profit sharing or percentage of gross income in a form of a lump sum payment as a crop is sold. Furthermore labour will need to agree to minimum wages over the cropping period but with guaranteed lump sum payments later. The total annual level of remuneration will thus significantly increase while debt levels are contained to guarantee returns on investments.

2. Government. Both the secondary research and the focus group established that government interference in the NEC collective bargaining wage negotiations is a significant cause of the resultant poverty level wages. The powers of the Minister of Labour is undermining the process of wage negotiations and disabling GAPWUZ from achieving a better deal for labour. The policy of interference that results in keeping a section of the population permanently poor needs to be dropped.

3. The Union. While organizing workers to strike is extremely difficult under the present legislation chapter two records the strike action that workers spontaneously embarked on in 1997. A long term strategy to get a fair wage will have to include the use of, or the real threat of, collective job action nationwide.

4. Farm Workers. The natural implication of these poverty level wages is that, as shown on pages 77 and following, the important things for them are the “bread and butter” issues. Moreover, Graph 7.8 showed that workers are worse off if they strike. The secondary research showed that loss of employment leads to homelessness so the workers are forced to accept wages less than sufficient to live with dignity. The workers through their Union and collective strike action will need to press a demand for homes for themselves with security of tenure as a strategic action to break free from life long poverty.

5. A Special category – Workers on A1 farms. Our research found that workers in A1 settlements are taking home on average less than Z\$ 40 000 per month. This puts them and their families in the category of extreme poverty in that they

are earning less than the food poverty datum for one person. It is recommended that these workers be recipients of humanitarian assistance as an immediate intervention and that they either be moved out of those areas or be given land themselves that they can live off the land and augment their extremely low wages. (The actual numbers of workers and their families in these A1 farms is not known).

#### **8.4 Women farm workers**

The research uncovered two basic dimensions to the gender issue in relation to farm workers and these are

- employment opportunities and status
- union and worker committee involvement

Employment opportunities and status. The finding (p. 52 and following) is that women overwhelmingly are in the category of general worker. For management this practice has the implication that high levels of productivity are unlikely to be achieved by people who do routine tasks year after year on poor salaries and no prospects. The only incentive for a woman worker is money. Furthermore, management are missing out on the latent skills in the women and that must negatively impact on long term productivity growth.

From the Tables 7.9 and 7.10 and Graph 7.10 the job security status of women is significantly less with men enjoying a greater proportion of the permanent category of work while women workers are generally in the non-permanent category of worker. This is a discriminatory practice that workers and Union need to address as a proper concern of the labour movement since a woman worker has little job security, little variety and poor prospects at work compared to her male counterparts.

Union and worker committee involvement. The research showed (Table 7.11) intimidation as a real factor in the life of a woman worker keeping her out of joining the Union. The union needs to address this with empowering civic education targeted to women on their rights. The research also showed that women stay out of worker committee elections. If this means an indifference to

these committees they are making themselves vulnerable to exploitation. This is because the research reports a significant finding that workers committees are effective at achieving improvements in the life and welfare of farm workers (Tables 7.26 to 7.30 and relevant graphs).

### **8.5 High Illiteracy and Education**

The research found that 30% of the respondents' children had access to pre-schools which may indicate that the trend to preschool closure in the early years of land reform which Sachikonye (2003) referred to may well have been reversed. This is good. Table 7.34 analyses the lack of access to secondary schooling to O level by 41% of respondents and raises a concern about the life long effect of poor educational opportunities for workers children. When this is considered against the high illiteracy sited in chapters two and four the issue is breaking cyclical generational poverty.

### **8.6 Industrial Relations**

The research gives an indication of the direction labour relations are going to go in the future. Lessons that management can draw from this research are firstly, women will not be less militant about strike action than men even if they can be intimidated more. Table 7.41 analyses the gender and strike action uses the chi square test to show no significant difference in women participation in such action compared to men.

Secondly, the effect of union membership is noticeable. The research (Table 7.43) found significant increases worker militancy over strike action, a greater following over awareness and appreciation of the Collective Bargaining Agreements for the sector (Tables 7.46 and 7.47). The conclusion is that management is going to need to adjust to and train itself for new industrial relations in agriculture. That the trend is towards union growth is borne out by Table 4.1 (page 31) as well as the high numbers who joined recently and because

there is a positive perception the union by workers interviewed in the research. 50% of the respondents who were members of the Union joined in the last year, 76% considered the Union either healthy or very healthy and (Table 7. 19- 7.21). A more unionised work force is the likely developing trend on farms. Thirdly, the transformation in employer/employee relations away from the paternalism inherent in domestic government is already successfully taking place in some farms. The results of the analyses of workers committees (Table 7.26 and following) demonstrate that effective committees are at work securing a better deal and smoothing industrial relations at the local level.

### **8.7 Union Matters**

Union survival. In the light of the difficulties exposed in chapter four the fact that GAPWUZ has survived the difficulties of the last twenty years is real credit to them. The increasing fortunes of the union in terms of membership and reputation have already been noted in point 6 above. It will be important for long term growth that the union structures and programmes keep it relevant in the future.

Workers Committees. Reference has already been made to the committee's successes. The union should continue to find ways of strengthening these committees and specifically empower women so that non-participation by women in workers committee elections (and presumably other aspects) becomes less common.

Workers rights and consciousness. The report on the research on pages 77 and 78 found that what a worker rates as important is affected by his/her membership of the Union. Non-union members rated freedom of assembly and the right to withdraw ones labour low in importance. Framing an understanding of workers rights and basic freedoms is an important to build constituency with the farm workers and to get them a fair wage for a fair days work.

Land. The Union has been pressing for land for farm workers and given the inputs from the focus group regarding the use by workers of their own tools and the

findings of the research especially in relation to the plight of workers in A1 farms the union should keep getting land for workers as a strategic action.

Collective Bargaining Agreements. Results from pages 72 and 73 indicate the Union should be aware that the age of its members will affect what they consider to be important interventions on their behalf. The finding that older people consider CBAs more important than younger workers may indicate that there has been an appreciation of the benefits of having a CBA for the sector.

Child Labour. It is recommended that the union creates particular strategies to build on the work already done with the aim of ending the practice of child labour exploitation. This matter needs further research.

## CONCLUSION

The management question sought “*For commercial agriculture to recover its place in the Zimbabwean economy what are the proper concerns of farm labour and the Union, The General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe, that need to taken into account by the various stakeholders for a productive agricultural sector to re-emerge.*” The research was able to establish the breadth of its findings of those key components ranging from the constitutional issues to poverty level wages to a resurgence of the power and influence of the Union. It uncovered discrimination against women workers, the real ability of workers committees to get a better deal for workers and the effect of Union membership on workers attitudes and insights.

A fundamental mistake of this government has been to try to turn agriculture around after fast track reform by turning a blind eye to (or, rather, actively encouraging) exploitive low wages for farm labour thereby attracting capital to take the risk and invest in farming (again). But high profit margins at the expense of those who have no alternative employment (and accommodation) is as unjust as it is unsustainable in the long term. It may be argued from the secondary research reported in chapter two that previous successes in agriculture were due to

low wages combined with high levels of productivity. A new deal for commercial agriculture must mean that all stakeholders benefit from its re-emergence.

For the economy to grow again agriculture has to grow. The difficulty will be to get it going while ensuring a fair deal for all. A strong social contract between labour, employer organizations and government must be the starting point. There is no political will for that now but the present is not the future. Such a social contract has to be based on democratic participation by all and that means constitutional change to enshrine true freedom for labour. The pressure for the social contract is therefore likely to build up unrelentingly given the demise of the economy, commercial agriculture and the desperate situation of the poor and the workers, even those that are still employed.

While there is considerable hostility from government towards the labour movement in general the research has established that the agricultural Union can anticipate further growth in numbers and in influence. If what is happening to GAPWUZ is also happening to other affiliates of the ZCTU the pressure for a social contract based on constitutional changes will continue to increase.

Of interest particularly from the field research results was the low of appreciation by non-unionized workers that they have rights. For them the issues are survival issues. This was also sensed in the focus group in that Union health seemed to be divorced from concern about functioning democracy. Democracy is more than majority rule. Democracy is also the opportunity of participatory reasoning and public decision-making. The lack of democracy is judged here in Zimbabwe by the way the political order has failed in its duty to protect the participatory processes and to respond to public reasoning. The fundamental overhaul of the Constitution, the Labour Relations Act are basic for trade unions to open the space that will support discussion and dialogue between employer and employee. The wider responsibility of the Union, then, is not just farm workers welfare but to press for such changes that democratic freedom and an appreciation of every ones' rights takes a strong deep root in Zimbabwe and that the past oppressions end and never come back.

The responsibility of management is to get behind that quest for democratic freedom realising that the power structures of past commercial agriculture have gone and will not be coming back. The changes are too deep and are therefore irreversible. Win win approaches for all are possible and economic prosperity for all will help to safeguard democracy and freedom. The research found that management would do well to prepare by training for a time when government no longer backs up poverty wages, when the influence of the Union grows strongly as democratic space opens up and as the trend seen in the research towards further Union growth alters industrial relations on the farms permanently.

The hardest fight will perhaps be for the women workers because the discriminations and lack of opportunities that they suffer and which the research exposed will be particularly hard to remove. The reason is that the resistance to a change in their fortunes will come not only from management who like a pliant work force but also from their male colleagues who benefit at their expense.

The farm workers themselves have two basic responsibilities. Firstly, there is a responsibility to use their Union to mobilize their collective labour power so that they make sure that the ignominies that they have suffered in the past do not perpetuate. A strategic decision by all farm labour must be to refuse to allow their rights and dignities to be taken away from them whether through government policy or by management. Secondly, once that decision is made, farm workers will be in a position to meet a national responsibility to be “partners” with employers (and all their fellow workers) in the recovery of agriculture. Labour in agriculture this national responsibility to ensure that the highly productive commercial sector returns to its former strengths in the economy while resolutely refusing the indignities of the past.



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## **APPENDIX I**

### **A1 and A2 farms**

Zimbabwe's fast track resettlement programme had two models of farms A1 and A2. A1 farms are targeted at the rural landless and are based in rural communities. They are self-contained for the use of individual families. Part of this land is reserved for the war veterans.

A2 farms target the black indigenous farmers who wish to farm commercially; therefore the beneficiaries of A2 farms are to show evidence of experience and availability of resources for farming. It also aimed to promote black entrepreneurs in Zimbabwe and to support commercial agriculture through the support of black farmers.

Although it is commonly assumed that A1 farms are smaller than A2 farms there is some confusion over the size of A1 and A2 farms. The Utete commission reported, "Variability in sizes of plots demarcated for re-settlement is a common feature within and across the A1 and A2 models countrywide. This phenomenon renders categories of A1 and A2 meaningless in as far as plot sizes are concerned." (Utete (2003) p. 86)



## **APPENDIX II**

The relevant amendment reads

The relevant amendment reads

“(2) Subject to subsection (4), no employee, workers committee, trade union, employer, employer’s organisation or federation shall resort to collective job action unless-

(a) fourteen days’ written notice of intent to resort to such action, specifying the grounds for the intended action, has been given-

- (i) to the party against whom the action is to be taken; and
- (ii) to the appropriate employment council; and
- (iii) to the appropriate trade union or employers organization or federation in the case of members of a trade union or employers organisation or federation partaking in a collective job action where the trade union or employers organisation or federation is not itself resorting to such action;

and

(b) an attempt has been made to conciliate the dispute and a certificate of no settlement has been issued in terms of section *ninety-three*.

**(Note: This process can take 30 days in terms of the legislation)**

(1) Subject to subsection (4), no collective job action may be recommended or engaged in by-

(a) any employees, workers committee, trade union, employer, employers organisation or federation-

- (i) if the persons concerned are engaged in an essential service; or
- (ii) if the issue in dispute is a dispute of right; or
- (iii) if the parties to the dispute have agreed to refer the dispute to arbitration;

or

- (b) any employees, workers committee or employer, if there is in existence a registered trade union or employers organisation which represents the interests of the employees or employers concerned and trade union or employers organisation has not approved or authorized the collective job action; or
  - (c) any trade union, employers organization or federation unless the trade union, employers organisation or federation is registered; or
  - (d) any workers committee, if there is in existence a union agreement which provides for or governs the matter in dispute, and such agreement had not been complied with or remedies specified therein have not been exhausted as to the issue in dispute; or
  - (e) any workers committee, trade union or employers organisation, except with the agreement of the majority of the employees or employers, as the case may be, voting by secret ballot.”.
- (c) **(Note: it is (e) immediately above that complicates the calling of a legal strike enormously – especially for a union like GAPWUZ which is so scattered across the country).** (Labour Relations Amendment (2002) p.521)

## **APPENDIX III**

Questionnaire # .....

Date .....

### **QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FARM WORKERS**

1. Name
  2. Male/Female
  3. Date of Birth
  4. Number of Children (*where applicable*)
  5. Are you (or were you) a farm worker of any kind? Yes/No (If respondent answers “no” gracefully terminate the interview here)
- 

6. Number of years employed in agriculture
7. District

District	Tick	Score
Mashonaland East		1
Mashonaland South		2
Mashonaland West North		3
Mashonaland West South		4
Mashonaland Central		5
Manicaland/Makoni		6
Masvingo/Chiredzi/Mwenzi		7
Midlands		8
Matabeleland North		9
Matabeleland South		10
Peri-urban Harare		11
Peri-urban Bulawayo		12

8. Are you a Farm worker now?

Yes = 2	No = 1
---------	--------

(If previously has been a farm worker but is now not working as a farm

Worker go to questions 11, 12 and 13)

9. What kind of farm are you employed on?

A1		1
A2		2
White Commercial		3
Other		4

10. Present Working Status:

Answer	Tick	Score
Permanent		1
Contract		2
Seasonal		3
Temporary		4
Unemployed		5

11. Present work responsibility :( If they know what grade they are in according to the current Collective Bargaining Agreement please specify).

Answer	Tick	Score
Foreman		1
Driver		2
Workshop		3
General		4
Stockhand		5
Other		6

If can specify other please enter here.....

12. August 2003 working Status:

Answer	Tick	Score
Permanent		1
Contract		2
Seasonal		3
Temporary		4
Unemployed		5

13. August 2003 responsibility:(If they know what grade they are in according to the current Collective Bargaining Agreement please specify below the table).

Answer	Tick	Score
Foreman		1
Driver		2
Workshop		3
General		4
Stockhand		5
Other		6

If can specify grade please enter here.....

**(SKIP questions 14, 15 and question 16 if EMPLOYED. Ask those three questions if the respondent has indicated unemployed status in any of the above.)**

14. If now unemployed was the respondent:

Answer	Tick	Score
Dismissed with full terminal payments (S16)		1
Dismissed without full terminal payments (S16)		2
Retired with pension and NSSA		3
Retired without pension only NSSA		4
Retired without pension or NSSA		5
Other		6

(Specify).....  
.....

15. If you didn't get pension/terminal benefit/NSSA (as case may be) do you know why?

.....  
.....

16. What kind of farm were you last employed on:

Answer	Tick	Score
A1		1
A2		2
White Commercial		3
Other		4

17. How would you generally, rank farming in your area

Answer	Tick	Score
Very healthy		5
Healthy		4
Neither healthy nor unhealthy		3
Unhealthy		2
Poor		1

18. Are you paid the legal wage for your grade?

Answer	Tick	Score
Yes		1
No		2
Don't know		3
Missing		999

19. How much money do you bring into your home every month?

.....

20. What payments in kind does your household receive? (Tick)

Category	Tick	Score
Food		10
Education (include partial payment of not only free schooling)		20
Transport		30
Medical aid		40
Clinic		50
Amenities		60
Other		70

21. Estimate the value to you of these payments in kind \$. .....

22. How secure do you think your present job is?

Category	Tick	Score
Very secure		3
Reasonably secure		2
Very insecure		1
Unemployed		0
Missing		999

23. Rank, in order of importance to you, the following. (Number 10 being most important, 0 being least)

Income		Holidays	
Freedom to Assemble		The right to withdraw labour	
Job security		Housing	
Land		Pensions	
Education for Children		Medical aid	

24. Rank the importance, to you, of

	Important				Unimportant			
Labour organizing collectively	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
Freedom to participate in union of choice	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
The present Collective Bargaining Agreement	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
Workers committees	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
Health and Safety issues	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
Access to a fair hearing of labour disputes	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	

25. Is there accessible education for children in your area?

Category	Tick	Score
Pre-school		1
Primary		2
Secondary to 'O' level		3
Secondary to 'A' level		4

26. Is the local education for children affordable to you?

Category	Tick	Score
Yes		4
No		3
Not applicable because no local education available		2
Not applicable because has no children		1

27. Do all your school-going age children go to school?

Yes = 2	No = 1
---------	--------

28. Which of the below do you have? (Tick appropriate box/boxes)

	Tick	Score
Access to a fair hearing of labour disputes		10
Access to good health care facilities		20
Acceptable accommodation		30
Access to clean water		40
Medical aid		50
A good pension		60
Satisfactory employer/employee relations		70

29. What rights to freedom of assembly do you have? (Scale – 0 is absolutely none to 10 where fully free to meet with others) (You may need to explain what freedom of assembly is)

No freedom of assembly 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Great freedom of assembly

30. Who, if anyone, protects your rights as a worker?

.....

31. When there is a dispute between farm workers and employers what procedures are there for resolution of the dispute in your experience (or that you have seen working in the last year?)

(Describe).....  
 .....  
 .....



32. From your experience, how effective are workers committees in representing the workers perspectives to management?

Category	Tick	Score
Very effective		4
Reasonably effective		3
Not effective		2
Simply useless		1

33. Why?.....  
.....

34. If the answer to **number 31** was “not effective or simply useless” how do they as farm workers make their concerns to be heard effectively by management?.....  
.....

35. How are/were members of your workers committee elected?

Category	Tick	Score
Secret ballot		3
Show of hands		2
Other		1

36. Did you participate in the election?

Yes = 2	No = 1
---------	--------

37. If no then why not?

.....  
.....

38. Have you, with other workers, withdrawn your labour and stopped working deliberately, for a cause? ( **May tick more than once**)

Answer	Tick	Score
In last two weeks		6
In last month		5
In last six months		4
In last year		3
Two years ago		2
Yes, but can't remember when		1
No, never		0

39. What was the outcome of the most recent work related action described above? ( May tick more than one)

Answer	Tick	Score
Worker victimization/firing		6
Better working conditions		5
Better pay		4
No change		3
Better co-operation between management and workers		2
None of the above		1

40. From your experience, unfair dismissal is

Answer	Tick	Score
Widely practiced		10
Practiced but in a localized manner		5
Not commonly practiced		0

41. When did a Trade Union representatives hold a meeting in your area?

Answer	Tick	Score
In last seven days		6
In last two weeks		5
In last month		4
In last six months		3
In last year		2
Can't remember		1

(Questions number 42 and 43 may be left out depending on the answer to question 41)

42. Which union was he or she from?

43. What was the meeting relevant to you as a worker?

Yes = 2	No = 1	Not sure = 0
---------	--------	--------------

44. How much access would you want your union's representatives have to you as labour?

Answer	Tick	Score
Free access to workers		1
Limited but sufficient access (e.g. after work)		2
Restricted		3

45. Are you aware that there is a national collective bargaining agreement for workers and management?

Yes = 2	No = 1
---------	--------

**IF YES**

46. Is the present Collective Bargaining Agreement, in your view, relevant to you as a worker?

Yes = 2	No = 1
---------	--------

**IF NO**

47. Why?

.....

48. Are you a member of the General Agricultural and Plantation Workers Union of Zimbabwe (GAPWUZ)?

Yes = 2	No = 1
---------	--------

**(Skip 49 if previously answered no)**

49. Why did you join? *(Choose only most important to you)*

Answer	Tick	Score
The Union is good for us workers		4
Pressure from other workers		3
The good reputation the Union has		2
Other		1

**IF NO TO QUESTION NUMBER 48**

50. Why not? (*Respondent can indicate more than only one of the following*)

Answer	Tick	Score
Union dues are too high		1
The Union is ineffective		2
Co-worker intimidation		3
Employer intimidation		4
Intimidation from other sources		5
Never heard of it		6
Member of another Union		7
Don't know		8

**IF YES TO QUESTION 48**

51. What is your membership status?

Full paid up = 2	Lapsed = 1
------------------	------------

52. How long have you been a member?

Answer	Tick	Score
Less than 6 months		1
6 months – 1 year		2
1 – 2 years		3
2 – 3 years		4
More than 3 years		5

53. What are you in the Union? (*Tick as applicable*)

Answer	Tick	Score
An ordinary member		1
Worker's committee representative		2
Branch committee representative		3
National committee representative		4

54. Would you say the condition of the Union is?

Answer	Tick	Score
Very healthy		1
Healthy		2
Neither healthy or unhealthy		3
Unhealthy		4
Very unhealthy		5

55. How likely are you to recommend becoming a GAPWUZ member to other farm workers? (Mark)

Very likely 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 Very unlikely

56. Where would you want GAPWUZ to concentrate its efforts now? (If possible score each one out of 10 where 10 is an important activity and 1 is not an important activity.)

10	10	10	10	10
9	9	9	9	9
8	8	8	8	8
7	7	7	7	7
6	6	6	6	6
5	5	5	5	5
4	4	4	4	4
3	3	3	3	3
2	2	2	2	2
1	1	1	1	1
In Collective Bargaining Agreements	In dispute resolutions	In protecting women and children from exploitation on the farms	In promoting knowledge of worker's rights at farm level	In conscientising the public on the plight of farm workers

## **APPENDIX IV**

### **Focus group questions and participants.**

#### *Participants:*

Mrs. Gertrude Hambira: Secretary General of GAPWUZ

#### Trade Union Officials

Mrs. Viola Shamu

Mr. Goneso

Mr. Rickson Nkoma

Mr. Justice Watchi

#### Farm Workers

Ms. Alice Zamba: Chairperson of a workers committee representing 400 workers

Mr. Micheal Mzamba

Facilitator: Mr. Madock Chivasa

#### *Questions:*

##### Question 1

What should be done in relation to the following issues?

- a. Land
- b. Wages and salaries
- c. Equity sharing
- d. Buying Co-operatives
- e. Gender
- f. Child labour

##### Question 2

What interests and rights have to be addressed for labour and agriculture?

##### Question 3

What should be done to improve and maintain good union health in the future?

#### Question 4

What organizational structures needed to look into the issue of agriculture for policy formulation and recommendations to legislators? (e.g. the recommendation for the National Land Board made by the Utete Commission)

#### Question 5

Are there any membership and leadership issues of which that the union is concerned?

#### Question 6

In modern agriculture in Western democratic countries the profit margins are narrow. How would the union press for labour issues while pressing for sustainable recovery in the agricultural sector?

## **APPENDIX V**

**Table V .1 Where union should concentrate efforts, opinions in relation to age. Group Statistics**

	Categories of ages	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Collective bargaining agreements	2.00	122	7.91	2.385	.216
	5.00	31	8.94	2.190	.393
In despite resolutions	2.00	122	8.60	1.694	.153
	5.00	31	8.68	1.423	.256
Protecting women and children	2.00	121	8.31	1.940	.176
	5.00	31	8.52	1.823	.327
Promoting rights of workers	2.00	122	9.05	1.304	.118
	5.00	31	9.26	1.210	.217
Conscientising public	2.00	122	8.11	2.413	.218
	5.00	31	8.65	1.684	.302

Age category 2 is 21 to 30, age 5 is 51 to 60



Table V.2 20-30 age group vs 50-60 age group t test Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
		F	Sig.			
Collective bargaining agreements	Equal variances assumed	7.288	.008	-2.173	151	.031
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.286	49.681	.027
In dispute resolutions	Equal variances assumed	.618	.433	-.239	151	.811
	Equal variances not assumed			-.265	53.763	.792
Protecting women and children	Equal variances assumed	.653	.420	-.545	150	.587
	Equal variances not assumed			-.565	48.899	.574
Promoting rights of workers	Equal variances assumed	.467	.496	-.808	151	.421
	Equal variances not assumed			-.845	49.246	.402
Conscientising public	Equal variances assumed	2.306	.131	-1.153	151	.251
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.422	65.061	.160

## **APPENDIX VI**

**Table VI.1 Order of importance of labour issues and gender**

### **Group Statistics**

	Gender of respondents	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Income	Male	198	6.83	3.467	.246
	Female	97	6.94	3.769	.383
Free assembly	Male	210	4.40	2.375	.164
	Female	110	4.29	2.198	.210
Job security	Male	209	5.36	2.781	.192
	Female	110	4.95	2.836	.270
Land	Male	210	5.65	2.970	.205
	Female	110	6.15	2.838	.271
Education for children	Male	210	5.17	2.726	.188
	Female	110	5.64	2.769	.264
Holidays	Male	196	5.21	3.174	.227
	Female	97	4.43	2.586	.263
The right to withdraw labour	Male	208	3.98	2.757	.191
	Female	110	4.37	3.038	.290
Housing	Male	209	6.52	2.208	.153
	Female	110	6.07	2.399	.229
Pensions	Male	208	5.88	2.573	.178
	Female	110	6.13	2.315	.221
Medical aid	Male	210	5.46	2.157	.149
	Female	110	5.20	2.196	.209

Table VI.2 Independent Samples T Test Order of importance of labour issues and gender

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances				
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Income	Equal variances assumed	1.901	.169	-.237	293	.813
	Equal variances not assumed			-.230	177.235	.818
Free assembly	Equal variances assumed	1.296	.256	.418	318	.676
	Equal variances not assumed			.428	236.840	.669
Job security	Equal variances assumed	.083	.773	1.226	317	.221
	Equal variances not assumed			1.218	217.944	.224
Land	Equal variances assumed	.274	.601	-1.432	318	.153
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.453	230.419	.148
Education for children	Equal variances assumed	.036	.850	-1.456	318	.146
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.449	218.444	.149
Holidays	Equal variances assumed	8.664	.004	2.089	291	.038
	Equal variances not assumed			2.238	229.683	.026
The right to withdraw labour	Equal variances assumed	5.441	.020	-1.178	316	.240
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.143	204.220	.254
Housing	Equal variances assumed	1.348	.246	1.656	317	.099
	Equal variances not assumed			1.614	206.362	.108
Pensions	Equal variances assumed	3.303	.070	-.844	316	.399
	Equal variances not assumed			-.872	243.225	.384
Medical aid	Equal variances assumed	.000	.989	1.007	318	.315
	Equal variances not assumed			1.001	217.955	.318

**Table VI.3 Group Statistics Labour issues and membership of the Union**

	Member of GAPWUZ	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Income	no	118	8.48	2.729	.251
	yes	171	5.78	3.655	.280
Free assembly	no	119	3.54	1.686	.155
	yes	195	4.88	2.509	.180
Job security	no	119	5.92	2.805	.257
	yes	194	4.72	2.669	.192
Land	no	119	5.99	2.615	.240
	yes	195	5.73	3.135	.224
Education for children	no	119	6.20	2.476	.227
	yes	195	4.74	2.764	.198
Holidays	no	118	3.58	2.731	.251
	yes	169	5.98	2.761	.212
The right to withdraw labour	no	118	2.89	2.136	.197
	yes	194	4.87	2.994	.215
Housing	no	119	7.30	1.797	.165
	yes	194	5.74	2.351	.169
Pensions	no	119	5.67	2.369	.217
	yes	193	6.15	2.566	.185
Medical aid	no	119	5.43	1.816	.166
	yes	195	5.37	2.357	.169

Table VI.4 Independent Samples T Test Labour issues and membership of the Union

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
		F	Sig.				
Income	Equal variances assumed	32.055	.000	6.831	287	.000	2.71
	Equal variances not assumed			7.198	285.187	.000	2.71
Free assembly	Equal variances assumed	32.063	.000	-5.154	312	.000	-1.34
	Equal variances not assumed			-5.650	309.070	.000	-1.34
Job security	Equal variances assumed	1.269	.261	3.796	311	.000	1.20
	Equal variances not assumed			3.751	240.190	.000	1.20
Land	Equal variances assumed	9.263	.003	.768	312	.443	.26
	Equal variances not assumed			.802	283.225	.423	.26
Education for children	Equal variances assumed	8.059	.005	4.732	312	.000	1.46
	Equal variances not assumed			4.859	270.551	.000	1.46
Holidays	Equal variances assumed	.107	.744	-7.296	285	.000	-2.41
	Equal variances not assumed			-7.310	253.623	.000	-2.41
The right to withdraw labour	Equal variances assumed	53.029	.000	-6.281	310	.000	-1.98
	Equal variances not assumed			-6.802	302.160	.000	-1.98
Housing	Equal variances assumed	26.330	.000	6.210	311	.000	1.56
	Equal variances not assumed			6.615	296.228	.000	1.56
Pensions	Equal variances assumed	3.848	.051	-1.645	310	.101	-.48
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.677	265.219	.095	-.48
Medical aid	Equal variances assumed	13.772	.000	.235	312	.814	.06
	Equal variances not assumed			.250	295.398	.803	.06