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**JOINT EVALUATION  
OF THE GRANT**

*between*

**U.S. Agency for International Development**

*and*

**African-American Labor Center**

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

AALC	African-American Labor Center
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
AFRO	African Regional Organization of the ICFTU
A.I.D.	Agency for International Development
AIDS	Acquired Immuno-deficiency Syndrome
A.I.D./W	Washington office of the Agency for International Development
AIFLD	American Institute for Free Labor Development
CFA	Communaute Financiere en Afrique (currency designation--CFA franc)
CNTS	Confederation Nationale des Travailleurs du Senegal
COTU	Central Organisation of Trade Unions (Kenya)
DFA	Development Fund for Africa
EATUCC	East African Trade Unions Consultative Council
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (German aid organization)
FKE	Federation of Kenyan Employers
GOS	Government of Senegal
GOZa	Government of Zambia
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITS	International Trade Secretariat
KANU	Kenya African National Union (political party)
LOTCO	Swedish acronym for Council of International Trade Union Cooperation
OATUU	Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (Africa-wide)
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
OTAC	Organisation des Travailleurs de l'Afrique Centrale
OTUWA	Organisation of Trade Unions of West Africa
SADCC	Southern Africa Development Coordinating Committee
SATUCC	Southern African Trade Union Co-ordination Council
SLLC	Sierra Leone Labour Congress
TUC	Trades Union Congress (Ghana)

UNSAAS Union Nationale des Syndicats Autonomes du Senegal  
USAID Mission of the Agency for International Development  
USIS United States Information Service

WB World Bank

ZaCTU Zambia Congress of Trade Unions  
ZCTU Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On September 30, 1991 the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) signed a five-year follow-on grant with the African-American Labor Center (AALC) to assist AALC to continue developing and strengthening African trade union organizations south of the Sahara (excluding the Republic of South Africa which is funded by the USAID Mission). The amount of the grant was \$25,300,000; the estimated completion date was December 31, 1995. Annex A presents the Logical Framework for the grant.

The grant provided for an interim or mid-course evaluation. The scope of work for this interim evaluation is appended as Annex B. The evaluation team consisted of two experts from Development Associates, Inc. --James L. Roush (Team Leader, retiree from A.I.D.) and Jerome Barrett (retiree from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service)--and one from AALC--Kate Iskander (trade unionist and the AALC monitoring, evaluation and reporting officer and grants officer).

The team interviewed AALC/Washington personnel, reviewed documentation and visited six African countries (Kenya, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Senegal, and Sierra Leone in that order). See Annex C for a list of persons contacted, Annex D for a bibliography of documents reviewed, and Annex E for a report on the six countries visited. The team also reviewed material collected by AALC from over 30 trade union centers in sub-Saharan Africa. The format of the questionnaire is included in Annex F.

### MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

#### African Setting and Trends in Trade Unionism, 1991-1994

Since the start of the current AALC grant in 1991, two previous trends in sub-Saharan Africa have intensified: 1) the undertaking of structural economic reform; and 2) the movement to more democratic political structures. Two external events also have impacted on trade union trends in Africa: a) the end of the Cold War; and b) the change in the U.S. administration.

- With the end of the Cold War, internal pressure that was already building for both economic and political changes was significantly exacerbated. It became more difficult for governments to justify continuing with socialistic economic structures and single-party, highly centralized political systems. In addition, assistance from the former Soviet Bloc declined dramatically or ceased and the assistance of Western governments became much more tied to the implementation of economic and/or political reform.
- Economic reform has proceeded very slowly, if at all (see Section II, Table II-1). Increasing attention is being given to reducing civil service and restructuring and/or privatizing government enterprises. Because the government in many sub-Saharan African countries is the largest employer, the civil servant and public enterprise employees' unions are among the largest unions and the unions hardest hit by the effects of economic re-structuring. This means that there has been an overall reduction in membership in trade union federations with serious negative financial implications and a reduction in their influence; the down-sizing of the civil service and the public enterprises is not yet finished in most countries.

- Trade unions have been making a valiant effort to minimize the reductions in living standards of workers during the economic crises extant in Africa by:
  - a. negotiating some modifications or stretch-out of wage cuts or of the time-tables for the down-sizing of bureaucracies or the privatization of government enterprises; and
  - b. increasing the level and quality of services being provided to members.
- The pressures building from the disastrous and deteriorating economic performance during the 1987-91 period contributed to increased pressures for political reform: changes in political leadership and more open and pluralistic societies. In some countries the "old guard" has been thrown out through democratic elections; in some, the old guard survived because the opposition was fragmented and could not agree on an opposition candidate; in some, the old guard has managed to stave off multi-party elections (see Section II, Table II-2 for a status report).
- Many unions have been in the forefront of the demands for more open societies. This has led in some countries to increased governmental pressure on trade union federations and their leaders. AALC, international labor organizations and U.S. government representatives and those of other countries have generally been successful in protecting the individuals or restoring the institutions under attack. In spite of their political activity in support of democracy, most of the trade union movements have avoided becoming appendages of political parties.
- The economic and political events have put a lot of strain on government-industry-trade union relations and relationships. The tripartite committee system and the industrial courts, which are designed to deal with industrial relations, are not performing optimally; additional institutions and/or processes focusing on conflict prevention, and tripartite training related thereto, are needed to reduce the level of labor-management conflict.
- A summary of the key issues of concern to most trade union leaders in sub-Saharan Africa are summarized in Table II-6 on page II-12.
- Based on the presentation to the Senate Subcommittee on African Affairs in March 1994, the new U. S. administration should be even more forthcoming in supporting programs that will be of interest to trade unionists, e.g., improved governance, support for human rights, conflict prevention and resolution, and the implementation of economic policies which result in equitable and sustainable economic development. The U.S. Government's concern for human rights has already benefited some trade unionists, e.g., in Kenya, Malawi, Sierra Leone.

#### AALC Programs

- This has been a particularly propitious time to be supporting sub-Saharan African trade unions--they have deserved it, particularly for their efforts on behalf of democracy in their countries; they have needed it, because of the economic crises (caused by governments, not unions) and the pressures being brought against them by their governments in retaliation for their support for greater political pluralism and transparency. U.S. objectives in sub-Saharan Africa have been well served by AALC through its effective use of the USAID grant to support the African unions in this critical period.
- Over 70 percent of the total direct costs of the AALC grant is for country programs, i.e., support to individual trade union centers. The AALC grant also funds: a) impact projects for providing rapid, unanticipated assistance to trade union federations and the initiation of activities in a country where a full scale program is not yet called for; b) activities carried out by U.S. unions with

counterpart African unions under the auspices of International Trade Secretariats (ITSs); and c) collaborative activities with regional and sub-regional trade union organizations.

- As indicated in Section II, the period since 1991 has been one of rapid political and economic change in sub-Saharan Africa. At times the political situation has precluded AALC activity. Where it could operate, however, AALC has continued to be very effective in responding to the trade union federations which were trying to accommodate to these changes.
- Due in significant measure to AALC support, trade union leaders appear to understand and accept the need for economic re-structuring of their countries' economies, even though they think the re-structuring could be carried out in a more humane way and with trade union participation in the decision-making process.
- Given the increasing number of countries eligible for participation in the program, the number of unpredictable political developments in the continent (some directed at trade unions and their representatives), and the recommendations in Section III for expanded AALC activity, AALC is stretched thin in its field representation. This impacts negatively on AALC's ability to maintain continuity in program implementation and monitoring.
- There is a need for more research for, and information sharing among, trade union federations on such subjects as:
  - > institution building as applied to trade unions and federations (e.g., when are regional structures needed, what is the optimum number of affiliate organizations, what departments and programs are most important, union and federation financing, strategic planning, etc.)
  - > conflict resolution
  - > project development and implementation
  - > techniques for assessing the quality and impact of training programs
  - > means of obtaining training materials in different languages
  - > comparative labor codes and implementing organizations and mechanisms

AALC has the capability and funding to help meet this need.

- The tripartite committee system and the industrial courts in most countries are not performing optimally; additional institutions and/or processes focusing on conflict prevention, and tripartite training related thereto, are needed to reduce the level of labor-management-government conflict.
- The previously A.I.D.-supported Department of Labor program which brought tripartite groups (representatives of Ministries of Labor, employer associations, and labor unions) to the U.S. served a very useful purpose in terms of reducing internal strife. Its resumption would be supported by U.S. Embassies.
- The AALC manages the A.I.D. grant from its Washington, D.C. office and nine regional offices in Africa; two of the regional offices have responsibilities for other country programs as well as the grant for sub-Saharan Africa.

- The financial management system operates effectively; the proposed modifications that are being put into effect to relate financial expenditures to physical progress will improve management's ability to monitor the program effectively.
- AALC-U.S. Embassy coordination has generally been good and often very beneficial to a trade union federation or its leaders. USAID Mission-AALC coordination needs to be improved.
- AALC's field personnel need more opportunity to meet and share ideas, information and perspectives. This is particularly important because they often serve as advisors to local leaders.
- AALC coordination with other donors is generally satisfactory, but would need to be strengthened somewhat to carry out recommendation 1.c. below.

#### **PRINCIPAL RECOMMENDATIONS**

1. AALC should provide, organize and/or fund greater research and information dissemination on the subjects listed in the sixth bullet under AALC Programs above by a combination of the following:
  - a. putting some specialists in the field who could deal with some of the above issues, but who could also pinch-hit for regional representatives when they were out of the region;
  - b. providing contracts or sub-grants to some of the sub-regional organizations to carry out the research suggested and/or to serve as an information clearinghouse on specified subjects; and
  - c. coordinating closely with other international labor organizations, ITs, USAID missions, and other development organizations to determine: (1) the availability of studies completed or in process relating to the above subjects; and/or 2) organizations interested in helping to finance some of the studies or serve as an information clearinghouse for some of the topics.
2. AALC should do a systematic in-house review of what changes are needed in program content and structure (e.g., regional vs. country programs, which organizations should be recipients, variations in the magnitude and content of programs), taking into account the increased political stability in a number of countries and recommendation #1 above. The review should also be looking toward the goal and purpose of a follow-on grant—for specific proposals in this regard, see Annex P.
3. AALC should increase its monitoring capability in the field, e.g., by some combination of the following:
  - a. establishing an additional regional office (possibly two when the turmoil in a number of countries ceases);
  - b. hire local staff to monitor on-going programs in countries where there is no regional office; and/or
  - c. arranging for AALC headquarters staff to make more frequent visits to review activities and to fill in for regional representatives when they must leave the region or be tied down for an extended period in one country.
4. A.I.D./Washington should fund a resumption by the Department of Labor of its tripartite visitors program.

5. AALC, through its regional representatives, should share with interested trade union center officials information on conflict resolution--in general and specific to labor-management relations. This sharing could start with Annexes L and M and the books by John Burton listed in the Bibliography (Annex D).
6. AALC, through its regional representatives, should share with interested trade union officials materials on institution building, e.g., the institution building model in Annex N that was developed for A.I.D. a number of years ago.
7. AALC should encourage its regional representatives to increase their contact with USAID missions to the extent they can.
8. A.I.D./Washington should send copies of this report to its field missions in sub-Saharan Africa, remind mission directors of the new policy on democracy and governance, point out the reasons for coordination with AALC representatives and trade unions (per Section IV.D.2.) and urge them to foster coordination with AALC representatives and trade union officials as appropriate, depending upon the content of the USAID program.
9. A.I.D./Washington should send copies of this report to Embassies in sub-Saharan Africa.
10. AALC should schedule a meeting of its regional representatives in Africa at least every two years (the year when the representatives are not attending the AFL-CIO convention) to facilitate a sharing of information. The local USAID and Embassy should be invited to attend some sessions and a summary report of the meeting should be circulated to all USAIDs and Embassies in sub-Saharan Africa. A.I.D. should authorize the foregoing to be funded under the grant.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

On September 30, 1991 the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) signed a five-year follow-on grant with the African-American Labor Center (AALC) to assist AALC to continue developing and strengthening African trade union organizations south of the Sahara (excluding the Republic of South Africa). The amount of the grant was \$25,300,000; the estimated completion date was December 31, 1995. Annex A presents the Logical Framework for the grant.

The grant provided for an interim or mid-course evaluation. A.I.D./W requested that it take place in April 1994. The scope of work for the evaluation is appended as Annex B.

The evaluation team consisted of two experts from Development Associates, Inc.--James L. Roush (Team Leader) and Jerome Barrett--and one from AALC--Kate Iskander. Ms. Iskander, who has U.S. trade union experience, is the monitoring, evaluation and reporting officer, as well as grants officer, for AALC. Mr. Roush is a retired A.I.D. foreign service officer and project design and evaluation expert. Mr. Barrett is a retiree from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and a trainer in interest-based negotiation. Mr. Roush served on the team which evaluated in 1989 the previous AALC grant for sub-Saharan Africa. Mr. Barrett served on the evaluation teams which evaluated the AALC grants for South Africa (in 1990) and Egypt (in 1992).

The methodology of the evaluation was to meet with the A.I.D./W project officer and AALC headquarters staff and to review some project documentation in Washington prior to undertaking field work. The field work involved visiting six African countries (Kenya, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Senegal and Sierra Leone in that order), interviewing officials of trade union federations and affiliates, USAID Mission Directors or other concerned personnel, U.S. Ambassadors and Labor Attaches or Reporting Officers, and, where feasible, representatives of international labor organizations. See Annex C for a list of persons contacted, Annex D for a bibliography of documents reviewed and Annex E for reports on the countries visited.

Upon return from the field trips, the evaluation team reviewed additional documentation and analyzed the results of surveys of the principal trade union organizations in sub-Saharan Africa. The surveys covered such topics as the organization and structure of trade union federations, the number of affiliated unions and memberships, collective bargaining activity, conflict resolution/industrial relations activities, tripartite (labor, business, government) activity, trade union educational and service programs, and women's participation in trade union activity. The questionnaire was used to collect data in 1991 at the beginning of the grant and again in early 1994 to coincide with the evaluation. The format of the 1994 questionnaire is included as Annex F.

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## II. CONTEXT AND TRENDS IN TRADE UNIONISM

### A. The Context

Since the start of the current AALC grant in 1991, two previous trends in sub-Saharan Africa have intensified:

- the undertaking of structural economic reforms; and
- the movement to more democratic political structures.

Two external events also have impacted on trade union trends in Africa: a) the end of the Cold War; and b) the change in the U.S. administration. These trends and events are discussed below.

#### 1. Ending of the Cold War

There was both an internal and an external dimension of the impact upon sub-Saharan African countries of the ending of the Cold War. Internally, it became more difficult to justify continuing with the socialist or quasi-socialist economic structures that prevailed in many countries. The case for maintaining a single-party, highly centralized political structure was also seriously weakened.

In addition, with the end of the Cold War, the admonition of the Organization for African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) to its affiliates not to join any non-African trade union organizations no longer made sense. Although the rule had been ignored by some, OATUU's dropping of that rule, has resulted in a number of union federations dropping their affiliation with the World Federation of Trade Unions. This affiliation had made them ineligible for assistance from AALC. The number of country programs included in the AALC grant has expanded from 17 in 1989 under the previous grant to 23 in 1991 (the beginning of the current grant) to 29 in late 1993.

Externally, assistance from the former Soviet Bloc and the Soviet Union declined dramatically or ceased, while that from the Western governments became much more tied to the implementation of economic and political reforms. For example, there were coordinated cut-backs or cut-offs of assistance in Cameroon, Kenya, Malawi and others. Thus, it became necessary to implement seriously the economic structural adjustments that had been largely avoided up to that time.

With the end of the Cold War, internal pressure that was already building for both economic and political changes was significantly increased.

## 2. Economic Reform

Most sub-Saharan African countries encountered economic crises during the 1981-86 period; high inflation, falling growth rates, and over-valued exchange rates were the norm. Between 1987 and 1991, virtually all of the countries introduced economic reforms prescribed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. There was a great deal of variation, however, in the degree to which governments implemented the reforms.

According to a study by the World Bank in early 1994, quoted in the New York Times of March 13, 1994, the countries that made the biggest economic changes, like Ghana, saw their growth rates and consumption rise with more goods to buy in the market place. Those that made the fewest changes, like Cote d'Ivoire and Cameroon, became further mired in recession and saw increases of as much as 50 percent in the number of their people living in poverty. The World Bank's ranking of sub-Saharan African countries by how well they carried out appropriate macro-economic policy during the 1987-91 period is shown in the table below.

**Table II-1**

### **SCORE CARD ON ECONOMIC POLICY REFORM**

#### **FAIR**

Ghana

#### **ADEQUATE**

Burundi  
Malawi  
Gabon  
Senegal  
Uganda

Gambia  
Burkina Faso  
Mauritania  
Togo

Madagascar  
Kenya  
Nigeria  
Mali

#### **POOR**

Central African  
Republic  
Zimbabwe

Niger  
Rwanda

Benin  
Tanzania

#### **VERY POOR**

Cote d'Ivoire  
Sierra Leone

Cameroon  
Zambia\*

Mozambique

\* Zambia's new government, which is headed by the former head of the trade union federation, has reversed this situation.

One of the most important elements in most economic structural adjustment programs has been the cutting of excess or bogus personnel from the civil service and the re-structuring and/or privatization of a large number of government enterprises. Because the government in many sub-Saharan African countries is the largest employer, the civil servant and public enterprise employees unions are among the largest unions and the unions hardest hit by the effects of the economic re-structuring.

### 3. Political Reform

The pressures building from the disastrous and deteriorating economic performance during the 1987-91 period contributed to increased pressures for changes in political leadership and for more open and pluralistic societies. In some countries the "old guard" has been thrown out through democratic elections; in some, the old guard survived because the opposition was fragmented and could not agree on a single opposition candidate; in some, the old guard has managed to prevent multi-party elections from taking place. Countries in which the AALC program has been or is active have been categorized for political performance in Table II-2 on the following page.

### 4. United States Policy Toward Africa

Speaking before the Senate Subcommittee on African Affairs on March 24, 1994, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, George E. Moose, outlined the new U.S. administration's policy goals in Africa:

- fostering democracy and respect for human rights;
- promoting peace by preventing or resolving conflicts;
- supporting economic growth and sustainable development;
- providing humanitarian assistance to alleviate suffering and hunger;
- increasing American private sector involvement in Africa; and
- integrating Africa into the global economy.

At the same presentation, Secretary Moose stated that the special needs and unique circumstances of Africa are explicitly recognized. Thus, the Development Fund for Africa (DFA) will be continued; its goal statement follows:

"The challenges facing Sub-Saharan Africa require a steady, long-term approach to development, and therefore the purpose of the Development Fund for Africa shall continue to be to help the poor majority of men and women in Sub-Saharan Africa to participate in a process of long-term development through economic growth that is equitable, participatory, environmentally sustainable and self reliant."



Thus, the new U.S. administration should be even more forthcoming in supporting programs that will be of interest to trade unionists, e.g., improved governance, respect for human rights, conflict prevention and resolution, and the implementation of economic policies which result in equitable and sustainable economic development. The U.S. Government's concern for human rights has already benefited some trade unionists, e.g., Kenya, Malawi, Sierra Leone.

**B. Trade Union Developments in Sub-Saharan Africa**

AALC works with trade union federations, confederations or congresses (the names vary throughout the region). These organizations vary considerably in terms of their independence of government, their unity, their structure, the number of affiliates and members that they have, the diversity of their programs, their financial status, etc. Even so, there are some common problems or situations.

Table II-3 below categorizes the countries with which AALC has been or is working according to their independence from government or government party and the level of unity or disunity in the trade movement.

Table II-3

**INDEPENDENCE AND UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT**

**Independent Federation, Unified Trade Union Movement**

Botswana	Chad	Ghana
Kenya	Mali	Mauritius
Niger	Nigeria	Sierra Leone
Uganda	Zambia	Zimbabwe

**Competing Federations**

Central African Republic	Senegal	Lesotho
Swaziland	Guinea	Gabon
Togo	Cote d'Ivoire	Congo

**Moving toward Independence of Government**

Cameroon	Mozambique	Tanzania
Malawi		

**Under Influence of Government or Main Party**

Namibia

**Movement in Disarray Due to Internal Security/Political Situation**

Burundi	Rwanda	Liberia
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Based on data submitted by 36 federations, there are about nine million trade union members in sub-Saharan Africa, ranging from a low of 10,000 in Benin to Nigeria's 3.5 million. Twenty-one federations have memberships exceeding 50,000. Trade union membership in the countries with the greatest number of union members or the highest percentage of the labor force that is unionized is shown in Table II-4 below. A complete list of the countries for which membership data are available is shown in Annex G.

Table II-4

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

<u>Country</u>	<u># of T.U. Members (000)</u>	<u>T.U. Members as % of Labor Force</u>
Nigeria	3,500	8
Zaire	1,600	11
Ghana	556	10
Tanzania	466	5
Cote d'Ivoire	450	9
Zambia	325	12
Kenya	280	3
Zimbabwe	270	7
Ethiopia	250	1
Mozambique	220	3
Togo	150	9
Mali	130	5
Congo	128	1
Central African Republic	120	9
Namibia	88	20
Mauritius	65	16
Swaziland	30	8
Senegal	93	3
Sierra Leone	60	4

Comparative membership figures for 1991 and 1993 are available for 24 countries. The following table shows how many have been losing and gaining members and affiliate unions during the period.

	<u># increasing</u>	<u># decreasing</u>	<u># no change</u>
Individual Members	6	11	7
Affiliates	8	3	13

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Only seven or eight federations have staffed branch offices capable of carrying out local activities in support of the affiliates. A few more are planning to establish branches and others would do so if financing permitted.

A few federations have created new functional departments, while almost the same number have had to reduce the number of departments. An illustration of the types of departments that are most common in African federations, according to the AALC survey, is shown in Table II-5 below.

**Table II-5**  
**FUNCTIONAL DEPARTMENTS BY TYPE**

<u>Type</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Education	22
Administration	21
Finance/Accounts	16
Organizing	17
Socio-economic, including research	26
International Relations	14
Information/Press/Publicity/Publications	22
Legal/Industrial Relations/Negotiations	14
Women (including Day Care)	20
Youth	7
Services (including cooperatives--10 and health & safety--7)	23
Miscellaneous (Building Program, Cultural, Workers' Participation, Union Issues)	4
Number of Federations Responding	31

Because of financial restraints, a number of the federations with a significant number of departments cannot staff them with full time paid personnel. Just how prevalent the problem is cannot be determined from the surveys because the data are not consistent, apparently due to definitional problems.

Although research departments are becoming more numerous, their work is usually focused on preparing the federation's leaders for tripartite discussions or affiliate's leaders for collective bargaining negotiations. What are frequently missing are planning departments or the use of the research and other departments to prepare longer term plans. This is understandable, given that survival is the issue of the moment for many federations.

The establishment of service departments, particularly cooperatives departments, reflects trade union efforts to counteract the financial difficulties faced by their members from the on-going economic crises in their countries. There are also increasing efforts by trade union leaders to develop income generation activities, frequently in the informal sector, for trade union members losing their jobs from the large scale retrenchment taking place in African civil services and government enterprises.

### **C. Trends in Tripartite and Dispute Resolution Activities**

Virtually all of the sub-Saharan countries have established tripartite committees to deal with economic and labor-related issues affecting employers and workers. Many unions complain, however, that their government does not use the forum for discussing important issues, particularly those emanating from structural economic adjustments which seriously affect trade union members. Others say that meetings are convened, but they are really shams; no discussions, just relaying previously made government decisions.

In some countries, the employers or workers' representatives do not have the authority to request meetings of the tripartite committees. Even when they do, it is still up to the government to decide when to call the meeting--which often does not happen or is delayed for months. While this may represent government policy in some cases, it appears also that Ministries of Labor are often weak and their officials have little understanding of the importance of consultations as a means of avoiding or at least reducing labor-management problems that can negatively affect the economy.

Nearly all of the countries have industrial courts to deal with specific labor-management problems. In some cases these courts are seen as an extension of government and are not considered by trade unions as objective. Even when operated objectively, the industrial court system is not very effective in most countries because of the delays in resolving issues. Even though some courts handle hundreds of cases annually, they still have extremely large backlogs of cases awaiting decision. The backlog is created in part because a lot of petty grievances end up in court; with better training and orientation, many of these cases could be dealt with in the collective bargaining context. In the meantime, the backlogs have resulted in a lot of "wildcat" or unauthorized strikes because of frustration over unresolved issues.

### **D. Priorities in Trade Union Programs**

Education/training continues to be the mainstay of trade union programs; federations reported in AALC's survey over 1,100 educational programs in 1993. Orientation in trade union operations and collective bargaining is a continuing need because of re-assignments of personnel, including the advancement of shop stewards or union officials into management positions within a firm. In addition, new subjects are constantly being added to education programs, e.g., economics, proposed new labor legislation, health and safety (including AIDS), union finance, cooperatives management, political processes/democracy, productivity, gender/equity issues, grievance procedures, negotiation, alcohol/drugs.

As can be seen from the above listing, trade union training courses often are preparing members to be better citizens and better, more effective employees. Some employers have recognized the latter and provide in-kind assistance to unions for their training programs; in some cases, managers also attend the training.

As economic conditions have deteriorated, trade unions have become increasingly interested in income enhancing or expenditure cutting activities. Expenditure cutting includes fostering consumer cooperatives (including health and pharmacy), credit unions, and day care centers and providing paralegal services. Job creation or enhancement activities include:

- running schools for up-grading skills (secretarial, vocational, sewing, computer);
- organizing and running enterprises (bakeries, farm projects, hotels);
- fostering producer cooperatives (fisheries, material dyeing, tailoring);
- promoting other small-scale income generating activities (women's sewing or cloth dyeing activities, vegetable gardening).

In addition to the above, six federations reported "job creation" as a program, but no information is included in the survey on the types of activities being fostered. One federation is assessing the economics of investing in a gold mine that is being privatized--for the benefit of the union as well as for individual members.

Health and safety programs have become more important as AIDS has become endemic in most parts of sub-Saharan Africa. Safety hazards in the work place have also come more to the forefront as newer industries have developed, e.g., those using or producing toxic substances.

Labor organizing activity appears not to have been receiving as great a priority, at least at the federation level. This reflects, no doubt, the necessity for federations to deal more with national policies related to economic re-structuring and political developments leading to more democratic institutions. It also signals a positive development because organizing is seen increasingly as the domain of individual unions, not of federations.

There is an increasing number of programs for women, and women's participation is increasing in general programs. This reflects some increase in women's empowerment within the movement, but also the pressure from international donors. While the "glass ceiling" still exists in many if not most of the federations, women are moving into senior positions in affiliate unions.

## **E. Trade Union Financing and Sustainability Issues**

Many, if not most, trade union federations are facing serious financial problems at a time when needs are greater. This reflects problems in the structure of the union finance system as well as the depressed economic conditions in most sub-Saharan African countries.

Most federations depend primarily on union dues for their revenues. Unions and the federations are particularly vulnerable in those countries in which there is not an automatic "check-off" or deduction from workers' pay of union dues. In these countries, the union must rely on the good will of the worker to pay the dues--a worker who is under extreme economic pressure. The federation, in turn, must rely on the good will of the affiliate union to pay its share (most federations get about 30 percent of the amount collected). Federation officers have told AALC representatives that the affiliate union membership figures supplied on the AALC questionnaire are probably under-stated by the affiliate unions to keep down their payments to the federation.

Even where there is check-off, the dues are usually a fixed amount, not a percentage of the worker's pay. Thus, the value of the dues received is minimal, given the serious inflation that has taken place in many of the countries. Furthermore, employers (and especially governments) are often delinquent in paying the dues to the unions--one government as much as a year in arrears. Again, the federation waits for the affiliate union to pass on the federation's share.

The foregoing structural problems in union finance have been further exacerbated during recent years as unions have lost members as a result of the down-sizing of government bureaucracies and the down-sizing or privatization of the multitudinous government enterprises (parastatals). Unemployed workers do not pay union dues or taxes.

Federations are studying, in some cases experimenting with, a number of actions designed to alleviate their financial crises. Some are focusing on dues: increasing the amount and making it a percentage of the worker's pay. Some federations are including discussions of union finance in all training programs as a way of preparing the rank and file for a dues increase.

Other ideas being considered include setting up union businesses, trying to organize parts of the informal sector, investing in a gold mine that is being privatized, and setting up an endowment fund for covering the costs of education programs.

There appears to be a need for more information by federations on the relative success of various types of revenue enhancement activities that have been tried in other countries.

## **F. Summary of Issues**

The key issues of concern to most trade union leaders in sub-Saharan Africa are summarized in Table II-6 below.

**Table II-6**

### **KEY ISSUES FOR SUB-SAHARAN TRADE UNION LEADERS**

- **Relations with Governments**
  - > Keep from Being Controlled by Government
  - > Work for Multi-party Democracy & Transparency
  - > Improve Institutions and Processes for Preventing And/or Dealing with Labor-Management Conflicts
  
- **Economic Structural Adjustment**
  - > Be Accepted as an Equal in Tripartite Discussions
  - > Reduce/alleviate Hardships on Members and Other Workers
  - > Ensure That Donor Resources for Alleviating Social Adjustments to Economic Re-structuring Are Used Appropriately
  
- **Financial Resources**
  - > Maintain Membership to the Extent Possible
  - > Revise Dues Structures
  - > Seek Ways to Ensure Long Term Sustainability
  
- **Services to Affiliates**
  - > Maintaining Quantity and Improving Quality of Training Programs
  - > Establishing Regional Offices/Centers
  - > Initiating Job Creation or Income Generation Activities (E.g., in Informal Sector) for Re-trenched Members
  - > Creating or Strengthening Research Capabilities
  - > Strengthening Women's and Youth Programs
  - > Improving Communications with Affiliates, E.g., Through Use of a Newsletter or Newspaper

## **G. Conclusions**

1. Trade unions have been highly supportive of, and often in the forefront of the effort to achieve greater pluralism and more democratic institutions in the societies of sub-Saharan Africa; nevertheless, most of the trade union movements have avoided becoming party appendages.

2. Trade unions have been making a valiant effort to minimize the reductions in the living standards of workers during the extended economic crises by:

- a. negotiating some modifications or stretch-out of wage cuts or of the time-tables for the down-sizing of bureaucracies or the privatization of government enterprises; and
- b. increasing the level and quality of services being provided to members.

3. Trade unions, and some individual trade union leaders, have been under attack from their governments in a number of countries. AALC, other international labor organizations, U.S. government representatives and those of other countries have generally been successful in protecting or restoring the rights of the individuals and institutions under attack.

4. Trade union membership has declined in a number of countries due to economic re-structuring, and this process is not over yet; as noted in II.A. above, the economic reform effort is far from over. The resulting decrease in dues income has caused trade union organizations to rely increasingly on AALC and other donors for program funding.

5. The tripartite committee system and the industrial courts are not performing optimally; additional institutions and/or processes focusing on conflict prevention, and tripartite training related thereto, are needed to reduce the level of labor-management conflict.

6. Trade union federations have need of additional information about the effectiveness of various trade union structures, institution building in general, trade union finance; effective member support programs that will not overtax the federation's management capability, etc. Neither the federations nor the African regional trade union organizations have the personnel or financial resources to carry out the needed research to obtain this information and to serve as a clearinghouse for the data once collected.

7. This has been a particularly propitious time to be supporting sub-Saharan African trade unions--they have deserved it, particularly for their efforts on behalf of democracy in their countries; they have needed it, because of the economic crises (caused by governments, not unions) and the pressures being brought against them by their governments in retaliation for their support for greater political pluralism and transparency. U.S. objectives in sub-Saharan Africa have been well served by AALC through its effective use of the USAID grant to support the African unions in this critical period.

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### III. AALC PROGRAMS

#### A. Overview

On September 30, 1991 the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) signed a five-year grant with the African American Labor Center (AALC) to assist AALC to continue its program to develop and strengthen African labor organizations south of the Sahara (excluding the Republic of South Africa). In the grant proposal the project goal is stated as:

"The development of viable, independent, and self-sufficient African labor organizations, capable of representing workers' interests, promoting pluralistic institutions, and contributing to the economic and political development process."

The inter-related project purposes given in the grant are:

"To provide African trade union federations, their affiliated unions, and regional labor organizations with the expertise, technical resources, and materials that will enable them to contribute to conflict resolution, develop their internal structures, expand union education and service programs, enhance worker participation in national economic decision-making, and develop the human resource potential of their members.

To empower workers and their organizations as participants in the transition to a market-oriented economy and more open political system currently under way in the majority of African countries."

The Logical Framework underpinning grant design is included as Annex A.

The amount of the AALC grant was \$25,300,000 to cover expenditures through the estimated completion date of December 31, 1995. The first installment of funding, \$4,440,000, was obligated with signature of the grant; subsequent amendments to the grant obligated \$4,600,000 in 1992 (grant amendment was undated) and \$4,600,000 on August 12, 1993.

A summary of the original and amended budget for the grant by principal categories is shown in Table III-1 below.

**Table III-1**

**BUDGET OF AALC GRANT BY CATEGORY**  
(US\$ 1,000)

<u>Budget Item</u>	<u>Original Budget</u>	<u>Revised Budget<sup>1/</sup></u>	<u>Expend. as of 12/31/93</u>
AALC Headquarters	1,698	1,967	1,139
Region-wide Programs	3,903	3,045	622
Impact Projects	(1,402)	)(2,009)	(206)
ITS/Union-to-Union	(1,418)	)	(262)
Regional Organizations	(1,083)	(1,036)	(154)
Country Programs	13,598	12,654	4,693
Total Direct Costs	19,200	17,666	6,454
Indirect Costs	<u>4,800</u>	<u>6,334</u>	<u>1,603</u>
Program Budget	24,000	24,000	8,057
Monitoring/Evaluation/Reporting	1,225	1,225	) 35
Audit Expenses	75	75	)
<b>TOTAL GRANT</b>	<b>25,300</b>	<b>25,300</b>	<b>8,092</b>

1/ Including funds not yet formally re-programmed.

The utilization of funds is considerably below what would be expected after three years of the grant. In this particular case, however, the grant was not signed until September 30, 1991 and very few funds were made available in calendar year (CY) 1991. Thus, the grant would only be about 40 percent utilized if there were a fairly regular flow of activity. This, however, has not been the African reality. While a few new programs have been added (e.g., Namibia, Ethiopia and Eritrea), a larger number have been interrupted or suspended because of internal security (e.g., Burundi and Rwanda), internal politics (Mali, Congo), government interference (Kenya), and problems with or within the trade union movement (Lesotho, Mozambique).

Because of political problems with some countries, AALC personnel have had to be moved from a country. Delays in getting new people in place means that programs largely come to a halt until a new regional representative is in place. In some cases, a local situation will require that the regional representative spend an extended period of time working in one country; this will generally mean a slow-down, if not a lapse in approving new activities in other countries for which the regional representative is responsible.

Another contributing factor to slower than might be expected expenditures is that many of the trade union federations have been involved in bringing about multi-party elections or fending

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off attempted government interventions. Under such circumstances, normal functions are impossible or at least not of high priority. Most of the federations do not have a tradition of long term planning, but such planning is even less likely (although more needed) when the federation or its leadership is fighting for survival. Hard to remember you were draining the swamp when you're hip deep in crocodiles.

### Impact Projects

The Impact Projects funding was provided for (1) rapid, unanticipated assistance to trade unions; and (2) the initiation of programs in a country where a full-scale program is not yet called for. Such individual impact projects were expected to be small, normally not exceeding \$50,000, but to have special justification because of the timing. To date, AALC has provided 14 impact grants totaling \$286,282 to 10 countries. Seven of the grants were given to Central African countries in which there are no AALC country programs; two were prior to the opening of a country program (Ethiopia and Namibia); five were for special projects in countries with on-going AALC programs. A listing of the individual grants is provided in Annex H.

### ITS/Union-to-Union Activities

International Trade Secretariats (ITSs), which are closely associated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), are composed of unions in a similar industry or service sector. The AALC grant was to support some 19 U.S. affiliates of ITSs in direct union-to-union programs under the auspices of the 16 ITSs. These union-to-union activities are requested through and/or approved by the country federation. The topics and activities anticipated were: providing industry-specific expertise to African unions, organizing exchange programs and study tours for union officers, providing equipment for local organizing and educational purposes, funding international and regional training of local affiliates, and technical help in establishing full-time departments, e.g., occupational health and safety.

Ten ITSs have participated in the grant to date, carrying out 45 activities involving 21 countries. In-country training accounted for 29 activities, 14 activities supported study tours, exchanges or attendance at congresses, and 2 involved the provision of equipment. A list of the participating ITSs is provided in Annex I; the type of activity by country and ITS is presented in Annex J.

### Support to Regional Organizations

The ICFTU regional organization, AFRO, which is now based in Nairobi, has become the most representative Pan-African trade union organization. It has been established since the grant was approved, so it was not mentioned in the grant proposal. Some collaborative activities with AFRO are planned by AALC, beginning in 1994.

Non-aligned national trade union centers in Africa and most of the affiliates of AFRO are also members of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) headquartered in Accra, Ghana. Most of the national centers are also grouped in four regional organizations: 1)

Organisation of Trade Unions of West Africa (OTUWA) headquartered in Cotonou, Benin; 2) Organisation of Trade Unions of Central Africa (OTAC) headquartered in Kinshasa, Zaire; 3) Southern African Trade Union Co-ordination Council (SATUCC) headquartered in Lilongwe, Malawi; and 4) East African Trade Union Consultative Council (EATUCC) headquartered in Nairobi, Kenya.

As indicated in Table III-1 above, little funding has been provided to OATUU and the sub-regional organizations, reflecting in part a lack of programs deemed worthy of support, in part the inability of some of the organizations to carry out programs because of exogenous factors. For example, the arrest in Malawi of the top trade union official caused SATUCC, which has a strong program, to shift its headquarters temporarily to Zambia, thereby causing a hiatus in program implementation. The SATUCC program calls for: 1) a comparison of the national labor laws of the affiliates; 2) a study of the impact of immigrant workers on the regional economy; 3) promotion of the rights of working women; and 4) seeking common labor regulations in accordance with the recently published Social Charter for Human and Trade Union Rights.

### Country Programs

Over 70 percent of the total direct costs of the AALC grant is for country programs, i.e., support to individual country trade union centers (federations, confederations or congresses, depending upon the country). The AALC proposed to assist African centers to achieve the purposes set forth in the grant through the technical collaboration of its field staff and by supporting activities in three main categories which are discussed below:

- Internal Trade Union Development
- Tripartite Participation
- Social and Economic Development

As indicated in Table III-2 on the following page, 26 countries have received assistance under the AALC grant for internal trade union development, 12 for tripartite participation, and 19 for support of social and economic development. Table III-3 gives comparative figures for the three components of country programs and the cost of the field offices. Annex K provides a table showing the current objectives of the AALC country programs by country.

Table 2  
COUNTRIES IN AALC PROGRAM BY TYPE OF PARTICIPATION

Country	Internal Trade Union Development	Tripartite Participation	Social Economic Development	Impact Project <sup>1</sup>	ITS/Union-to-Union Activity <sup>1</sup>	Comments
Botswana	X	X	X	X		Program suspended due to civil war. Internal problems.
Burundi				X(2)		
Cameroon	X					
CAR			X	X(2)		Program limited due to govt. interference.
Chad	X			X		
Congo						
Côte d'Ivoire	X				X(4)	Program began in 1993.
Eritrea	X	X	X			
Ethiopia	X	X	X	X		
Gabon					X	Program suspended for partnership issues.
Gambia						
Ghana	X	X	X		X(4)	
Guinea					X	Program suspended for partnership issues.
Kenya	X	X	X	X	X(3)	
Lesotho	X		X		X	
Liberia	X					Planned activities for 1994.
Malawi	X					
Mali	X	X	X		X(3)	To be implemented.
Mauritius	X					Program began in 1993.
Mozambique	X		X			
Namibia	X		X	X		
Niger	X		X		X(3)	Regional office opened in 1993. Program suspended due to civil war.
Nigeria	X	X	X		X(4)	
Rwanda				X(2)	X	
Senegal	X		X		X(5)	Assistance to trade unionists in exile for work with pro- democracy forces in Sudan, publication of newsletter and attendance at international labor conferences.
Sierra Leone	X	X	X	X(2)		
Sudan	X					
Swaziland	X	X			X(2)	
Tanzania	X	X	X		X	
Togo	X		X		X(3)	
Uganda	X		X		X(4)	Brooke amendment precludes work in Zaire.
Zaire					X	
Zambia	X	X	X		X(5)	
Zimbabwe	X	X	X	X	X(4)	

Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of projects/activities (x=one project).

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DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATES, INC.

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Table III-3

EXPENDITURES BY PROGRAM ELEMENT, 1991-1993  
(\$1,000)

<u>Element</u>	<u>Expended</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Internal Trade Union Development	1,275	27%
Tripartite Participation	118	3
Support to Social & Economic Development	346	7
Field Offices	2,953	63
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>4,692</u>	<u>100%</u>

**B. Internal Trade Union Development**

Under this category, AALC assists trade union federations to reinforce and expand internal programs in such areas as membership growth, organizing capacity, trade union education, creation of branch and regional offices, and improvements in administrative and financial management. The types of assistance fall roughly into five categories: 1) technical collaboration (AALC field or headquarters staff, ITS affiliate unions); 2) training support; 3) equipment (e.g., computers, fax machines) and vehicles; 4) construction; and 5) salary (on a declining basis) and other temporary budgetary support.

The most critical element on a continuing basis for internal trade union development is training. Almost all trade union centers have education departments and very active education and training programs. The most common AALC assistance to centers' basic educational program (trade union organization and operations and collective bargaining) is financial support for the individual training activity. This took place in some 14 countries during the last six months of 1993.

Specialized training programs (economics, democracy, health & safety, cooperative management, etc.) have become of increasing importance with the economic and political changes sweeping Africa. AALC helps meet the need for qualified instructors through the ITS/union-to-union program, by providing the services of field or headquarters AALC personnel, and through financing attendance at programs of the George Meany Center near Washington, D.C. Union officials interviewed by the evaluation team spoke highly of all of these AALC approaches.

In the early days of the AALC program, construction assistance was provided to help trade union centers have their own buildings, thereby assisting them to be independent of governments or government parties. In the current grant, the amounts involved in this category are relatively small; most of the assistance is for adding to existing buildings, e.g., in Sierra Leone where the expansion will permit expanded women's programs.

While salary support has been used to support education departments, it has been more common in recent years to help fund a researcher. The latter's work usually supports the educational program as well as provide data needed by trade union officials to use in tripartite discussions and collective bargaining.

While computers provided by AALC will be used to support all departments of the center, it is often most crucial for expanding and improving the quality of training, e.g., by facilitating the preparation of training materials.

### **C. Tripartite Participation and Conflict Resolution**

This category of AALC assistance is used to provide training in labor law, international economics, occupational health and safety, economic research, etc. so trade union leaders can participate more effectively in discussions with government and industry on policy issues that affect workers. AALC has also supported research activities of trade union centers.

Union officials who had participated in the George Meany Center programs were particularly laudatory of that program. Not only had it provided them orientation and training about economic structural adjustment, but it had afforded them the opportunity to talk directly with officials of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank about the problems faced by workers. In such discussions, they learned of programs made available to their countries to alleviate the suffering, programs which had not been publicly discussed by their governments. One official said that what he had learned at the Meany Center directly helped him achieve a more senior position in the trade union movement as well as be more effective in tripartite discussions.

In a few cases, AALC has funded, in whole or in part, a tripartite forum dedicated to a discussion of economic issues. Union leaders said they were accorded greater respect by business and government leaders subsequent to the forum.

Union officials in the countries visited by the evaluation team were very interested in the topic of conflict resolution--as a general problem of concern in their country as well as related to labor-management-government relations. The officials were quite interested in materials made available to them by the team. Some spoke of using the materials for discussion in workshops or other training programs.

### **D. Support to Social and Economic Development**

AALC has provided advice and technical support (some financial support) to federations which wished to establish such projects as credit unions, cooperatives, income-generating schemes, and other service programs. Given the deteriorating situation for many workers in a number of the sub-Saharan countries, there will be increasing pressure on unions to help make workers' pay go further and to foster additional sources of revenue--both for individual members and the unions and federations. Thus, it is anticipated that there will be an expansion of requests to AALC for such assistance. AALC has only two people in the field with cooperatives and credit union expertise.

Based on the evaluation team's discussion with union officials and AALC field personnel, it is clear that many unions require advice on designing and developing economically viable projects. There is a need for information and advice on how to undertake feasibility studies and prepare business plans as well as other requirements for establishing and implementing income-generating projects.

AALC personnel and union leaders need orientation in assessing the costs vs. benefits of proposals plus making a comparison of the net benefits to the union center of a given investment (even if donor-funded) in comparison with alternative uses that could be made by the union of the funds. The team doubted that the agricultural training program proposed by the Sierra Leone Labor Congress would hold up under either type of analysis.

#### **E. AALC Response to Changes in the Political and Trade Union Environment**

AALC has been particularly effective in responding to changes in the following ways:

1. When governments have attempted to destroy the trade union or strip union officials of their rights, the AALC has mobilized the U.S. government and/or the international community to protest strongly to the government. The AALC has provided limited financing for legal fees when the union could not pay.

2. AALC has provided international observer teams to monitor elections.

3. AALC has joined with U.S. Embassies in financing civic education to help prepare the citizenry for free and fair elections.

4. The Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) allows the president to offer preferential trade status to developing countries through duty free treatment of some or all of their exports to the United States. Congress requires that these benefits be denied to countries which violate workers' rights. In cases of violations of those rights, the AALC has worked with the trade union federation to collect the data needed to build a case for revocation of GSP status.

5. The changing economic environment has seriously affected the labor union environment. The AALC response has involved the provision of technical assistance, financing training (in-country and at the George Meany Center) and research assistance, all of which have been discussed in previous sub-sections.

As indicated in Section II, trade unions are facing serious financial problems and they are generally weak in long-term planning. AALC has been supportive in dealing with immediate cash flow problems. However, there is a need to explore possibilities for providing more effective assistance in long-term planning and fund-raising, particularly in those countries where the move to multi-party democracy has taken place and there is reason to expect some political stability. There is also a wide-spread need for guidance in the analysis and/or design of income-generation projects.

The number of trade union federations eligible for and requesting assistance from AALC has been increasing. The number of country programs has increased significantly. Internally, AALC has been discussing the need for some concentration of resources in countries capable of absorbing more funding and possibly dropping some countries where the results of the AALC investment are not immediately obvious.

## **F. Conclusions**

1. As indicated in Section II, the period since 1991 has been one of rapid change in sub-Saharan Africa. AALC has continued to be very effective in responding to the trade union federations which were trying to accommodate to these changes. This has meant discontinuing programs because of internal situations in the country (Burundi, Rwanda, Cameroon, Guinea, Chad) as well as coming forth quickly with assistance when new opportunities arose (Namibia, Ethiopia, Eritrea).

2. The AALC support for pluralism and democracy in Africa is particularly noteworthy.

3. Due in significant measure to the AALC support, trade union leaders appear to understand and accept the need for economic re-structuring of their countries' economies, even though they think the re-structuring could be carried out in a more humane way.

4. There is a need for more research for, and information sharing among, trade union federations on such subjects as:

- institution building as applied to trade unions and federations (e.g., when are regional structures needed, what is the optimum number of affiliate organizations, what departments and programs are most important, union and federation financing, strategic planning, etc.)
- conflict resolution
- project development and implementation
- techniques for assessing the quality and impact of training programs
- means of obtaining training materials in different languages
- comparative labor codes and implementing organizations and mechanisms

AALC has the capability and funding to help meet this need.

5. The AALC consideration of where it should be giving priority in its country programs is very timely and appropriate.

## **G. Recommendations**

1. AALC should provide, organize and/or fund greater research and information dissemination on the subjects listed in F.4. above by a combination of the following:
  - a. putting some specialists in the field who could deal with some of the above issues. but who could also pinch-hit for regional representatives when they were out of the region;
  - b. providing contracts or sub-grants to some of the sub-regional organizations to carry out the research suggested and/or to serve as an information clearinghouse on specified subjects; and
  - c. coordinating closely with other international labor organizations, ITSs, USAID missions, and other development organizations to determine: (1) the availability of studies completed or in process relating to the above subjects; and/or 2) organizations interested in helping to finance some of the studies or serve as an information clearinghouse for some of the topics.
2. AALC should do a systematic in-house review of what changes are needed in program content and structure (e.g., regional vs. country programs, which organizations should be recipients, variations in the magnitude and content of programs), taking into account the increased political stability in a number of countries and recommendation #1 above. The review should also be looking toward the goal and purpose of a follow-on grant--for specific proposals in this regard, see Annex P.
3. AALC should explore the possibilities of producing or helping finance the production of a publication that would carry write-ups of activities carried out in one country that might be replicable in others, particularly activities related to the issues cited in F.4. above.
4. AALC, through its regional representatives, should share with interested trade union center officials information on conflict resolution--in general and specific to labor-management relations. This sharing could start with Annexes L and M and the two books by John Burton listed in the Bibliography (Annex D).
5. AALC, through its regional representatives, should share with interested trade union officials materials on institution building. Annex N, which provides an interesting institution building model that was developed for A.I.D. a number of years ago, could be part of the material shared.

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## IV. PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

### A. Overview

The AALC manages its various grants, primarily from A.I.D. and the National Endowment for Democracy, from a Washington, D.C. office and nine regional offices in Africa. Two of the offices (Johannesburg and Cairo) also have responsibility for other country grants. The assignments within AALC for managing the A.I.D. grants is shown in Table IV-1 below. A complete list of AALC staff is enclosed as Annex O.

Table IV-1

AALC ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND STAFFING ASSIGNMENTS

Program	Staff	Field Representative	Location	Countries
Southern and East Africa	Michael Lescault Michael O'Farrell John Tipton Sandra Wilson	Martin Doherty	Harare	Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe
		Fiseha Tekie	Addis	Eritrea, Ethiopia
		Juliette Lenoir	Nairobi	Kenya, Mauritius, Tanzania, Uganda
		Barbara Lomax	Johannesburg	South Africa*
		Dan O'Laughlin	Johannesburg	Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland
Central and West Africa	David Brombart Isabelle Chaduteau Colette Young	Glenn Lesak	Brazzaville	Burundi, Cameroon, CAR, Chad, Congo, - Gabon, Rwanda, Zaire
		André Akou	Abidjan	Benin*, Burkina Faso*, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Togo
		Thomas Miller	Dakar	Gambia, Guinea, Liberia, Senegal, Sierra Leone
	Michael O'Farrell	Thomas Medley	Lagos	Ghana, Nigeria
North Africa	Joseph Davis Michelle Shoemaker	Gebreselassie Gebremariam	Cairo	Egypt*, Morocco*, Sudan, Tunisia*

\* Country programs not funded by this grant

Table IV-1

## **B. Financial Management**

The financial department is located in AALC/Washington. All documents, books and records are processed and maintained in the Washington, D.C. office. The AALC utilizes an accounting software package called RealWorld. This system allows the AALC to track costs by expense nature and by program objectives. There are two locations for direct program expenditures: direct disbursements made in D.C. and disbursements made in the field.

Headquarters. In general, there are two major types of direct program costs that are paid in Washington, D.C.: salaries, including benefits and allowances, and travel expenses.

Salaries, benefits and allowances made up approximately 30% of AALC's total direct expenses in 1993. With the exception of housing and education allowances for field staff, all of these costs were paid directly from the Washington, D.C. office. An in-house payroll system allows for allocation of time worked by program objective. At the end of each month, a detailed analysis is completed to allocate all related benefits and allowances based upon the actual hours worked by program objective.

Travel costs, such as hotel and per diem or local transportation, are handled through an "accountable" type plan where advances are made to and expense reports are submitted by the traveler. Travel advances, reimbursements or refunds are generally handled through the Washington, D.C. office directly. In addition, with the exception of regional travel of the field staff, almost all airfare is booked and paid for directly by the Washington, D.C. office. In 1993, travel and per diem expenses totaled approximately 20% of all direct expenses.

Field Offices. The AALC maintains nine field offices throughout Africa. The offices are typically staffed with a regional representative and one to three local employees. Expenditures incurred in maintaining the regional representative and the local office are paid via a local bank account. In general, funds are wire transferred monthly from the Washington, D.C. office into the local bank account. Requests for transfers are initiated by the regional representative and approved by the appropriate Washington, D.C. program, executive and accounting staff.

At the end of each month, the regional representative submits financial reports detailing each expenditure, the account balance and petty cash and bank account reconciliations. These reports are processed in the Washington, D.C. office: the local currency amounts are translated into U.S. dollars using a weighted average exchange rate and entered into the accounting system.

Expenditures in the field for other program activities, such as seminars or conferences, also flow through the local bank account in the form of either direct payments or advances to local federations or unions. In the case of advances, the local organization at the completion of the activity must submit the original receipts to the regional representative, who in turn reviews and submits the receipts to the Washington, D.C. office with the next set of monthly financial reports. Based on its field visits, the evaluation team concluded that the regional representatives were insisting on good financial management by the collaborating federations.

Overall. Whether or not the program expenditure is made directly (payroll and accounts payable) or indirectly (wire transfers sent out to the field with subsequent back-up financial reports) in Washington, D.C., all program expenditures are subject to the internal control structure of the AALC. This system includes procedures to ensure that expenditures are properly documented, have been approved, and are in line with federal cost principles and the terms of the applicable grant agreements.

The accounting office issues periodic reports which document country program expenditures and compare actual expenses to budget. These reports are provided to the program staff for monitoring purposes. This system was introduced in September 1993. The most tangible evidence of the controls in place are: a) copies of the forms that are completed to report time worked, to request disbursements, and to account for travel expenses; and b) the set of monthly financial reports submitted by the field staff.

Annually, the books and records of the AALC are audited by an independent audit firm. The audit includes a normal financial audit, an OMB A-133 compliance audit, and an analysis of the internal control structure.

### **C. Program Implementation**

Country programs, with budget, are developed annually by the AALC regional representatives in conjunction with the local trade union federation. The programs are reviewed by and approved by AALC/Washington. Implementation responsibility is then delegated to the regional representatives. The latter so advise the country federations which will then develop more detailed proposals (with budget), on the basis of which the regional representative will advance funds (or indicate a willingness to reimburse the union for approved expenditures). The representative then monitors the federation's implementation of the approved activities.

Most of the country representatives have responsibility for at least four countries, two as many as eight. While all do not have country programs, the regional representative has responsibility for reporting on trade union developments in the country and approving and monitoring any impact or union-to-union projects that might be approved for countries without regular programs. The representatives often serve as advisors to trade union leaders, even if they do not have a country program.

During the period of the review, there have also been a number of occasions when regional representatives have had to put in considerable time helping combat a local government's effort to deprive union leaders or unions of their basic rights. Because of the latter, regional representatives often could not visit the other countries for which they were responsible as often as needed to approve new program activities and/or monitor on-going activities. This has been a contributing factor to the slower than expected expenditure rate.

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#### **D. Implementation Monitoring, Evaluation and Reporting**

The AALC was required, as one of the terms of the grant, to develop and document a monitoring, evaluation and reporting system which would demonstrate the organization's abilities to implement the program responsibly.

Reporting. The reporting system was in place at the inception of the grant, and only required documentation. AALC regional representatives report weekly to headquarters on each of the countries of their responsibility. They provide political, economic and trade union news, as well as information on any programs under way or completed during the period. When possible, they also report on the work of other international donors.

Semi-annual reports are also prepared for each country by the field representatives, providing information on political, economic and trade union developments and the implementation of AALC programs. These reports are sent to headquarters, where they are consolidated and edited before submission to A.I.D. project officer.

The current project officer for the grant has informed AALC that the semi-annual reports are too long and contain more background information than is necessary. In response to this critique, AALC plans to produce a shorter report for the period ending June 30, 1994, in bulletized format, which states the objectives for each country and notes the activities which have been undertaken to achieve them.

Evaluation. An internal evaluation system provides feedback to headquarters on AALC's programs in the field. Evaluations are conducted by the grants officer, together with one or more field representatives, through a review of pertinent written materials, field visits, interviews and site visits. Internal evaluations focus on a number of country programs within a single region. The evaluation team meets with the leaders, staff and members of the trade union organizations with which AALC works, participants in AALC-supported service projects, trainers and educators, and representatives of USAID missions, U.S. embassies, and other international donors. These evaluations are intended to assess the quality of programs, to recommend improvements, and to offer guidance for changes in direction. An evaluation report is written on each country, describing the trade union movement and programs, and offering recommendations for AALC action.

The first such evaluation was undertaken in the summer of 1993. The team evaluated four countries in francophone West Africa: Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali and Niger. The results of that evaluation have contributed to a re-design of programs for francophone Africa which may serve as a pilot for other AALC programs.

Monitoring. AALC attempts to monitor the impact of its programs by tracking the progress of the organizations it supports. A Standard Survey of Trade Union Development was set up in 1989 and was used to collect baseline data at the inception of the grant in 1991. Survey data were also collected for this evaluation to provide much of the qualitative information needed to respond to the questions included in the scope of work.

Up until 1994, AALC lacked a financial reporting system which would provide to headquarters program staff feedback on the financial status of the field programs. Given the lack of such a system, the program staff monitored the financial progress of the programs by tracking funding requests, rather than expenditures. At the staff conference in September 1993, a draft system of program monitoring was discussed and adopted.

Under the new system, detailed annual budgets are prepared by the field representatives in collaboration with the trade union organizations in their regions. Headquarters staff review and approve the budgets, combine them into a master budget, and send a summary to A.I.D. Beginning in 1994, the activities of the approved detailed budget will be listed on an implementation plan. The plan will take the form of a chart, which will show, in chronological order, each of the activities to be undertaken during the year, the amount budgeted for those activities, and the code assigned to the activity. That code number will be used in requesting funds and in reporting expenditures, so that all those involved with the program will have an easy reference point to the activity. The implementation plan will be used by the grants officer to monitor all field activity under the grant.

This system is to take effect with the 1994 budget, the implementation of which has been held up pending the evaluation. The accounting office, however, has begun producing the program financial reports, as agreed at the Fall staff conference. A copy of those reports was provided to the evaluation team.

#### **E. Program Coordination**

Program coordination is needed with, or among, at least four different groups:

- 1) AALC staff in Washington and the field
- 2) USAID Missions
- 3) U.S. Embassies
- 4) other donors assisting trade unions

##### **1. AALC Field Staffs**

A number of sub-Saharan trade union federations are attempting to expand similar programs, but there is little cross-communication, particularly at the working level. The AALC field staffs are in a good position to help alleviate this problem to some degree if they were better informed of developments outside their own sub-region. The only time they all come together for sharing information among themselves is at the bi-annual meeting of the AFL-CIO which is held in the U.S. and a big conference with trade union leaders from around the world is not a good environment for the discussion of internal operational problems and the sharing of information about innovative approaches or new types of projects being initiated by African trade unions.

## 2. USAID Missions

Generally there is very little contact between AALC regional representatives and USAID mission personnel. While at an earlier period there appeared to be little to be gained from such contacts, the situation has changed. There are a number of reasons for assuming there would be a benefit to both the AALC and USAID programs from improved communications and collaboration between the two organizations' field personnel:

- a. Child survival, family planning and/or AIDS prevention are part of most USAID programs in Africa. AALC is supporting union health and safety programs, which usually include a component on AIDS and often will deal with family health and reproduction. Neither AALC nor the unions are technically or financially equipped to be designing training aids, KAP (knowledge, aptitude, practices) surveys or IEC (information, education, communication) campaigns, but they could facilitate the implementation of same among union families.
- b. Increasingly under its new policy guidelines, USAIDs are supposed to be dealing with democracy and governance issues in their countries. The trade unions frequently have been the largest democratic institution in the country and they have often been at the forefront of efforts to bring multi-party democracy to Africa. Union leaders have been denied their human rights by governments. If USAIDs are serious about promoting democracy and good governance, they would do well to meet periodically with AALC representatives and trade union leaders and to seek ideas from them on how to support those elements working for more democratic institutions in the country.
- c. In a number of countries, USAIDs are involved with the government in the economic re-structuring process, but their contacts are usually exclusively with government officials and other donors concerned with macro-economic policy. It would do well for USAID to have access to information on the impact of its recommendations and to discuss with AALC and trade union leaders or researchers what proposals have been made or what programs have been approved for dealing with the social and economic consequences of re-structuring. USAIDs could help promote tripartite dialogue within the country which could result in better policies and policy implementation and less labor-management confrontation.
- d. In some countries both USAID and the AALC are supporting literacy programs. Again, USAID has or is financing substantial technical resources that could help strengthen union-run programs and ensure that they are consistent with overall educational policy in the country.
- e. In many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the tripartite system is not functionally well, sometimes because of the weakness of the Ministries of Labor--weak technically and in terms of orientation regarding dispute resolution and methods of promoting harmonious labor-management relations. At one point,

AID/Washington funded a program through the U.S. Department of Labor to bring tripartite groups to the U.S., but this program has been terminated. The result is not helpful in terms of the efforts to re-structure African economies.

3. U. S. Embassies

There is usually good communication between AALC representatives and U.S. Embassies, because both see such contact in their mutual interest. Embassies with small staffs find the sharing of information helpful. Also a number of Embassies are now implementing small "116(e)" democracy promotion activities and some are implementing them in conjunction with AALC and the local trade union federation (Sierra Leone, for example). The Embassy personnel (Ambassador and Labor Attache) worked closely in Kenya in the efforts to restore individual human rights and trade union rights in the face of illegal government action there.

4. Other Donors Assisting Trade Unions

Consultations with other donors is carried out in the field by the AALC regional representatives and by headquarters personnel through the ICFTU, AFRO, and sub-regional organizations. The field coordination is not too easy, because not all donors have regional representatives; where there are regional representatives, they are not necessarily co-located where AALC personnel are stationed.

Information on other donors provided to the evaluation team by trade union leaders and AALC regional representatives suggests that a number of the European donors are shifting their assistance priorities to Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (ex-Soviet Union). In addition, one donor which formerly supported labor programs in general is now concentrating its assistance on trade union activities related to promoting pluralism and democracy.

**F. Conclusions**

1. The financial management system operates effectively; the proposed modifications that are being put into effect to relate financial expenditures to physical progress will improve management's ability to monitor the program effectively.

2. Given the increasing number of trade union organizations eligible for participation in the program, the number of unpredictable political developments in the continent (some directed at trade union representatives), and the recommendations in Section III for expanded AALC activity, AALC is stretched thin in its field representation. This impacts negatively on AALC's ability to maintain continuity in program implementation.

3. The previously A.I.D.-supported Department of Labor program which brought tripartite groups (government, employers, trade unions) to the U.S. served a very useful purpose in terms of reducing internal strife. Its resumption would be supported by U.S. Embassies and the Department of State.

4. The semi-annual reports to A.I.D. would be more valuable if, as requested by the A.I.D. project officer, some of the background information was eliminated and country objectives and progress against them was added. It is recognized, however, that the trade union situation in Africa is such that it will be impossible for AALC to establish long term objectives for every program country that will remain constant for even three years. The report will also need some background political and economic information to justify changes in priorities that will surely occur. The highlights could be presented, however, as a short section at the beginning of the report, with discussion of political, economic and/or trade union developments being included in the country sections only when they directly relate to the AALC program.

5. The AALC questionnaire filled out by the federations provided some useful data, but a number of categories were not usable. Inadequate attention had been given to definitions, resulting in suspect information for some categories of information, limiting the possibility of cross-country comparisons for these items.

6. AALC-U.S. Embassy coordination has generally been good and often very beneficial to a trade union federation or its leaders.

7. USAID Mission-AALC coordination needs to be improved.

8. AALC coordination with other donors is generally satisfactory, but probably should be strengthened in relation to the first recommendation in Section III (G.1.).

9. Expanded communication among AALC field staff on technical matters is needed to strengthen the effectiveness of the AALC program.

#### **G. Recommendations**

1. AALC should increase its monitoring capability in the field, e.g., by some combination of the following:
  - a. establishing an additional regional office (possibly two when the turmoil in a number of countries ceases);
  - b. hire local staff to monitor on-going programs in countries where there is no regional office; and/or
  - c. arranging for AALC headquarters staff to make more frequent visits to review activities and to fill in for regional representatives when they must leave the region or be tied down for an extended period in one country.
2. A.I.D./Washington should fund a resumption by the Department of Labor of its tripartite visitors program.

3. AALC should modify and shorten its semi-annual report to A.I.D. along the lines set forth in E.3. above.
4. AALC should revise its trade union questionnaire somewhat and provide a cover letter with definitions and instructions to ensure more consistent data.
5. AALC should encourage its regional representatives to increase their contact with USAID missions.
6. A.I.D./Washington should send copies of this report to its field missions in sub-Saharan Africa, remind mission directors of the new policy on democracy and governance, point out the reasons for coordination with AALC representatives and trade unions (E.2. above) and urge them to foster coordination with AALC representatives and trade union officials as appropriate, depending upon the content of the USAID program.
7. A.I.D./Washington should send copies of this report to Embassies in sub-Saharan Africa.
8. AALC should schedule a meeting of its regional representatives in Africa at least every two years (the year when there is no AFL-CIO convention) to facilitate a sharing of information. The local USAID and Embassy should be invited to attend some of the sessions and a summary report of the meeting should be circulated to all USAIDs and Embassies in sub-Saharan Africa. A.I.D. should accept the foregoing as an appropriate activity to be funded under the grant.
9. AALC should seek ways to improve coordination with other donors and development organizations per III.G.1.c.

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**Annex A**

**LOGICAL FRAMEWORK**

<b>Narrative Summary</b>	<b>Indicators</b>	<b>Means of Verification</b>	<b>Assumptions</b>
<b><u>Goal</u></b>			
To assist African trade union movements in becoming viable, self-sustaining and independent institutions, capable of representing workers' interests, defending workers' rights, and participating in national social and economic development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Increased respect for labor rights</li> <li>-Increase in democratic pluralism</li> <li>-Increase in industrial and labor relations</li> <li>-Increased participation of labor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-AALC/AID assessment and evaluations</li> <li>-Survey data</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Political stability</li> <li>-Economic growth</li> <li>-Human and trade union rights</li> </ul>
<b><u>Objectives</u></b>			
1) Promotion of Internal Trade Union Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Membership growth</li> <li>-Improved administrative operations</li> <li>-Improved financial controls</li> <li>-Increased labor unity</li> <li>-Expanded education and organizing programs</li> <li>-Developed regional structures</li> <li>-Increased expertise of union staff</li> <li>-Increase in collective bargaining</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Evaluation of project</li> <li>-Data collection and analysis</li> <li>-Review of objectives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Availability of data</li> <li>-Host federation cooperation</li> </ul>

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Logical Framework

<u>Narrative Summary</u>	<u>Indicators</u>	<u>Means of Verification</u>	<u>Assumptions</u>
<u>Outputs</u>			
-Membership growth	-Increase in membership	-Evaluations	-Host federation cooperation
-Infrastructure Development	-Ongoing organizing campaigns	-Survey Data	
	-Headquarters staff	-Field Reports	
	-Specialized departments		
-Effective education programs	-Participants in education programs		
	-Subject matter of education programs		
-Regional/Branch structure	-Establishment of regional offices		
-Labor unity	-Consolidation of membership (where appropriate)		
<u>Inputs</u>			
-Administrative support	-Support provided	-Implementation monitoring	-Funds available
-Education/training support	-Training achieved	-Field Reports	-Expertise available
-Materials & equipment	-Materials and equipment provided	-Evaluations	-USAID Cooperation
		-Accounts	
2) Promotion of Labor's Role in National Decision-Making	-Functioning industrial relations system	-Evaluations	-Continued political and economic stability
	-Respect for labor rights	-Survey data	
	-Forums of negotiation		

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Logical Framework

Narrative Summary	Indicators	Means of Verification	Assumptions
<b><u>Outputs</u></b>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Union expertise in national social and economic issues</li> <li>-Press and information capacity</li> <li>-Participation in national forums</li> <li>-Trade union independence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Advanced training programs</li> <li>-Specialized departments with trained staff</li> <li>-Frequency and distribution of publications</li> <li>-Improved tripartite participation</li> <li>-Favorable Industrial Court outcomes</li> <li>-Ratification of ILO Conventions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Field Reports</li> <li>-Survey data</li> <li>-Evaluations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Host federation and government cooperation</li> </ul>
<b><u>Inputs</u></b>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Administrative support</li> <li>-Education/training support</li> <li>-Materials &amp; equipment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Support provided</li> <li>-Training achieved</li> <li>-Materials and equipment provided</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Implementation monitoring</li> <li>-Field Reports</li> <li>-Evaluations</li> <li>-Accounts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Funds available</li> <li>-Expertise available</li> </ul>
<p>3) Promotion of Labor's Role in National Social and Economic Development</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Establishment and management of social and economic development projects</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Evaluations</li> <li>-Survey data</li> <li>-Economic data</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Host federation cooperation</li> <li>-Availability of data</li> </ul>

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Logical Framework

<u>Narrative Summary</u>	<u>Indicators</u>	<u>Means of Verification</u>	<u>Assumptions</u>
<u>Outputs</u>			
-Increased delivery of social and economic services	-Specialized departments and programs	-Field Reports	-Host federation cooperation
-Cooperation with national and international development agencies	-Cooperative programs with external organizations	-Evaluations	
-Increases in membership	-Membership growth	-Survey data	
-Involvement of women in the labor movement	-Increase in women's involvement and activity		
	-Pilot projects established		
<u>Inputs</u>			
-Administrative support	-Support provided	-Implementation monitoring	-Funds available
-Education/training support	-Training achieved	-Field Reports	-Host federation cooperation
-Materials and equipment	-Materials and equipment provided	-Evaluations	
		-Accounts	

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## **Annex B**

### **SCOPE OF WORK FOR AALC EVALUATION**

The purpose of this evaluation is to assess the activities carried out by the African-American Labor Center (AALC), to determine the extent to which the objectives and goals of the above-referenced grant have been accomplished. The overall goal of the grant is the development of viable, independent and self-sufficient African labor organizations, capable of representing workers' interests, promoting pluralistic institutions, and contributing to the economic and political development process. The program was designed to provide African trade union federations, their affiliated unions, and regional labor organizations with the expertise, technical resources, and materials that will enable them to contribute to conflict resolution, develop their internal structures, expand union education and service programs, enhance worker participation in national economic decision-making, and develop the human resource potential of their members. It aims to empower workers and their organizations as participants in the transitions to market-oriented economies and more open political systems currently underway in the majority of African countries.

#### **PROJECT OBJECTIVES:**

1. Development of internal growth and infrastructure of African trade union organizations;
2. Development of effective participation in the tripartite context;
3. Involvement in the social and economic development of their countries.

In order to determine the extent to which AALC has been successful in attaining these objectives, the evaluation will include an examination of the indicators established as part of the evaluation criteria and logical framework in the 1990 AALC proposal.

- I. With regard to the overall goal of the program, the AALC expects to see, by the end of the grant period, increased respect for labor rights, an increase in democratic pluralism in Africa, an increase in industrial and labor relations in those countries with grant activity, and increased participation of labor in issues of national policy. These broad indicators should be kept in mind during the evaluation process, and should be discussed in the evaluation report.

II. With regard to the program objectives, these questions are to be addressed by the evaluation team:

A. Internal Trade Union Development

1. Has the membership of the trade unions increased? What has been the impact on trade union membership of the structural adjustment programs currently underway in most African countries?
2. Have the unions undertaken organizing campaigns since the inception of the grant? What are the results?
3. Have there been changes in headquarters staffing patterns? How many full time staff do the unions employ?
4. Have new specialized departments been established? Do the unions have their own education facilities?
5. Has the number of participants in education programs increased over the life of the grant?
6. Has the subject matter for education program increased in complexity? Have new topics been addressed?
7. Has the regional structure of the trade union organizations changed? Have new regional or branch offices opened?
8. What is the labor unity situation in the country? Have unions/federations merged?
9. What kinds of administrative support did AALC provide to the trade union organizations in the country? Education and training? Materials and equipment? Salary support on a diminishing scale?

B. Tripartite Participation

1. How well does the industrial relations system in the country function? Have there been favorable industrial court outcomes during the period?
2. Has respect for labor rights increased?
3. Have ILO conventions been ratified?

4. Are trade unions involved in legislative matters that affect workers?
5. Has the trade union organization participated in tripartite discussions/negotiations on national issues of importance to the workers? Has the quantity/quality of such participation increased over the prior period?
6. Has the organization developed and implemented advanced training programs on these issues?
7. Has the organization developed specialized departments and trained staff for them?
8. What are the press and information capabilities of the trade union organization? Frequency and distribution of publications?
9. What kinds of administrative support did AALC provide in this area (tripartite participation)? Education/training? Materials and equipment?

C. Social and Economic Development

1. What social and economic development projects were established or continued by the federation/unions during the period. Have such projects been successful in attaining the objectives for which they were established?
2. Were specialized departments within the trade union organization established or made responsible for the design and implementation of these projects?
3. To what degree did such projects operate in cooperation with other national or international development organizations?
4. Did the number of union members involved in these projects increase during the period?
5. To what extent did women participate in these activities? Does this participation represent an increase over prior periods?
6. Were any of these programs established on a pilot basis? Were successful projects expanded or replicated?
7. What types of administrative support were provided in this area (social and economic development)? Education and training? Materials and equipment?

III. In addition to the specific indicators, the following more general questions should be explored:

1. What has AALC's record been in terms of ability to react to changes in the political and trade union environments in the target countries?
2. Based on the experience of the labor colleges in Kenya and Ghana, would regional labor institutes be feasible?
3. What has been the impact of AALC involvement in cases where government intervenes in internal trade union affairs?
4. In view of economic constraints in those countries undergoing economic reform, is there a need for more socio-economic development programs?
5. Is there a need for closer coordination with other international labor donors?
6. Have African trade union federations been able to sustain specialized departments established with donor funds?
7. To what extent have AALC programs helped the labor movement to define the trade union position with respect to political affairs? Do the trade union organizations with which AALC works advance independent positions on public policy issues? What has been their role in recent elections?

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**ANNEX C**

**LIST OF PERSONS CONTACTED**

**KENYA**

Juliette D. Lenoir  
Regional Representative  
African-American Labor Center

J. J. Mugalla  
Secretary-General  
Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU)

Boniface Munyao  
Deputy General Secretary, COTU  
(and General Secretary of the Local Government Union)

Joseph Chege Mungai  
Director of Education, COTU  
(and Acting Principal of Tom Mboya Labour College)

Mary Mokoffu  
Director of Women's Affairs, COTU

Noah Chune  
Research Director, COTU

Korwa Adar  
Interim Secretary General  
Universities Academic Staff Union

Omari Nyongo  
Interim Deputy Secretary General  
Universities Academic Staff Union

Thika Women's Self-Help Group

Andrew M. Kailembo  
General Secretary, Africa Regional Organization (AFRO)  
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)

Elizabeth Martella  
Deputy Program Officer  
USAID Mission to Kenya

Roger Simmons  
Deputy Director  
USAID/Kenya

Lois A. Aroian  
Labor Attache and Regional Labor Officer  
U.S. Embassy/Kenya

**ZAMBIA**

Martin F. Doherty  
Regional Representative  
African-American Labor Center

Alec J. Chirwa  
Secretary General  
Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZaCTU)

Geoffrey Alikipo  
Assistant Secretary General for Organization and Development, ZaCTU

Ignatius Kasumbu  
Assistant Secretary General for Finance, ZaCTU

Peter A. Mulenga  
Director of Organization and Trade Union Development, ZaCTU

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**ANNEX E**

**REPORT ON COUNTRIES VISITED  
BY THE EVALUATION TEAM**

**E-1 GHANA**

**E-2 KENYA**

**E-3 SENEGAL**

**E-4 SIERRA LEONE**

**E-5 ZAMBIA**

**E-6 ZIMBABWE**

## ANNEX E-1

### GHANA

Ghana, the first African state to attain its independence from the colonial powers, appears to have emerged from the rocky conditions it suffered for the last decade. The economic situation of the country is improving, after a near free fall in the years from 1979-1983. Acknowledging the inability of socialism to solve its economic woes, Ghana turned to a free market system in 1983 and adopted a stringent structural adjustment program. The immediate effects of economic reform hit the population hard, particularly in decreased purchasing power and job loss, but the macro-economic indicators are positive.

Military dictator Jerry Rawlings was elected president in 1992. Despite protests by the opposition, and a subsequent boycott of the parliamentary elections, the vote was deemed by international observers to be largely free and fair. The Rawlings administration has demonstrated a willingness to live by the law. Prospects for better elections in 1996 are good. The press is free, and the judicial system has shown a high degree of independence. The human rights situation is one of the best in Africa, and political activity is accepted. While the new democracy is not terribly strong, the process of consolidation is under way.

The evaluation team spent five days in Ghana, meeting with officials and staff of the Ghana Trades Union Congress, the principal of the Ghana Labour College, and representatives of USAID and the American Embassy. The team was accompanied by the AALC regional representative from Dakar, as AALC's Lagos representative was participating in the South African election observer program at the time of the evaluation.

#### 1. Trade Union Movement

The Trades Union Congress (TUC) of Ghana, the sole trade union federation of the country, pre-dates independence. Founded in 1945, the TUC's 17 affiliated national unions have a total membership of over 550,000. The TUC is one of the more independent and self sustaining national centers in Africa, and has been for some time. Administrative costs are supported by a per capita fee. National union dues form part of collective bargaining agreements, and are normally collected through check off, so the unions have a steady if limited source of support.

The TUC is currently undergoing a re-structuring of its specialized departments, which is resulting in the creation of some new departments and the merging of others. The new structure will include departments of Industrial Relations and Research; Organisation and Information; Education and Training; Finance and Accounts; and International Affairs. The TUC has a full time paid staff of 30, which includes a representative in each of the ten regions of the country.

#### 2. Relations with the Government

The leadership of the TUC was arrested and the TUC constitution suspended in a government-supported coup in April 1982. At the end of the following year, the organization

was restored, and new leaders elected. Although Ghana was governed by the military for two-thirds of the post-independence period, the time of the coup and the years immediately following were the most bloody and repressive in the country's history, and the TUC's attitude toward the government was cautious. By 1989, the TUC had become more outspoken, and in 1991, both its leaders and its newspaper were openly critical of the government. With the return to democracy, the TUC has become quite vocal in proclaiming trade union opinion on government actions and policy without fear of reprisal. Among the issues on which the TUC has spoken out are the national budget, the increase in the petrol tax, and the government's delay in establishing a new minimum wage.

The only formal tripartite mechanism in Ghana is the Commission on Minimum Wage and Salaries, which generally meets on an annual basis. An ad hoc bipartite committee (government/TUC) has formed around the issue of separation packages for retrenched workers. Disputes over the amount of severance pay have previously been referred by the government to the arbitration tribunal, resulting in a reduction in the amount of compensation paid to laid-off workers. In the one time that the ad hoc committee met, the TUC was able to negotiate a more favorable arrangement for the workers.

### 3. Trade Union Programs

The TUC has concentrated traditionally on education programs, and that continues to be the case. The federation is in the process of planning for the establishment of an educational endowment which will produce sufficient income to support the basic education program without external assistance. The endowment will be funded by a special two year per capita levy of 100 cedis per month. Employers and government are also expected to contribute to the fund. Because of its belief in the need for self-sufficiency, the TUC does not want international assistance in setting up the endowment.

- \* Trade Union Education programs are carried out both at the labor college and in the regions. They operate on three levels: basic, intermediate and advanced. The basic course is a one-week seminar for newly elected local and branch leaders designed to help them operate more effectively. The intermediate level is a two-week course which provides in-depth instruction in the same basic topics. The advanced course is a three week course for high level leaders.
- Specialized Courses are custom designed to address issues that come up within a particular national union, or to provide additional training to individuals which TUC has recognized as having good leadership potential. Past topics have included negotiating and productivity. In addition to AALC funding, specialized programs receive Friedrich-Ebert Foundation support, particularly for top leadership/policy making conferences.
- \* Regional Education programs bring together trade unionists from Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gambia at the labor college. These programs are only scheduled with donor support, and the TUC and college lack sufficient funding to work internationally.

- \* The Ghana Labour College is the venue of the trade union education program as well as specialized programs. The principal of the college and two faculty members design curricula, organize resource persons, and provide other educational services on an as-needed basis to the national unions.
- \* Study Circle programs run twice a week for two hours at a time. The current program focuses on training study circle leaders at the enterprise level to lead discussions of workplace issues. So far, 60 leaders have been trained, 36 men and 24 women. A total of 200 study circle leaders are expected to have been trained by the end of 1994. Study Circle programs are supported by the ICFTU and LOTC.
- \* Vocational Schools at Takoradi and Cape Coast offer skills development for workers and their families in catering (hotel and restaurant), sewing and typing/secretarial.
- \* Health and Safety is a new department of the TUC, established in May 1993. The program began with the selection and training of a health and safety monitor from each of the 17 affiliates. Since that time, health and safety seminars have been held for shop stewards and other union members in the timber, oil, ports, mining and commercial sectors. Seminars are normally one week in duration, and focus on awareness of and elimination of workplace hazards.
- \* Women's Programs are coordinated by the head of the Women's Desk. Consisting to date of educational programs, curricula and materials have been developed by the staff at the Ghana Labour College.
- \* Research staff at the TUC have engaged in two major activities. The first is the collection and publication of economic data for the purposes of collective bargaining and economic discussions; the second involves conducting feasibility studies for income-generating projects which could help the TUC to become entirely self-sufficient.

#### 4. AALC Support

The AALC has had a long-standing relationship with the TUC. In the 1960s, AALC participated in a worker housing project which built 168 housing units which were sold to workers at affordable prices. AALC traditionally supported the education programs of the TUC, and helped to establish the Ghana Labour College in 1967. The early focus of the college was on leadership training. Its first principal, Nate Gould, was an AALC staff person. U.S.- based training was also provided to TUC leaders. The current principal of the college was sent through the Harvard Trade Union Program in 1969.

The AALC also set up the TUC clinic during that time period. The clinic still serves the approximately 300 union officers and staff housed at TUC hall, their families, and some walk-in patients. The clinic is staffed by a physician's assistant seconded from the ministry of health. The AALC contributed equipment to the vocational training centers established by the federation, and contributed vehicles for TUC programs.

AALC support during the grant period has consisted of the following:

- \* Trade Union Education and Specialized Courses have been the major focus of AALC assistance. AALC sponsors six to eight courses per year for approximately 160 trade unionists. During the 18 months between February 1992 and August 1993, 73 men and 121 women were trained in these programs. The high number of women is due to the inclusion of some women-specific seminars.
- \* The Ghana Labour College receives books and other materials from the AALC. In the early 1990s, AALC financed the expansion and upgrading of the college kitchen facilities.
- \* Health and Safety assistance from the AALC included funding for the 1993 seminar for health and safety monitors from each of the 17 affiliates which began the work of the new department. The AALC also supported earlier health and safety seminars through the education program.
- \* Women's Programs supported by the AALC included a leadership training program for trade union women in the Central Region.
- \* Contributions of Equipment strengthen the internal operations of the federation. During the grant period AALC purchased fax machines for seven of the TUC's ten regional offices. These machines make communication among the regions and between the regions and Accra easier and less expensive than it was previously.
- \* International Leadership Exchange funds travel for the TUC leaders to international congresses and training programs, and brings American trade unionists to Ghana to share their expertise. Grant funds were used for TUC participation in International Labor Organization meetings in Geneva, and to bring a group of U.S. labor educators to visit the TUC.

#### 5. Findings and Conclusions:

The TUC is a stable, mature trade union federation. While the team was unable to ascertain whether the TUC undertakes any systematic planning process, it became clear that the organization is nonetheless able to anticipate trends and take appropriate action. For example, when the Government of Ghana indicated that it planned to make some changes in the labor law, the TUC arranged for legal help and prepared its own draft of revised legislation. It was also studying how to avoid a negative impact on labor from the establishment of export zones.

The TUC appears to be responsible in the use of donor funds. The TUC's attempt to build an endowment fund to support its educational programs is to be commended and, assuming the Ghanaian experience is positive, the action should be encouraged elsewhere. The use of donor assistance to finance an organizational study of the union was innovative.

Efforts need to be made to bring the women's program on a par with other programs. Organizationally, it is called the women's desk and the head of the unit is a deputy in the Organization Department. Thus, she has other duties and has no staff to assist her in either function.

AALC's program of assistance to the TUC has been appropriate to the needs of the federation. Administrative support to the college has been needed and appreciated; however, support for specialized education programs and the technical assistance and advice offered by the AALC representative probably have had the greatest impact. This is reflected in the maturity and leadership ability of the TUC's officers.

## ANNEX E-2

### KENYA

Kenya, one of the countries visited as part of the last evaluation of this program, has undergone significant political and economic change in the five-year interim. The country's first multi-party elections in 26 years were held in December 1992. The inability of the opposition to form a united front left power in the hands of incumbent President Daniel arap Moi and the Kenya African National Union (KANU).

Kenya's economic situation is dire. A stringent economic reform program, adopted at the behest of the international donor community, has resulted in serious job loss, and a concurrent drop in trade union membership. In addition to heeding the urgent need to mitigate the negative effects of structural adjustment on its members, the Kenyan trade union movement was also confronted by intervention of the government in internal labor affairs, and spent the greater part of the last year fighting for its independence through the Kenyan judicial system.

The evaluation team spent five days in Nairobi, meeting with the AALC representative, staff and elected officials of the Kenyan trade union movement, participants both past and present of grant-funded programs, representatives of USAID and the American Embassy, and the general secretary of the African Regional Organization of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (AFRO). Lack of time precluded a visit to the Tom M'Boya Labor College at Kisumu, a site visited as part of the previous evaluation, but interviews with the acting director of the college, COTU officers and staff and the AALC representative provided sufficient information for the team to be able to draw conclusions about the status of that institution.

#### 1. Trade Union Movement

The Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU) was created by government decree in 1965 to replace two competing federations. It is comprised of 29 affiliated unions, with a membership of 450,000 workers. Not included in this number is the independent teachers union, which has an estimated 200,000 members. The 2,500 member Universities Academic Staff Union (UASU), which represents professors and lecturers at Kenya's four public universities, is currently fighting in the courts for its right to exist as a union, and will affiliate to COTU once it has been registered. Government workers are represented by the Civil Servants Association, as public employees are still prohibited by law from joining unions.

The trade union movement functions under a tripartite system (labor, management and government) established in 1962. In 1964, the government established an industrial court to which all unresolved disputes between management and workers are referred for arbitration. The court system is both cumbersome and time consuming, with cases sometimes taking up to three years to be resolved. Three tripartite committees deliberate on wages and conditions of work, although in reality the government determines the minimum wage in advance of committee meetings, with little real input from the other partners.

Collective bargaining agreements are negotiated by COTU and the employers' organization, the Federation of Kenyan Employers (FKE).

COTU is currently confronting a number of serious problems:

- First, although the courts have restored the legitimately elected leadership to office following a government-orchestrated trade union coup, the federation is still clearly out of favor with the Moi administration, and will likely continue to feel the resulting ill effects.
- Secondly, the attempted ouster was at least partially successful, in that it caused a serious rift within the ranks of COTU leadership.
- Third, the federation's responsibility to defend the interests of the workers has become much more challenging as a consequence of economic reform. As is the case in so many African countries, the initial impact of structural adjustment on working people is extremely negative. Job loss, increase of the cost of basic foods through removal of subsidies, and lowering of mandatory retirement age have caused additional hardship for trade union members already struggling for survival.
- Finally, decrease in membership equals a decrease in dues revenue and political clout, and lessened ability to provide services and to advocate on members' behalf at a time when both are urgently needed.

## 2. Relations with the Government

It is an understatement to say that COTU/government relations have been strained in recent times. COTU general secretary J.J. Mugalla was arrested after a rousing May Day speech and the threat of a general strike in 1993. Mugalla is apparently perceived to have sufficient strength as a labor leader to pose a serious challenge to Moi. During the last year, the government has intensified its attempts to bring the trade union movement under control.

In July, a regular meeting of the COTU Central Governing Council was to take place. A few dissident unionists changed the venue of the meeting and held hastily-arranged elections of a new COTU Executive Board. The registrar of trade unions deemed these elections legal and registered the new officers, despite protests from Mugalla and the other legitimately elected leaders, who then filed suit to regain their positions.

The ensuing legal battle reached the High Court, where the judge ruled in favor of the legitimately elected leadership, but the registrar defied the ruling and declared a vacuum in the leadership of COTU. In the meantime, the dissident group had drained the federation's treasury, exacerbating the financial difficulties of the organization.

The subsequent reinstatement of Mugalla and his fellow leaders has not signified a lessening of the attacks by government, but rather a shift of attention to other fronts. Continued attempts are underway to foster dissatisfaction within the ranks of the federation leadership, and to build a constituency convinced of the need to oust Mugalla.

### 3. Trade Union Programs

COTU now supports three full-time professional staff, an education director, a director of women's affairs, and a research director. The salaries of this team were initially paid through grant funds, but are now fully funded by COTU. Most programs are carried out with funding from international donors.

- \* Trade Union Education at the shop floor level prepares members to be active trade unionists. Basic trade union education programs have recently been supported by LTOC Sweden.
- \* Tom M'Boya Labour College programs currently operate at two stages. Stage I consists of basic education for rank and file on trade union topics such as collective bargaining and negotiating. Stage II is offered to rank and file having completed stage I and to shop stewards and branch secretaries. This stage presents the information in greater detail, with a focus on participatory methods such as role play and small group work. Stage III and IV courses have also been developed, but cannot be taught at this time because of a lack of funds. The latter stages present more advanced information to the upper levels of the union.
- \* Specialized Education Programs include occupational health and safety courses, economics training, particularly with relation to the structural adjustment program, and an FES-sponsored training program which prepares trade unionists to present cases in the industrial court system.
- \* Rural Development Programs address the needs of marginalized workers in the rural unions. Most plantation workers are women, often single mothers, with large families (an average of six children per family). In addition to the problems of low literacy, high infant mortality, and the prevalence of AIDS, these workers are the lowest paid in the country, and face a number of serious occupational health and safety hazards. COTU programs for rural workers have focused on occupational health and safety, literacy training, and the formation of women's groups.
- \* Research objectives have consisted of producing statistics for use in collective bargaining/wage negotiations, as well as in understanding and discussing the impact of structural adjustment. While the capacity of the department to produce needed information is hampered by lack of funds and short-staffing, the affiliates have come to rely on COTU-provided information for their own bargaining processes.
- \* Women's Affairs programs currently consist of work with a number of women's groups in the agricultural and railway sectors. These groups were formed following training

courses offered by COTU, normally in health and safety. The women who participated in the training expressed their desire to form into groups to address common problems and to look for ways to augment their income.

Some of the groups began with a communal savings program. Each member contributes monthly. Half of the total contributions is distributed to two of the women each month. The other half goes into a joint account, which is used to grant loans to members, and may eventually be invested in a cooperative income-generating venture. Members meet monthly to report on how they used their money, make payments, and discuss possible future projects.

Some of these groups are also participating in literacy classes, in both Kiswahili and English. One member of the Thika group, which the evaluation team visited, has formed a new group on the estate where she works. As she is literate, she has begun teaching members of her new group to read and write. The AALC is currently the largest donor of the women's affairs programs. CTUC funded the development of materials for these programs.

#### 4. AALC Support

The AFL-CIO has had close relationships with the Kenyan labor movement since before independence. It provided funds for the construction of Solidarity House, where COTU has its headquarters. The AALC has played a particularly significant role in COTU's educational program. It assisted the establishment of a Worker's Educational Institute in 1974, which brought educational programs to trade unionists throughout Kenya.

The Institute was replaced in 1983 by the Tom M'Boya Labour College. The AALC has funded programs at the college over the years, and has also assisted in the formation of cooperatives and credit unions. Many Kenyan trade unionists have participated in AALC's leadership training seminars at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in the United States.

Since the inception of the grant in 1991, the AALC has supported COTU's education, research and women's affairs programs. During the grant period, from January 1991 to the present, that support has consisted of the following:

- Trade Union Education receives ongoing support through the grant in the form of supplies and materials for seminars.
- \* Tom M'Boya Labour College has received AALC funding for a series of leadership training programs. These one-week residential programs are attended by 30-35 trade unionists each. The program is expected to train approximately 1500 individuals by the end of 1995.
- \* Specialized Education Programs funded through this grant include an advanced training session on structural adjustment and political pluralism for general secretaries of COTU affiliates. This program was a spin-off from the AALC leadership series for

African trade unionists at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in the United States. The AALC also supported an organizing seminar for the domestic workers union, which is currently struggling for recognition for hospital workers.

- \* Women's Affairs support to COTU has included follow-up by the women's affairs director to five women's leadership and health and safety programs for plantation and railway workers. The follow-up tour included site visits to each of the workplaces concerned, and meetings with the former participants who had determined to remain as groups in order to work toward common goals, including literacy and income generation. AALC funded women's education programs and health and safety seminars, and continues to support monthly meetings of the Thika women's group. The team attended one such meeting in Thika, where the topics of discussion included preparation for May Day and a review of information collected by group members on the feasibility of a number of possible income-earning activities.
- \* Research assistance from AALC has included purchase of a computer, printer, software, and the first year maintenance contract, as well as subscriptions to essential publications and the acquisition of texts of relevant legislation.
- \* Administrative support included provision of staff salaries when the leadership was returned to office, as well as financial assistance during the three-day strike when many employers withheld the payment of subscriptions. The AALC also initially paid the salaries of the professional staff, hired at AALC's recommendation. Those salary costs have since been assumed by the federation, using dues monies.

#### 5. Findings and Conclusions

The need to keep Mugalla and top COTU leadership out of jail, and the government out of the union, has superseded all AALC/COTU program priorities. Both organizations have been exploring ideas for programs which would help move COTU forward despite the hostile environment, with a special focus on using tripartite mechanisms as a legitimizing tool.

In the meantime, program staff have continued work in their areas of expertise. They feel the limitations of lack of funding which results in an inability to cover all of the areas in which they are needed. This applies particularly to the research department, which cannot begin to produce all the data which could be used by COTU and its affiliates in the current economic climate.

While the team heard discussion of the future of the Tom M'Boya Labour college, including plans to refurbish it, and its possible use as a regional (international) training institute, we were not privy to either written plans or convincing arguments which would lead us to conclude a major investment should be made there. Before any AALC assistance is provided for the College, COTU should spell out how the institution would be kept from once again deteriorating to its present condition.

The AALC/COTU program has the strong support of the US regional labor attache; she sees the program as vital to the continuing development of the Kenyan trade union movement. The USAID officers contacted were also interested in the AALC program.

The impact of the AALC program in Kenya was apparent in a number of areas. First, and most recently, AALC support contributed to the return of the legitimately elected COTU leadership to office. Secondly, start-up funding and the advice of the AALC field representative in Kenya have paid off in the development of research, education and women's affairs departments. These departments are functioning effectively, and are headed by capable staff who play an important role in the operations of COTU. The women's programs in the agricultural sector have provided women with a savings mechanism and vital health and safety information; more importantly, they are teaching women to speak out about issues that affect them in the workplace, something they were formerly unwilling to do.

## ANNEX E-3

### SENEGAL

Located on the northwestern coast of Africa, Senegal lies within the Sahelian region, with its dry climate and unpredictable rainfall pattern and savanna vegetation. There is a somewhat more tropical climate in the southern part of the country--the Casamance region south of the Gambia River. The latter area produces fruit and timber; rice is replacing peanuts; tourism is a big earner and employer--but was disrupted by rebels in late 1992 and early 1993 in the lead up to the 1993 legislative and presidential elections. Workers generally are not organized in this area.

The irrigated production of food products and the processing of sugar is expanding in the north along the Senegal River. There are some 50,000 agricultural workers who are beginning to organize into trade unions. Another developing area is toward the eastern border with Mali where marble, iron ore and gold are being mined. Tambacounde, on the Bamako-Dakar railroad, is seeing an influx of some industries from Dakar. Nevertheless, for the time being, about 70 percent of the country's wage-earners (including civil servants) are located in and around Dakar on the Cape Vert Peninsula.

Democracy seems to be reasonably entrenched, but the real test will only come when it is necessary to pass the reins of government from the political party that has dominated the scene since independence to an opposition party.

The economy continues to function at low levels as the government has been slow in making the structural adjustments that will be necessary for sustainable development. The situation was made worse by the budget-busting that occurred during the 1993 electoral campaigns and the January 1994 devaluation of the CFA franc. These developments have caused inflation pressures. The unemployment and underemployment rates continue very high, with the likelihood of becoming worse before they get better as the Government of Senegal (GOS) continues with retrenchments in the civil service and in government-operated parastatals.

The evaluation team spent three and a half working days in Dakar, meeting with union leaders and with USAID and State Department officials. The team was accompanied and briefed by the newly-assigned AALC representative in Dakar and his assistant (who has worked in the office for a number of years). The team visited the educational center and the headquarters of the Confederation Nationale des Travailleurs du Senegal (CNTS). It also participated in the May Day celebrations of the Inter-Syndical, a grouping of the CNTS and four smaller union federations.

#### 1. Trade Union Movement

Senegal was the birthplace of trade unionism in French-speaking Africa; its beginnings date from 1919. For many years labor groups, which were linked to French unions of varying political stripes, were marked by ideological divisions and a high degree of politicization. The leading federation, the Confederation Nationale des Travailleurs du Senegal (CNTS), was

formed in 1972. It showed little promise until 1982 when new leadership--less politicized and more dynamic--began to reorganize and revitalize Senegalese trade unionism. This leadership halted the decline in union membership, completed a nationwide collective bargaining agreement, and began a regular newspaper.

In 1989, at the time of the previous external evaluation of the AALC grant, the CNTS had become a large national federation with 15 professional federations that grouped 66 affiliated unions. It featured a nationwide coordination structure of departmental, rural, and urban unions. The AALC conducted a baseline survey of CNTS in 1991, the beginning of the current AALC grant; a follow-up survey was conducted in early 1994 giving end of 1993 data. A comparison of the data from the two studies follows:

	<u>1991</u>	<u>1993</u>
Number of Affiliated Unions	62	64
Number of Members	70,000	60,000
Number of Branch Offices	21	21
Number of Departments in CNTS	7	8
Size of Paid Professional Staff	3	0
Number of Education Programs During Year	33	18
Number of Subjects Taught	8	11
Number of Service Programs Provided	5	3
Number of Strikes	12	3
Number of Strikers	49,000	100,000
Average Number of Labor Court Cases per year	12	300

The data show that CNTS has gained a couple of unions, but lost nearly 15 percent of its membership. This reflects: 1) the loss of employment of many union members in both government and the private sector as a result of the structural adjustment of the economy; and 2) inroads made by a rival federation, Union Nationale des Syndicats Autonomes du Senegal (UNSAS). UNSAS claims to have 33 affiliated unions with a membership of 30,000. It has 10 departments but no paid staff; it has no branch offices and no services programs; it ran one education program in 1993. It seems to be gaining members at CNTS expense because it portrays CNTS, with its close affiliation with the government's Socialist Party, as a puppet of the GOS.

There are other smaller trade union federations, but they have been working with CNTS in the "Inter-Syndicale" in preparing for negotiations with the GOS about dealing with the impact of the recent devaluation and in planning their May Day events (parade and speech to the President on labor issues).

The CNTS is sorely pinched for finances. It has to rely on external donors to help fund its educational and research programs, and donor assistance has been declining as European sources turn their attention to Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union. Union dues are low (150 francs per person per month) and their value has been eroded by the devaluation and the ensuing price rises. Furthermore, unions have difficulty in collecting the

dues from employers; the GOS is six months behind in forwarding the dues collected to the unions.

As a means of coping with the deteriorating financial situation, the CNTS has begun stressing in all of its seminars the importance of increasing dues and providing more funds to the federation. A dues increase is expected to be approved in the forthcoming CNTS Congress--later this year or early 1995.

## 2. Trade Union Relations with the Government

The CNTS has had close ties with the government party (Parti Socialiste--PS). In the 1993 legislative elections, 22 of the PS candidates were either CNTS or CNTS affiliate officers; 7 won positions. Nevertheless, CNTS has endeavored to maintain an independent line and not involve itself officially in support of any political party. It has acted forcefully against the GOS in defense of workers' rights.

The GOS introduced a government austerity plan in August 1993, a main feature of which was a 15 percent reduction in salaries. Because the plan was developed without any input from opposition parties or the labor unions, there were sit-ins, demonstrations, and strikes to protest the salary cuts. The CNTS, with the support of the smaller federations, negotiated a graduated reduction in the salaries; UNSAS rejected any cut in salaries.

The January 1994 devaluation has led to additional demands by the unions for the GOS to ease the impact of the higher costs which impact most heavily on workers with low incomes.

The World Bank continues to pressure the GOS to amend the labor code in order to increase foreign investment. For the past six years, the GOS has unsuccessfully tried to liberalize hiring and firing terms to allow employers to adjust more quickly to market changes. The unions bitterly oppose this and CNTS can be expected to continue to try to thwart GOS action on this front.

The GOS does not appear to be trying to undercut the unions, as is the case in some other African countries. At the same time, the CNTS does not try to undermine the authority of the GOS; rather, it negotiates hard on behalf of the workers. CNTS has become more prepared for such negotiations by obtaining the help of trained researchers. For example, the CNTS developed its own "market basket" to prove that the cost of living index was not reflective of the workers' basic expenditures; on the basis of its data, CNTS was able to negotiate an increase in the minimum wage.

## 3. Trade Union Programs

The CNTS carries on a number of educational activities through seminars and other meetings and through publication of a monthly newsletter/newspaper, Luttés Ouvrières (Workers' Struggles). The educational activity has focused on the Labor Code and the attempt to modify it, economics (cost of living index, public debt, tax policy, structural

adjustment), health and safety, and women's issues, as well as more traditional trade union subjects. The seminars are carried out at regional CNTS offices as well as at the educational center in Dakar (Institut National d'Education et de Formation Ouvriere--INEFO).

The purchase of a printing press in 1986 permitted the CNTS to start publishing a monthly newspaper, as well as a variety of pamphlets, flyers, brochures and other documents of interest to its members. It made possible the publication of labor-management agreements so that their provisions could be publicized among the workers. AALC has recently helped re-furbish and modernize the printing equipment. There are currently backlogs of items to be printed because of a lack of funds.

The CNTS sponsors credit unions, cooperatives and a school to train mechanics. The bakery cooperative has expanded from five in 1989 to ten now, and some of the new ones have been established in regional capitals. The fish-drying cooperative has been operating since 1993. The batik material cooperative has just recently begun operations.

#### 4. AALC Support

An AALC representative was based in Senegal from 1972 to 1986, but financial limits constrained AALC from mounting a country program. Its aid was in the form of impact projects that responded to specific union requests. In addition, AALC helped create in 1979, with CNTS and the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), the African Institute for Higher Trade Union Studies (IAHES in French). IAHES stimulated and assisted trade union education in Senegal through training and drafting of model courses. IAHES was closed in 1991.

In 1990 an AALC representative was again assigned to Senegal, primarily because the representative in Liberia had to be evacuated. During the last three years, AALC has provided the following types of assistance:

- a) furniture and equipment for the new CNTS headquarters;
- b) financial support to CNTS educational programs (5, 10 and 8 seminars/forums per year);
- c) re-modeling the press building and up-grading and adding to the reproduction equipment;
- d) helped CNTS prepare a position paper on the labor code and duplicate copies of the labor code for distribution to affiliates for use in educational programs; and
- e) training and start-up financial help for the Cloth Dyeing Cooperative promoted by CNTS.

5. Findings and Conclusions

The trade union situation in Senegal is in a state of flux, with CNTS under pressure from some of its affiliates and from other trade union federations, particularly UNSAS. The latter accuses CNTS of being co-opted by the government; CNTS charges that the UNSAS leadership is communist and radical.

AALC is in a difficult situation. Normally, when there are two federations competing, AALC provides assistance only when both federations will collaborate. In this case, however, AALC has been supporting CNTS for years and it does not want to abandon it. The AALC position has been made more difficult by the sending of the leader of UNSAS to the U.S. under a special grant; the latter was described inaccurately by USIS in its cable to Washington as the leader of the largest labor federation in Senegal.

Clearly, it would be desirable if the two federations could come together, but that is unlikely with present leadership in the two federations.

AALC support to the CNTS has allowed the federation to carry out educational programs that would otherwise not have been possible. These were especially critical in the areas of leadership and organizing. One of the most important efforts on which the AALC field representative advised the CNTS during the grant period was in the preparation of a paper on the labor code. With economic reform pressures to reduce the rights and benefits of working people, the unions have a vital role to play in creating a counterpressure to sustain some of the hard-earned benefits the labor movement fought for and won in the past. AALC support of the costs connected with producing a union publication has contributed to the CNTS's internal communications ability.

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## **ANNEX E-4**

### **SIERRA LEONE**

Located on the Atlantic coast in West Africa, Sierra Leone has a population of approximately 4.1 million. Most employment is in the agricultural sector with the most productive lands and portion of diamond production currently disrupted by the rebel forces of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). After failing to improve the economy and deal with the rebels, President J.S. Monoh and his All People's Congress (APC), elected in 1985, were toppled in a military coup d'etat in April 1992 by young army officers led by Captain Valentine Strasser.

The National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC), created by Strasser and the military in May 1992, continues to govern with Strasser as head of State. With the constitution suspended and the NPRC showing no signs of giving up its power, speculation suggests that a quick election might be used to provide Strasser with the trappings of democracy before any opposition party can be created.

An extremely weak economy, difficult World Bank requirements, and the rebel insurrection in the south and east -- all place the economy on questionable footing for recovery. Declining exports, a continuing dependence on key imports, and Strasser's poor record on human rights -- all contribute to a continuing lack of foreign confidence.

The evaluation team spent three days in Sierra Leone interviewing SLLC staff and officials, meeting with a group of 50 women involved with the women's section, visiting the SLLC farm project and a literacy class, touring the headquarters building, and interviewing the labor reporting officer and the U.S. Ambassador. The team was accompanied by the AALC regional representative.

#### **1. Trade Union Movement**

The Sierra Leone Labour Congress (SLLC), consisting of 18 affiliates, has a membership of 60,000, down from 87,000 in 1990 as a result of economic re-structuring which fostered a decline in public sector employment, the country's largest employer. Affiliates have 16 signed collective agreements currently.

Trade union elections during the fall of 1993 have resulted in a major turnover of leadership, bring with it great enthusiasm and new energy. The long-term Secretary-General is very comfortable with the newly elected leadership, and he has appointed a full-time director of education who has brought new energy and started new programs in the past six months, as well as acting as the Secretary General's assistant. The Secretary General now is devoting more time to establishing relations with other interest groups and facilitating the return of democratic government.

Three of the 18 affiliates are led by women, and most affiliates and the SLLC have a women's program. Twenty-five percent of SLLC membership is female. SLLC now requires that women participate in all training on a proportional basis with men.

## 2. Trade Union Relations with the Government

A government take-over of the SLLC in 1981, including the imprisonment and replacement of all SLLC officers, continues to influence the SLLC view of government. During the years following 1981, SLLC avoided any programs or actions that would be questioned by government. Since 1993, SLLC has become more assertive in its efforts, particularly in providing civic education and discussions of democratic reform. To date the government reaction has not been negative. This has encouraged SLLC to consider making some bold recommendations to the government (see below).

Formal and informal consultations were established early this year between the government, business and the trade union movement. The formal consultation through the JCC (Joint Consultation Commission) allows discussion on any matter affecting employment, and can be convened at the initiative of any one of the three parties. The minimum wage law illustrates the difficulty of using consultation. A minimum wage law passed in 1971 required a committee of the three parties to agree on a minimum wage. Since the parties have never been able to agree, there is no minimum wage.

Industry-wide negotiations are used to agree on minimum wages and conditions. Such agreements are legally enforceable and apply to all employers in that industry or sector.

Because the government has started organizing women and youth groups, trade unions are concerned that this may be a prelude to the military forming a political party in preparation for the multi-party election that has been promised for 1995. There are no political parties currently.

## 3. Trade Union Programs

Five SLLC departments include administration, education, research, women and youth. Education is the most active program, with the women's program second.

With the fall 1993 trade union elections bringing new blood to the SLLC, programs in training and education have been enhanced with the appointment of a full-time head of education. Literacy education has expanded to two sites in Freetown and three in the regions, with more expansion planned. The team observation of one literacy class in the headquarters building displayed interested instructors and students, but little equipment (one poor chalk board) and few materials. In a country with 15 percent literacy, and probably less in the worker ranks, this is a very necessary program.

With the U.S. Embassy, the SLLC has co-sponsored a series of lectures/dialogues on the military government's proposals for a new Constitution. These were highly successful. University professors provided the lectures, and focus groups held the dialogues. The lecture/dialogues included representatives from other institutions and interest groups; the topics included the various forms of government, their advantages and disadvantages, and other topics relevant to the new Constitution. USIS and the union are collaborating on a new

series of civic education presentations that will focus on the preparation needed to make democracy work.

Earlier this year, SLLC conducted leadership development seminars for the leaders of affiliates and executive council members. Two major topics in these seminars were the union's role in structural readjustment and returning democracy to the national government. As a result of these seminars, each of the country's 12 administrative districts has at least 3 or 4 trained leaders. Two participants in these seminars described them as a peak experience for the affiliates and the SLLC. Affiliate participants were urged to share the discussion with their members--which they did.

The discussions about the proposed new Constitution and the leadership development seminars have afforded the SLLC the opportunity and the courage to consider making very bold recommendations to the government involving:

1. The convening of a National Conference of interest groups to plan for the restoration of democracy;
2. The return of the Army to the barracks at the earliest possible date;
3. The restoration of the suspended constitution, rather than the creation of a new constitution as the government has suggested.

A very energetic women's program has been planned for this year based on series of seminars held around the country: a) to discuss women's needs and rights; b) to explore fund-raising possibilities to make the women's program financially self-supporting; and c) to bring women together for self help and support. The women's group works closely with the SLLC education department.

A youth group is just getting started as an out reach program beyond the trade union movement through sports events, health and sex education, and traditional union concepts. The youth program will be coordinated with the women's program. The education department will coordinate training programs.

A partially completed expansion of the SLLC headquarters building will provide space for the women's program and allow more affiliates to be housed at a common location.

#### 4. AALC Support

The AALC has supported Sierra Leone's workers since 1966. The SLLC headquarters building, built with AALC funds, stands, in the words of the SLLC Secretary General, as a symbol of their friendship with the AALC and their independence of government and any political party. The AALC assistance was provided following the government take-over of SLLC in 1981; it was uniquely helpful in re-building the trade union movement.

Most AALC funds support educational programs, including salary support for a director of education and the head of adult education. Also supported are a women's program, a literacy program, a farming project, a planned expansion of the headquarters building, and a new youth program.

AALC support is administered by its regional representative traveling from his office in Dakar, Senegal.

## 5. Findings and Conclusions

The trade union elections in late 1993 has placed the SLLC in its most positive position to date -- with new leadership and renewed enthusiasm in an environment with potential for moving toward democratic institution building and self reliance. A unique characteristic of most of the SLLC programs is a willingness to include and/or work with other segments of society. The team was encouraged to see the close collaboration between the U.S. Embassy and AALC and the SLLC.

Of the AALC-supported programs, the farming project should be reviewed. Although its cost has been minimal to date, the plans for it as discussed with the team suggest that there is likely to be a need for substantial funding and the benefits are not obvious. The SLLC should study the project carefully before putting more money into the activity; AALC should bring in some experts, if necessary, to help the union see the ramifications of what one of its officers is proposing.

A strong and growing education program (including literacy training), an energetic women's program, and plans for a youth program are all signs of growing confidence within SLLC and its affiliates.

SLLC needs a research director and the capacity to issue a newsletter or newspaper. A computer would help with both research and membership communication; it would also help with their growing educational programs. Other instructional materials and equipment would also help the education program. The building expansion needs to be brought to closure. Consideration might be given to providing initial funding for a full-time coordinator for the women's program once the building is completed; the women appear prepared to work on fund-raising so such assistance should not be long-term.

The AALC has been instrumental in helping the SLLC to sponsor open discussions on the future of the country; this resulted in presentation of a series of recommendations to the government. AALC support for the civic education program will be vital to the continuation of this dialogue. The number of union members attending AALC-supported literacy classes after a full day of work is a testimonial to the appropriateness of that program. Consultation by the AALC field representative responsible for Sierra Leone has been especially important in view of the change in SLLC leadership and the transitional nature of the government.

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## ANNEX E-5

### ZAMBIA

Known as Northern Rhodesia before its independence from the United Kingdom in 1964, the land-locked Zambia has depended heavily on the mining and export of copper, a resource that experts expect to be depleted in the next century. Other sectors of the economy were neglected and the drop in copper prices in the mid-1970s brought the country to the brink of economic collapse. The country has considerable agricultural potential from its unexploited arable land but bad policies, periodic drought, and the lack of foreign exchange to import fertilizer and other inputs resulted in minimal agricultural development during the 1980s.

Although the Government of Zambia (GOZa) negotiated a far-reaching agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the mid-1980s to counter the effects of the economic crisis, the agreement was abandoned in 1987. Rampant inflation, a crushing foreign debt, continuing low copper prices, and the lack of a cohesive food production strategy combined to increase political strains on the government. A Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) was established which, with other groups, called for a referendum on a multi-party system. This led to an election in November 1991 in which Frederick Chiluba, the president of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZaCTU), who had become head of the MMD, soundly defeated Kenneth Kaunda who had ruled the country for the 27 years since independence.

President Chiluba re-affirmed the GOZa commitment to economic policy reform, cleared arrears to the World Bank in 1992, and agreed to a new Policy Framework Paper with the Bank and the IMF for the period 1992-1994. Normal disbursements of assistance under the International Development Association (IDA) resumed in February 1992. Overall, since November 1991, Zambia's performance record has been one of strong accomplishment, particularly considering the Government's limited implementation capacity, a catastrophic drought in 1992, falling copper prices in 1993, and continued hardship for the bulk of the population. Much remains to be done, but the Government has shown a persistent commitment to a strategy of macro-economic stability, economic growth, and poverty reduction based on a dynamic private sector as a source of output and employment growth and a re-structured public sector as a source of supporting infrastructure and social services.

Early in 1994, IDA approved an economic and social adjustment credit of \$150 million aimed at supporting: 1) continuing efforts to restore macro-economic stability; 2) further actions to remove bottlenecks to export production and to develop a market for state land; and 3) basic policy changes to remove obstacles to the delivery of vital social services.

The two largest employers in Zambia have traditionally been the national government and the copper industry. The economic structural adjustment program calls for massive lay-offs in these key sectors. While these actions will further improve the macro-economic picture, union workers will have to suffer further before the positive benefits of the structural adjustments will become available and visible.

The evaluation team spent three days in Zambia, meeting with officials of the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions (ZaCTU) and some affiliate unions, visiting ZaCTU headquarters in Kitwe, meeting with the U.S. Ambassador and members of his staff, and discussing the Zambian economic situation and AALC-USAID collaboration with the USAID Director.

1. Trade Union Movement

The Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZaCTU) was founded in 1965 through an Act of Parliament, the Industrial Relations Ordinance. This ushered in a period of cooperation with the government. In 1972, the labor law changed with the establishment of a one-party state. The government then attempted to interfere and manipulate the affiliates of the ZaCTU to achieve its political ends.

In spite of government actions, the Congress gradually increased and maintained its membership. By 1991, 19 unions were affiliated with the ZaCTU, including civil service and other public sector employees. The numbers in the latter unions have come to exceed those in the mine unions, the original mainstay of the Congress.

The headquarters of the ZaCTU is in Kitwe in the center of the mining area. Given the increased membership in other parts of the country, the Congress is planning to establish regional branches, probably starting with one in the Lusaka area. At the moment, there is only a small and totally inadequate office in Lusaka. With the increased importance of the National Assembly in the new democratic environment and the increasing GOZa activity in carrying out the structural adjustment activity, a continuous high level ZaCTU representation has become necessary.

The structural adjustment process has already had a negative impact on many local firms and hence on union enrollment. The latter is expected to decline further as rather drastic retrenchment takes place in parastatal enterprises. The ZaCTU has been looking for ways to assist displaced workers, e.g., in the informal sector, and to keep them affiliated with their unions.

Total estimated union membership in early 1994 is estimated at 325,000, down 25,000-30,000 from 1991. Nine affiliated unions have a membership of 10,000 or more:

*National Union of Public Service Workers	65,000
*Mineworkers Unions of Zambia	55,000
*Civil Servants Union of Zambia	33,000
National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers	28,000
Zambia National Union of Teachers	25,000
National Union of Building Engineering & General Workers	25,000
Zambia United of Local Authorities Workers Union	24,000
*Railway Workers Union of Zambia	10,000
National Union of Plantation & Agricultural Workers	10,000

\* Those unions to be hardest hit from structural adjustment.

The ZaCTU will hold its quadrennial Congress in October 1994 to elect national leadership and establish national policies for the coming years. The current leadership is serving in an acting capacity, having been appointed by the General Council when the former leadership stepped down to enter national politics.

## 2. Trade Union Relations with the Government

Until the election of 1991, the ZaCTU has historically had a confrontational relationship with a government determined to turn the labor movement into a "mass organization" that would be a part of the official party structure. The Congress began to take a more independent line during the economic crises of the mid-1980s. In 1987 and 1988 the government harassed and imprisoned labor leaders and changed the labor law removing the check-off system for dues if unions engaged in strikes.

In 1990 the trade union movement took a leadership role in establishing the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) and calling for a referendum on the establishment of a multi-party system. In early 1991 Frederick Chiluba, the president of the ZaCTU, was elected president of the MMD; in the subsequent national election, he was elected President of Zambia. Some union members were elected to the National Assembly. A former trade unionist has been chosen as the Minister of Labor.

The results of this has been the creation of a more favorable climate for independent trade unionism, but not necessarily for a number of trade unions. That is, President Chiluba's economic priorities as head of the country are not beneficial to trade unions, at least in the short term. While individual trade union leaders have personal access to the President and the Minister of Labor, there are still complaints that the GOZA takes actions inimical to workers without any consultations with the unions. Business has a similar complaint.

As unions have continued under the present government to suffer from the structural adjustments, the union has separated itself from the party and redoubled its efforts to maintain itself as a constructive critic of the government.

## 3. Trade Union Programs

Some 25 educational programs were carried out in 1993, reaching some 500 trade unionists. There were eight health and safety programs during the year; education about AIDS is a part of the curriculum--the AIDS epidemic is spreading rapidly in Zambia. Other subjects included during the year were:

- Collective Bargaining and Negotiation Skills
- Leadership Skills Workshops
- Train the Trainer Programs
- Finance and Union Administration
- Economics and Statistics for the Unionist
- Cooperatives Management
- Productivity, Labor Markets and Unemployment Policies

The ZaCTU has a relatively sophisticated network of credit unions and consumer cooperatives providing services to its members. During the period of the grant, the Congress has established a Women's Department and began increasing attention to women's issues.

In early 1993 the ZaCTU, in conjunction with the ICFTU, sponsored a conference in Lusaka on "The Social Dimension of Structural Adjustment in Zambia." This was possible because of the strong economic research program of the ZaCTU.

#### 4. AALC Support

During the 1981-82 period of government-trade union confrontation, the resident AALC expert was expelled by the government. From then until 1991, AALC provided assistance via individual Impact Projects and union-to-union activities through the International Trade Secretariats.

A country program for Zambia was re-instituted in 1991. According to the 1991 grant proposal to AID/Washington, AALC support would concentrate on advanced education programs for union leaders, the establishment of a comprehensive instructor training program in collective bargaining, intensive training in health and safety and financial administration, women's program, and upgrading the cooperative department and its programs.

The developments in the country caused some modification in priorities. In 1991 AALC sponsored a workshop on election monitoring for 60 trade union officials and headed a delegation to observe the election. The ZaCTU participated in an AALC seminar on trade unions and the democratic process. In early 1992, AALC supported a ZaCTU seminar on the new economic environment and collective bargaining for 25 trade unionists.

In the fall of 1992, AALC sponsored a women's program. This was followed by support for a seminar in February 1993 which addressed the theme "Leadership Development and the Role of Women in the Trade Union Movement."

In May 1993, following the conference in Lusaka on the social dimensions of structural adjustment in Zambia, AALC/AFL-CIO financed the travel of the President and General Secretary of the ZaCTU to the U.S. to meet with officials of the World Bank, the IMF, the State Department and AID/Washington to build support for the recommendations of the Lusaka conference. The latter recommended debt reduction and greater consultation and attention to social concerns in the Zambian program.

AALC has provided computers to help strengthen the education, research and communications activities of the Congress. Its plans call for strengthening ZaCTU affiliate services, such as seminars on labor law, collective bargaining, and labor/management relations. The ZaCTU effort to build a viable regional structure will also be supported. Finally, the AALC will assist the ZaCTU in developing a strong tripartite structure through seminars with relevant employer and government representatives on areas of mutual interest such as structural adjustment and productivity.

5. Findings and Conclusions

The ZaCTU has felt some frustration in its relationship with the new government, which is headed by its former leader. The earlier electoral process in which the trade unions were involved, and the re-defining of its relationship to the government, resulted in a temporary de-emphasis on programs. The ZaCTU is now increasing its focus on programs and relying on the AALC for support for its education programs and the development of a regional structure.

The structural adjustment program, which has been re-instituted by the Chiluba administration, is taking its toll on union membership. The ZaCTU is working to improve the services it provides to affiliates and their members, while at the same time it is exploring options for increasing its income.

The ZaCTU needs to make a decision soon on how it is going to expand its presence in Lusaka. This is needed to strengthen its relations with the government and with the legislature. It is anticipated that AALC will be asked to help establish a more adequate office in Lusaka and an expanded regional organization.

AALC programs on trade unions and the democratic process and on election monitoring fulfilled a real need in the Zambian trade union movement in recent years as the country moved to multi-party democracy. Education programs since the elections have been appropriate to the new needs of the movement, including collective bargaining in the new economic environment and leadership training for women. The newly-established, AALC-supported legal department is already providing legal services to the federation and is gathering collective bargaining information which will be used by the affiliates.

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## ANNEX E-6

### ZIMBABWE

Located in southeastern Africa, Zimbabwe became independent in 1980, shedding its identity of Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia. A black-led government replaced the previous white-run administration.

More normal rainfall is returning to Zimbabwe, following the most severe drought on record during 1992; the latter resulted in a 25 percent decline in agricultural output and a 10 percent decline in industrial output. The drought, combined with the world-wide recession and a five-year economic re-structuring program started in 1990, made 1992 the worst year economically in 60 years. Slight and slow improvement started in 1993.

In spite of these problems, President Mugabe, who won strong in the 1990 election, has little fear of losing his position in this de facto single party state.

The evaluation team spent five days in Zimbabwe, meeting with officials and staff of the ZCTU at both the headquarters in Harare and a regional office in Bulawayo. Also in Bulawayo, the team met with officials of a major affiliate, the Railroadmens Amalgamated Union. [An individual identified by the officials as secret police looked in on the meeting.] The labor reporting officer, the USAID Director and the U.S. Ambassador were also interviewed. The AALC regional representative accompanied the team throughout Zimbabwe.

#### 1. Trade Union Movement

Prior to independence, a relatively weak trade union movement was organized along ethnic and regional lines. In an effort to overcome that history, unions organized the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) in 1981, and began structuring affiliates on an industry-wide basis, rather than by regional or tribal affiliations.

The ZCTU, consisting of 29 affiliates, has a membership of 270,000, an increase of 20,000 in the last two years. Eighteen percent of the membership is female. The vast majority of members are employed in the private sector and the parastatals. Six collective agreements exist currently. Seven independent associations of employees represent 156,000 employees, primarily in the public sector. During the past year, ZCTU has developed a number of cooperative activities with the larger independents, including letters-of-understandings.

Through headquarters, an expanded regional structure and a full time Secretary General, the ZCTU provides services to its affiliates. Following the successful example of their electrical workers affiliate, the ZCTU is actively promoting the concept of dues based on a percentage of wages rather than the present flat rate. Approval at the next Congress will place ZCTU on a more positive financial footing.

ZCTU efforts continue to strengthen affiliates through promoting and assisting with well planned mergers. Since 1985, the number of affiliates has been reduced from 42 to the current 29.

## 2. Trade Union Relations with the Government

The ZCTU has maintained its independence from the government and the single dominant party. Since 1990, collective bargaining has been permitted, using a tripartite approach. A National Economic Commission (NEC) in each industry is used to conduct the negotiations, resolve impasses, and oversee compliance. A labor tribunal has encouraged the parties to use private arbitration to resolve their disputes and reduce the tribunal's large case backlog.

The arrests of six trade union officials for illegal assembly was set aside by the judiciary in an unexpected show of independence from the government. A highly visible strike of the banking system, ending in a clear victory for the union, has made the government more respectful of the ZCTU--a tactical error by a government minister aided the union's cause and resulted in its ultimate success.

On the negative side, a 1992 labor code amendment encourages the establishment of shop floor organizations of workers operating independent of the trade union at the same site. Since these "independent" organizations were given the authority to negotiate with management, a form of dual unionism was being created. After a year of struggling with the problem, the unions are attempting to counter this disruption of a rational labor management system by getting trade unionists involved in these shop floor organizations, thereby making their work compatible with the trade union.

The government's authority to register unions has been used to foment splintering and weakening of affiliates. Recently, a splinter union was registered in the otherwise very united railroad industry.

Unions are prohibited in the public sector, but the ZUTC has established cooperation with the associations that are allowed in that sector.

## 3. Trade Union Programs

Education remains the high priority program for the ZCTU, with most affiliates relying exclusively on ZCTU to conduct training sessions. In addition to the traditional subjects on trade unionism, the work environment, and literacy, much emphasis is now placed on AIDS education, including innovative seminars for couples, and an ambitious train-the-trainer program.

With women constituting a fifth of the union membership, more attention is being devoted to their special needs. Fundraising activities by women has allowed women's programs to expand even in the face of reduced income from traditional sources.

4. AALC Support

Support for educational programs is the primary target of AALC funding. Building leadership capacity within the affiliates through training seminars, as well as administrative support for staff at the regional and headquarters level, represent a major emphasis. Training of trainers in AIDS education has grown in importance as it is used as an outreach beyond the union member to family and extended family.

The AALC support is provided by a regional representative based in Harare.

5. Findings and Conclusions

A full time Secretary General with good leadership skills, including planning, plus a well functioning headquarters and regional offices has placed the ZCTU in a strong and politically independent position. While its finances remain weak, a proactive plan is underway to improve the dues income at the next Congress.

Government efforts to undermine union strength and solidarity has been countered by the trade unions with good planning and some luck. The government use of its power to register competing unions remains a problem, but the government encouragement of shop floor organizations is being dealt with effectively. The ZCTU capacity to reach out and instigate cooperative efforts with the independent worker associations in the public sector manifests an organization and a leadership developing confidence and increased certainty about its role.

The ZCTU leadership in AIDS education is another illustration of that confidence, as well as the ZCTU plans to seek an ongoing dialogue with the government. The surprising independence of the judicial system has been a benefit to the trade union movements as well as other sectors of society, including the press.

The focus of AALC assistance to the ZCTU has been on building the capacity of the federation through education and structural development. In Bulawayo, the evaluation team saw concretely the success of regional office development. The team also heard anecdotal evidence of the effectiveness of the AIDS education program. AALC support to the ZCTU has been appropriate; continued AALC funding for training programs, union strengthening through merger and united strategies, and the regionalization program are warranted.

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**Annex F**

**1994 TRADE UNION FEDERATION QUESTIONNAIRE**

1993 TRADE UNION DATA FOR (Name of Country)

Federation:

**GENERAL INFORMATION**

Physical Address:

Postal Address:

City:

Telephone:

Telex:

Fax:

Language: (Portuguese, French, English, Arabic)

AALC Presence: ( Yes/No ) AALC Program:

**LEADERSHIP**

Name

Title

Number of Females on the Executive Council:

**MEMBERSHIP AND AFFILIATIONS**

Number of Branch Offices:

Number of Members:

Percentage Females:

Per Capita Charged:

Number of Affiliated Unions:

Potential Membership:

Number of New Members Organized:

Regional Affiliation:

African Affiliation:

International Affiliation:

Other Affiliation:

## DEPARTMENTS AND STAFF

Name of Publication:

Frequency per Year:  
Circulation:

Number of Active Departments in the Federation:  
Size of the Federation's Professional Staff:  
Percentage Females:

List the Departments of the Federation:

## EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Number of Education Programs During the Year:  
Total Membership Participation at These Programs:  
Estimated Percentage of Female Participants:

Does the federation have its own training facility?

Number of Safety & Health Programs During the Year:

List the General Subjects Taught:

## SERVICE PROGRAMS

Number of Service Programs Provided by the Federation:  
(co-opts, credit unions, day care, job creation, etc.)

Number of Members and Family Members Served  
by These Programs During the Year:

List These Service Programs:

**COLLECTIVE BARGAINING**

Number of Collective Agreements Signed by the Federation:  
Number of Collective Agreements Signed by the Affiliates:

Number of Members Covered by These Agreements:

Number of Recognition Agreements:  
Members Covered:

**CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

Are Strikes Legal?: (Yes/No)  
Number of Strikes:  
Number of Strikers:

Is There a Labor Court (or Other Body)?: (Yes/No)  
Average Number of Cases: (Per Year)

List Major Industrial Court Issues:

**TRADE UNIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT**

How Many Active Tripartite Committees are There?:  
How Many Proposals Came Out of Committee Last Year?:

List the Nature of These Proposals:

What is the Minimum Wage (or average if applicable)?:  
What was the Last Year the Minimum Wage was Increased?:

Are There Laws Prohibiting Forced Labor? (Yes/No)  
Are There Laws Limiting Child Labor? (Yes/No) What Age?:

List Restrictions on the Right to Associate, Organize and Bargain:

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## ANNEX G

### FREQUENCY OF DEPARTMENTS BY TYPE

<u>Type</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Education	12
Education/Information	2
Education & Study Circles	1
Education & Training	3
Education & Research	1
Education & Culture	2
Education & Organizing	1
Administration/Finance	2
Administration	16
Legal & Administrative	1
Accounting & Administration	2
Finance	8
Finance & Property	1
Finance & Accounting (or Accounts)	2
Finance & Cooperative	1
Accounts (or Accounting)	2
Building Program	1
Organization or Organizing	15
Organization & Publicity	1
Organizing & Restructuring	1
Social/Economic Affairs	3
Social Affairs	2
Social Legislation	1
Social/Legal	1
Social Security	1
Economics	3
Research & Economics (or Economic Planning)	6
Research & Documentation	2
Project & Research	1
Research	4
Research & Industrial Relations	1
Planning	1
International Affairs/Foreign Relations	13
International & Public Relations	1

Publicity	1
Political	2
Information (or Press/Information)	9
Publications	4
Publications/Documentation/Archives	1
Information/Publications (or Publicity)	4
Communications	1
Legal	8
Legal and Industrial Relations	1
Industrial Relations	2
Negotiations & Grievance	1
Disputes	1
Negotiation & Conflict	1
Women or Women's Affairs or Women's Desk	16
Women & Youth	1
Women & Literacy	1
Day Care	2
Youth	5
Youth/Culture	1
Cultural	1
Workers' Participation	1
Union Issues	1
Service (or Worker Service Organization)	4
Social Welfare	1
Health and Safety	7
Cooperatives	10
Project	1
[Number of Federations Providing Information]	[31]

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**Annex H  
IMPACT GRANTS, 1991-1993**

Country	Project	Date(s)	Amount
Botswana	Training & Computer	1990-1992	\$12,395
Burundi	Natl. Seminar on Democracy	Feb. 12, 1992	\$3,550
	Sharp Copier	Aug. 13, 1992	\$2,089
Cameroon			
CAR	Congress, Women's seminar & Renovation Regional Conferences	Mar. 10, 1992 July 29, 1993	\$14,709 \$19,542
Chad	Seminars on Structural Adjustment	Dec. 12, 1991	\$8,286
Congo			
Côte d'Ivoire			
Eritrea			
Ethiopia	Consultant	Feb. 2, 1992	\$57,495
Gabon			
Gambia			
Ghana			
Guinea			
Kenya	Election	Dec. 23, 1992	\$15,308
Lesotho			
Liberia			
Malawi			
Mali			
Mauritius			
Mozambique			
Namibia	Congress Meeting	Sept. 1, 1993	\$20,000
Niger			
Nigeria			
Rwanda	Pharmaceuticals & Computer system Truck	Feb. 19, 1992 July 30, 1992	\$20,061 0
Senegal			
Sierra Leone	Completion of Annex Agricultural project & Literacy Program	Nov. 20, 1991 May 14, 1993	\$29,540 0
Sudan			
Swaziland			
Tanzania			
Togo			
Uganda			
Zaire			
Zambia			
Zimbabwe	Health & Safety seminar	April 2, 1992	\$3,501
Regional Programs			
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>206,476</b>

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## Annex I

### LIST OF PARTICIPATING ITSs

- 1991-1992 American Federation of Teachers (AFT) - International Federation of Free Teachers' Union (IFFTU)
- 1993 IFFTU merged with World Confederation of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP) to form Education International (E.I.)
- 1991-1993 American Federation of State, County and Municipal employees (AFSCME) - Public Services International (PSI)
- 1991-1992 International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen (BAC) - International Federation of Building and Wood Workers (IFBWW), BAC disaffiliated from IFBWW, their counterpart is now the Hassan Fathy Institute (HFI)
- 1992-1993 International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen (BAC) - Hassan Fathy Institute (HFI)
- 1991-1993 Communication Workers of America (CWA) - Postal, Telegraph, Telephone International (PTTI)
- 1991-1993 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) - International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF)
- 1991-1993 International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) - International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation (ITGLWF)
- 1991-1993 Department of Professional Employees (DPE) - International Secretariat for Arts, Mass Media and Entertainment Trade Union (ISETU)
- 1991-1993 United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW) and Service Employees International Union (SEIU) - International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees (FIET)
- 1991 Transportation, Communications Union International (TCU) - International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF)
- 1991-1993 United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW) - International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers (IFPAAW), IFPAAW has now merged with International Union of Food and Allied Workers (IUF)

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**Annex J  
ITS PROJECTS BY COUNTRY 1991-1993**

Country	In-Country Training	Equipment	Study Tours, Exchanges, Congresses
Benin Botswana Burundi Burkina Faso Cameroon	AFT  ILGWU		UFCW*
CAR Cape Verde Chad Congo	CWA		
Côte d'Ivoire Eritrea Ethiopia	AFT, ILGWU, CWA		UFCW*
Gabon Gambia Ghana	SEIU		UFCW* BAC, SEIU, DPE
Guinea Kenya Lesotho	CWA IAM, ILGWU ILGWU		TCU
Liberia Malawi Mali	BAC, CWA, AFT		
Mauritius Mozambique Namibia			
Niger Nigeria Rwanda	AFSCME, ILGWU ILGWU CWA		UFCW* UFCW* BAC, DPE
Senegal Sierra Leone Sudan	ILGWU, CWA		UFCW* BAC, DPE
Swaziland Tanzania Togo	BAC AFT AFSCME, AFT		AFT UFCW*
Uganda Zaire Zambia	ILGWU CWA ILGWU, AFSCME	ILGWU	UFCW*, ILGWU AFSCME, BAC, UFCW* UFCW* BAC
Zimbabwe	ILGWU	BAC	

\*Sponsored FIET World Congress (participants from all over Africa)

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**Annex K  
OBJECTIVES OF AALC COUNTRY PROGRAMS**

Objectives	Botswana	Burundi	Cameroon	CAR	Chad	Congo	Côte d'Ivoire	Eritrea	Ethiopia	Gabon	Gambia
1. Strengthen Headquarters Operations a. Education Program b. General	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. Strengthen Regional Operations a. Education program b. General		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	
3. Increase Services to Affiliates/Members a. Women's programs, women's unit b. Health and safety c. Credit unions, coops d. Literacy e. Vocational education, job creation	X		X	X			X	X	X	X	
4. Establish Research Department											
5. Increase Trade Union Participation in Government Decision-making	X		X				X	X	X	X	
6. Establish, Strengthen Labor College											
7. Achieve Economic Self-Sufficiency	X							X	X		
8. Recruit New Union Affiliates/Members	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
9. Improve Financial Management	X							X	X		
10. Establish Union Publications											

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**Annex K  
OBJECTIVES OF AALC COUNTRY PROGRAMS**

Objectives	Ghana	Guinea	Kenya	Lesotho	Liberia	Malawi	Mali	Mauritius	Mozambique	Namibia	Niger	Nigeria
1. Strengthen Headquarters Operations a. Education Program b. General	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. Strengthen Regional Operations a. Education program b. General		X					X				X	X
3. Increase Services to Affiliates/Members a. Women's programs, women's unit b. Health and safety c. Credit unions, coops d. Literacy e. Vocational education, job creation	X	X	X	X			X	X	X		X	
4. Establish Research Department			X	X			X	X				
5. Increase Trade Union Participation in Government Decision-making	X	X	X			X	X	X			X	X
6. Establish, Strengthen Labor College	X	X	X									
7. Achieve Economic Self-Sufficiency	X	X	X	X			X	X			X	X
8. Recruit New Union Affiliates/Members	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
9. Improve Financial Management			X	X			X					X
10. Establish Union Publications		X	X							X	X	

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**Annex K  
OBJECTIVES OF AALC COUNTRY PROGRAMS**

Objectives	Rwanda	Senegal	Sierra Leone	Sudan	Swaziland	Tanzania	Togo	Uganda	Zaire	Zambia	Zimbabwe
1. Strengthen Headquarters Operations a. Education Program b. General		X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
2. Strengthen Regional Operations a. Education program b. General			X					X			X
3. Increase Services to Affiliates/Members a. Women's programs, women's unit b. Health and safety c. Credit unions, coops d. Literacy e. Vocational education, job creation	X	X	X			X		X			X
4. Establish Research Department		X									
5. Increase Trade Union Participation in Government Decision-making	X	X	X		X	X				X	X
6. Establish, Strengthen Labor College		X						X			
7. Achieve Economic Self-Sufficiency	X		X			X	X	X		X	X
8. Recruit New Union Affiliates/Members	X	X	X		X			X			X
9. Improve Financial Management			X			X				X	X
10. Establish Union Publications		X									

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## Annex L

### DISPUTE SETTLEMENT MECHANISMS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

In creating a labor-management relations system in sub-Sahara Africa, dispute settlement procedures must be an integral part of that system. The following are some thoughts on dispute settlement procedures in that context.

An even handed labor code is the best foundation for the rights and responsibilities of the parties. Two categories of disputes typically arise under labor codes: 1) disputes involving application of the code or the application of collective bargaining agreements; and 2) disputes involving the development or creation of labor agreements. The former can be subject to some negotiations, but they are primarily resolved by a decision maker - - a labor court, a labor board, or an arbitrator. The issues involved in these cases include registration of unions, determining bargaining units, commission of prohibited practices (improper strikes or discharges), and violations of a collective agreement (grievances).

Generally labor agreements are created or developed through a negotiation process. When negotiations reach an impasse, they can be aided by a mediation or conciliation process which assists both parties in achieving a settlement.

To be successful, the mediators must be viewed by the decision makers of both parties as being objective, impartial, or even handed. In more developed countries, long experience has resulted in government agents being accepted as impartial in both of these dispute settling roles. That is the case in North America and in England. In a number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the government agents are less likely to be considered impartial in labor disputes.

Initially it is probably best to have the mediation role played by individuals independent of the government. (The successful use of that approach in South Africa is discussed below.) Once labor and management become accustomed to using mediation routinely, it may be possible for government agents to be accepted as mediators.

The decision making role under a labor code, however, will normally be played by a labor court or board established and funded by the government. Such a court or board must very intentionally conduct itself in a manner to establish itself as independent of the government, and impartial in the view of labor and management.

One serious difficulty often found with labor courts and boards in sub-Saharan Africa is the existence of large backlogs of cases which prevents expeditious handling of cases, thereby minimizing the court's positive impact on disputes. Several things can diminish that problem:

- 1) Competent staff and an adequate number of staff;
- 2) Clear and consistent practices and precedent for handling cases which will aid labor and management in handling some cases on their own;

3) Allowing certain cases (individual rights cases for example) to be handled by arbitrators, or even mediators, working within certain established guide lines.

The development of both the mediation and decision making functions can be aided by competent technical assistance. The U.S. Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service has experience in providing such assistance at its office in Washington, D.C. and overseas. James Power is the FMCS Director of Public and International Affairs--(202) 653-5390.

### **Preventive Mediation and Interest-Based Negotiations**

Two other aids to dispute settlement are preventive mediation and interest-based bargaining. The U.S. FMCS has 50 years of experience with preventive mediation. This is a series of activities which help labor and management to anticipate problems, thereby either avoiding or solving them before they become serious. These activities include joint training of labor and management in problem solving, trust building and communications, as well as joint visioning and wider participation in decision making.

A new approach to labor and management negotiations recently has been gaining popularity in the U.S.: win-win or interest-based bargaining. This process helps labor and management shift from traditional bargaining, based on power and threats, to bargaining based on the common interests and concerns of both parties. Through training and facilitation, the parties are assisted in moving away from adversarial methods and practices to those that focus on an appreciation of the common and mutual interests and concerns of both parties.

In general, traditional bargaining is based on the assumption that each bargainer must watch out primarily for themselves. They assume that if the other person knew what we know, they would use that information to their advantage and not ours. Therefore, bargainers hold back and disguise information. They assume that bargaining is a matter of deciding between one side's position and the other side's position; therefore, success is achieving our position and keeping the other side from achieving theirs. Interest-based bargaining, however, makes new assumptions about trust and information sharing and takes the view that both sides can win and should help each other do so. See Appendix A to this annex for a summary description of the interest-based process and Appendix B for a detailed presentation of the process.

### **Tripartite Discussions**

The tripartite process could be used for dispute resolution if all three parties (government, management, labor) are willing to fashion and utilize such a process. Typically, however, a tripartite process is more appropriate for dealing with policy questions, for example with the labor code, structural adjustment programs, developing or preparing for democratic institutions, and setting minimum wages. Obviously, the use of a tripartite process is a way of getting the three parties working together on common problems, and thus creating a practice and tradition of talking problems through and seeking joint solutions.

## **South African Experience with Mediation of Labor-Management Disputes**

In supporting and advising trade unions in Africa, AALC representatives might be able to use information about a mediation service provided in South Africa. USAID may be able to use this information as well in dealing with Ministries of Labor and other governmental agencies. South Africa has a private, nonprofit mediation service group called Independent Mediation Service of South Africa (IMSSA). The Director is Charles Nupen, who was on the recent election commission overseeing the election in South Africa. IMSSA's address is:

IMSSA Menton Centre  
1 Park Road, Richmond, 2092  
P.O. Box 91082  
Auckland Park 2006  
Johannesburg, South Africa  
Phone: (011) 726-7104/7149/7188

This organization was started with the technical support of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service in the U.S. about ten years ago. At the time, there were an increasing number of strikes and work stoppages involving labor disputes. Efforts by the government to offer their good-offices as a dispute settlement step were immediately rejected by at least the union if not by both parties. The government was viewed as impossibly biased, and probably unskilled and incompetent in such matters. It was concluded that even government agents trained by the FMCS would not remove the obstacle of real or presumed bias.

The FMCS therefore agreed to help create IMSSA by assisting in developing an administrative process for selecting mediator candidates, training them, and arranging for a process for the parties to use in choosing the mediator they would be willing to work with. Initially there were only one or two permanent staff members who handled the administration of getting mediators lined up with disputing parties. The mediators worked on an adjunct basis while taking leave from their full time occupation as college professor, lawyer, doctor, or priest/minister. Grants were obtained to fund the administrative costs and to compensate the mediators who could not afford to volunteer their time. The idea was to avoid any appearance that the mediators and the administrators were dependent upon the government, employer or union and, concurrently, to eliminate cost as an obstacle to using the process.

After a few years, IMSSA gained credibility with the disputing parties and the lawyers who frequently represented them. The number of cases increased, adjunct mediators were trained in all the major cities, and arbitration and fact-finding were added to the services offered by IMSSA. Several staff members began acting as mediators. Additional neutral services were added, including conducting representation elections, helping develop labor-management relations through a process called Relations By Objectives (RBO) (a type of preventive mediation), and training in negotiation, problem solving, and arbitration. Currently IMSSA has a staff of 20 people, two regional offices, and over 100 members on their panel of mediators and arbitrators. IMSSA has brochures and a newsletter about their services; most are no longer free.

AALC-LR21

# Bargaining: The Past Model

By Jerome T. Barrett

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Recent changes in the U.S. industrial relations system, facilitated by a growing global economy and deregulation, to name just two influences, have produced innovations in cooperation between labor and management.<sup>1</sup> Most of these innovations have occurred outside of labor-management contract negotiations, through such mechanisms as labor-management committees, quality-of-worklife efforts, and quality circles.<sup>2</sup> Encouraged by the successes of these innovations and the popularity of the book *Getting To Yes*,<sup>3</sup> innovations are now occurring in the collective bargaining area.<sup>4</sup> This article describes a new approach to collective bargaining that has been used successfully in a dozen negotiations this year.

Win-Win Bargaining is a new approach to bargaining. It is often identified under other names including: Principled Bargaining, Collaborative Bargaining, Integrative Bargaining, Mutual Gain, and Best Practice. Each of these alternative titles capture one or more element of the Win-Win Bargaining approach. For example, Win-Win Bargaining is based on principles and requires collaborative behavior; it emphasizes integrative rather than distributive solutions; it seeks mutual gains; it draws on the best practice of traditional bargaining.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas A. Kochan and Harry C. Katz, *The Transformation of American Industrial Relations* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> For example, see: Peter Lazes and Tony Costanza, "Xerox Cuts Costs without Layoffs Through Union-Management Collaboration," *Labor-Management Cooperation Briefs*, U.S. Department of Labor, BLMRCP, No. 1, July 1984; Timothy L. Ross and Ruth Ann Ross, "Dana's Hycon Plant Successfully Integrates Quality Circles and Gainshar-

However, like any new concept, the Win-Win Bargaining approach is not well understood, and, in some cases, its essence and potential are distorted. For example, Win-Win Bargaining is not: a slick new tactic for getting everything you want at the other side's expense; new language or words to disguise the way bargaining has always been done; asking at the 11th hour: "What do you need to settle this?" . . . as if that was discussing interests; putting a "sweetener" into a settlement package at the 11th hour, as if that was mutual gain; giving-in, seeking peace at any price; effective only on easy issues; just talking friendly and quietly, being nice, feeling good, improving communication, enhancing trust, or dealing in good faith.

Although the last example contains some elements and/or results of Win-Win Bargaining, these are mostly outcomes of the new approach. A detailed description of Win-Win Bargaining follows.

## PAST Acronym

This article uses the acronym PAST to help conceptualize an approach to Win-Win Bargaining. The acronym defines a model of Win-Win Bargaining as a set of *Principles, Assumptions, Steps, and Techniques* that trained bargaining teams can use to achieve positive results for both parties.

ing," *Labor-Management Cooperation Briefs*, U.S. Department of Labor, BLMRCP, No. 7, July 1986.

<sup>3</sup> Roger Fisher and William Ury, *Getting to Yes, Negotiating Agreements without Giving In* (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> Phyllis Lehmann, "Labor Compact Key to New Employee-Management Partnership at Dayton Power and Light," *Labor-Management Cooperation Briefs*, U.S. Department of Labor, BLMRCP, No. 12, January 1988.

they were derived from observing a large number of negotiations to determine which behaviors and tactics produced the best result for everyone. The four Principles are: focus on issues not personalities; focus on interests not positions; create options to satisfy mutual and separate interests; evaluate options with objective standards, not power and leverage.

The *Assumptions* of Win-Win Bargaining negotiators flow directly from the principles. These assumptions influence attitudes and behaviors about bargaining. Each Win-Win Bargaining assumption below has a contrary assumption that traditional bargainers make about bargaining and behavior. The Win-Win Assumptions are: Bargaining enhances the relationship; Both parties can win in bargaining; Both parties should help each other win; Open and frank discussion expands the area of mutual interests, and this in turn expands the options available to the parties; While power exists in any bargaining environment, mutually developed standards for evaluating options move decision-making away from reliance on power.

The *Steps* in Win-Win Bargaining implement the principles and assumptions. The steps apply the principles and assumptions to bargaining; the steps are the "how-to." The Steps are: prepare for bargaining; develop opening statements; agree on a list of issues; identify interests on one issue; develop options on one issue; create acceptable standards; test options against standards; achieve Win-Win result (settlement).

The learning experience should focus on: (1) understanding and appreciating the principles and assumptions; (2) developing the skills to use the steps and the techniques; (3) recognizing and overcoming the tendency to revert to traditional bargaining behaviors.

Win-Win Bargaining must change the way the parties prepare for bargaining. Parties committed to bargaining collaboratively should start collaboration during preparation. For example, the parties should jointly assess their needs for training and information and the resources available to help them. Once they have assessed their needs for information or training, they should address the needs together. Since Win-Win Bargaining requires more collaboration between the bargaining team and its constituency, that collaboration should start during preparation.

*Opening Statement:* During the preparation for bargaining, each side caucuses to identify ideas they want to share with the other side at the start of the bargaining. The opening statement sets the tone for the bargaining, indicates the party's intentions and how they hope to engage in Win-Win Bargaining, and suggests ground rules to encourage Win-Win Bargaining. While this statement will be spoken only to the other team at the bargaining table, it should be shared with both parties' constituencies so that all shareholders are as informed as possible, surprises are minimized, and expectations are adjusted from prior adversary bargaining.

*List of Issues:* This step involves getting an agreement on the issues (the topics to be negotiated) as early as possible in the negotiations, possibly during the bargaining preparation. The parties can, of course, add other issues later based on mutual agreement, but at this early stage, as complete a list of issues as possible is important in providing a sense of the task ahead.

To avoid the pattern of past negotiations, both parties will need to exercise some caution in identifying and suggesting issues they want to discuss. For example, in some adversarial relationships the union list of proposed issues can

be a wish-list accumulated at a union meeting, rather than a thoughtful assembling of interests that need attention. Management needs to be careful not to include with their suggested issues their preferred answer, e.g., not to take a position on exactly how to settle the issue. Both sides need to recognize that, in developing a list of issues, they are dealing with constituents' expectations, and they should not distort them.

If the parties prepare the issues list together, they can use the brainstorming process to create the list, and the consensus building process to consolidate and agree upon the issues list. Brainstorming can also be used in caucus to create one party's list, and consensus building can be used in a joint meeting to agree upon a joint list of issues.

**Identifying Interests:** This step involves starting with one issue, identifying each party's interests on that issue, sharing that information, and identifying mutual interests. Probably on the first issue, the parties will be most comfortable in identifying their own interests in caucus before moving to a joint session to discuss and seek mutual interests. But once the parties become comfortable with the process and they feel more trusting, most of the work can be done in joint session. This is true of subsequent steps as well. But, the parties should use a caucus whenever they want to. Brainstorming is useful in identifying interests, whether in joint session or caucus.

**Developing Options:** Using the issue on which the parties have developed their interests, they next develop options that address those interests. In this step, the creative use of brainstorming is crucial. Problem solving can also be used.

**Creating Standards:** In this step, the parties are trying to reduce the impact of power in their relationship and shift the basis of decision-making to standards that are fair and mutually agreed upon. Using brainstorming, the parties create their

own standards for judging the options identified on an issue. Once a sufficient number of standards have been brainstormed, a consensus decision can be made on which one or ones provide the best basis for judging the options. Examples of standards are: mutual gain, area practice, simplicity, fairness.

**Testing Options:** In this step, the parties test the options they have developed against the standards they have chosen in order to determine which option or options best deal with their interests on that issue. Consensus decision-making is best for this task.

If the parties cannot reach consensus after a reasonable period of time, the issue can be referred to a subcommittee for study or to get more information, or it can be set aside to be dealt with later.

Once the parties have worked the first issue through all the steps, they take the next issue and move it through the steps.

**Achieving Win-Win (Settlement):** In this final step, the parties use consensus building to fashion a final package that includes those options which best satisfy their interests on all issues. The parties' use of objective standards to evaluate the ingredients of this final package should diminish resorting to power. The final package is unlikely to represent horse-trading, a tactic characteristic of traditional bargaining, because each issue has its own interests, options, and standards. The exceptions to this are probably money issues. Since these have the common denominator of money, they may all have the same standards and a common source of funding.

Confidence should be high about ratification of the settlement based on the continuing involvement of constituents throughout Win-Win bargaining, starting with bargaining preparations.

### Getting Started

These steps may seem unnecessarily rigid and structured. However, in the

learning of new skills and concepts, and the unlearning and overcoming of old skills and behaviors, a rigid structure often is needed to reinforce the new process until it has taken root in the form of new behaviors by individuals and groups. At that point, innovation with the steps is appropriate and necessary to make Win-Win Bargaining the participants' own. For example, more than one issue can be handled at the same time, and packages of options can be developed to satisfy a number of interests using mutual gain as the primary standard.

An important question in Win-Win Bargaining training, and the bargaining that follows, is whether success is more likely with skills-based training or with third-party-based training. The former attempts to provide the bargaining teams with all the skills they will need to successfully engage in Win-Win Bargaining. The latter assumes the availability of a third party to assist the parties with their Win-Win Bargaining. Both assumptions have their shortcomings: It often is difficult, given time constraints, to train the teams in all the skills they will need. On the other hand, a skilled third party may not be available for all the time necessary

for the parties to get comfortable using Win-Win Bargaining.

The best approach is probably to include the third party in the training of the bargaining teams and to schedule the training just prior to the start of the negotiations. The third party will then use her/his best judgment on what and how much assistance is needed to assure success in using Win-Win in their bargaining

Third parties familiar with the PAST model of Win-Win Bargaining can introduce limited portions of it in the context of mediation just as they might a traditional tactic or technique of mediation, such as a side-bar meeting or a supposal. For example, the third party might get the parties to brainstorm options on an issue they are impasse on, or the third party might get the parties to discuss their interests on an issue to get movement from intractable positions. If the third party and the parties experience success with the sampling of Win-Win Bargaining, a more thorough exploration, including training, could be a reasonable next step.

[The End]

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# P.A.S.T. Is the Future: A Better Way of Bargaining

By Jerome T. Barrett, Mediator and Trainer\*

Life is negotiation. We bargain from our first breath to our last. For a period after we leave the womb and for another short time before we enter the grave, we bargain exclusively focused on our own interests. During the large segment of life between that self-engrossed beginning and the end, most of us negotiate with some appreciation that those with whom we bargain must get something out of the deal. Most of us realize that unless we have unquestioned power, that is some sort of gun in our hand, we must consider the interests of others.

This article is about bargaining. A better way of bargaining. One that takes us away from a narrow, self-centered view to an appreciation of the longer term, the importance of relationships, and the interests of others.

The book *Getting to Yes* (Fisher and Ury) first popularized the concept called interest-based bargaining. While *Getting to Yes* spelled out the principles of this new approach, this article (and my book on which it is based<sup>1</sup>) aims to show the reader how to put those principles into action by using a practical model.

The bargaining model is referred to as P.A.S.T., which stands for Principles, Assumptions, Steps, and Techniques. The P.A.S.T. model can be used in any type of bargaining — from negotiations within a marriage to those between nations. The primary focus here is on labor-management negotiations.

In general, traditional bargaining is based on our assumptions about human behavior and our need to watch out primarily for ourselves. We assume that if the other person knew all that we know, he or she would use that knowledge to their advantage and not ours. Therefore, we hold back and disguise information. We assume that bargaining is a matter of deciding between our position and the other person's, and, therefore, success is achieving our position and keeping the other side from achieving theirs.

We assume that the person on the other side of the table will do whatever he or she can to succeed. That can include exaggerating so that any compromise settlement will be closer to their true position than their stated position. Because both sides exaggerate their positions, neither side really knows the position of the other.

Certainly many traditional negotiations do result in an agreement. And that can be viewed as a good track record if we don't look at the impact on the relationship and don't examine the agreement in terms of whether the real interests of both parties were met.

On the other hand, many traditional agreements can be characterized as put-the-money-on-the-stump-and-run, because both parties are relieved that negotiations did not turn out any worse. Agreeing in total to whatever the other party wants is not an acceptable alternative to traditional bargaining in a culture so committed to each of us having input or a say in the outcome of the deals we make.

This article is about an alternative to both traditional bargaining and "giving-in" to the other side's position. The alternative is called Win-Win or interest-based bargaining.

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**The P.A.S.T. Model: Definitions**

P.A.S.T. will be best understood if the following words are used consistently as defined below:

"Issue" is a topic or subject of negotiations. "Wages" is an example of an issue. The word issue does not necessarily mean that the topic is contested. It may be, but labeling something an issue does not denote contention.

"Position" is a statement of one party's solution to an issue. A "\$.75 an hour increase" is an example of a position on the issue of wages. The words "demand," "offer," and "proposal" are sometimes used to mean position.

"Interest" is a statement of one party's concern about an issue. "A fair wage that attracts and retains skilled staff" is an interest statement on the wage issue.

"Option" is one of several solutions to satisfy an interest on an issue. If only a single option is discussed, it is the same as a position. Therefore, options, the plural, is always used.

"Standards" are characteristics or factors used to compare, evaluate, or judge options. A standard is used as an alternative to making decisions in the bargaining process primarily by power and manipulation.

Below, the P.A.S.T. model is summarized.

<b>Barrett's P.A.S.T. Model of Win-Win</b>	
<b>Principles</b>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Focus on issues not personalities.</li> <li>2. Focus on interests not positions.</li> <li>3. Create options to satisfy mutual and separate interests.</li> <li>4. Evaluate options with objective standards — not power and leverage.</li> </ol>	
<b>Assumptions</b>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Bargaining enhances the parties' relationship.</li> <li>2. Both parties can win in bargaining.</li> <li>3. Parties should help each other win.</li> <li>4. Open and frank discussion expands the areas of mutual interests, and this, in turn, expands the options available to the parties.</li> <li>5. Mutually developed standards for evaluating options can move decisionmaking away from reliance on power.</li> </ol>	
<b>Steps</b>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Pre-bargaining steps               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Prepare for bargaining.</li> <li>b. Develop opening statements.</li> </ol> </li> <li>2. Bargaining steps               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Agree on a list of issues. I</li> <li>b. Identify interests on one issue. I</li> <li>c. Develop options on one issue. O</li> <li>d. Create acceptable standards. S</li> <li>e. Test options with standards. S to achieve a solution or settlement.</li> </ol> </li> </ol>	
<b>Techniques</b>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Idea charing</li> <li>2. Brainstorming</li> <li>3. Consensus decisionmaking</li> </ol>	

## **IIOSS: The Steps of Win-Win Bargaining**

Now, we turn to the five steps in actual bargaining. The acronym IIOSS provides a helpful reminder of what they are: issues, interests, options, standards, and settlement or solution (see chart).

Briefly, here are how the steps work. Negotiators start bargaining on an issue or topic of discussion. They discuss their separate and mutual interests and develop options to address those interests. Next, the negotiators develop standards to help evaluate and judge the options. Finally, using the standards, the negotiators decide among the options to achieve a settlement or solution to the issue.

**Step one: Agreeing on a list of issues.** This step involves agreeing on the issues as early as possible. The parties can, of course, add other issues later, based on mutual agreement, but at this early stage, as complete a list of issues as possible is important to provide a sense of the task ahead.

To avoid the pattern of former negotiations, the parties must exercise caution in identifying and suggesting issues. For example, in some adversarial relationships, the union list of proposed issues can be a wish-list accumulated at a union meeting, rather than a thoughtful assembling of issues that need attention. Management should be careful not to include within suggested issues its preferred answer, i.e., it should not take a position on exactly how that issue should be settled. Both sides need to recognize that, in developing a list of issues, they are dealing with constituents' expectations, and they should not distort them. They should help constituents to be as realistic as possible.

If the parties prepare the issues list together, they can use the brainstorming process to create an initial list of ideas, and then use the consensus decisionmaking process to consolidate and agree on the issues list (see chart). Brainstorming can also be used in caucus to create one party's list, and consensus decisionmaking can be used in a joint meeting to agree on a joint list of issues.

**Step two: Identifying interests on one issue.** This step involves starting with one issue, identifying each party's interests on that issue, sharing that information, and identifying mutual interests. Probably on the first issue, the parties will be most comfortable identifying their own interests in caucus before moving to a joint session. If interests are discussed in caucus, the parties should not only brainstorm their own interests, they should spend some time attempting to anticipate the interests of the other side. This will help them better hear and understand during the ensuing joint session.

Once the parties become comfortable with the process, and feel more trusting, most of the work can be done in joint session. This is true of subsequent steps as well. However, the parties should feel free to use a caucus whenever they need one. But when calling for or using a caucus, the parties should mitigate the negative impact on trust by explaining why they need it, and, after the caucus, they should explain what they discussed.

While interests are further discussed below, an example here might make this step more understandable. If the issue is wages, a short list of the employer's interests might be: keeping costs down, staying in line with area wages, attracting and retaining a skilled workforce. A short list of the union's interests might be maintaining employees' standard of living, keeping up with other unions in the area, and reducing membership turnover. If the parties discuss these separate interests sufficiently, they might discover a mutual interest in reducing membership turnover and retaining a skilled workforce. There may also be mutual interests in the other areas, as well.

**Step three: Developing options on one issue.** Using the issue on which they have developed their interests, the parties next develop options which address those interests. It is critical at this step for the parties to work together, not in caucuses. If they attempt to do even part of this step in caucuses, they will develop union options and management options which are likely to become very much like positions. When this occurs, the parties will not be able to use standards and reach consensus in the later steps.

The creative use of brainstorming is crucial. The emphasis is on developing as many options as possible, without being judgmental. Judging will come later. The reason for emphasizing the quantity and not the quality of options is to get as many ideas available for consideration as possible. Some of the ideas will be poor, if not absurd. But even such ideas can trigger other needed options.

An example of creating options may help here. If the parties have a mutual interest in reducing excessive medical insurance costs, some of the options they might create could include: no medical insurance; hire only young unmarried men; employer-paid premiums; employee-paid premiums; reduce level of coverage; eliminate family coverage; self-insured plan; HMO; joint labor-management study committee to identify cost savings; hire cost reduction expert; and others. The first two options, and maybe others on the list, are poor. Other options listed may be good, or have the potential for suggesting additional options. The judging comes later in the last step where standards are applied. Quantity, not quality is the goal of the third step.

**Step four: Creating acceptable standards.** In this step, the parties try to reduce the impact of power in their relationship and shift the basis of decisionmaking to fair standards on which the parties have mutually agreed. Using a discussion process and in a joint meeting, not caucuses, the parties create their own standards for judging the options created on the issue. Once the parties are satisfied that their list of standards will aid them in deciding among the options, they move to the next step.

Some typical standards are mutual gain, area or industry practice, cost effectiveness, simplicity, legality, and fairness.

**Step five: Achieving settlement or solution using standards.** Working in a joint session, the parties test the options they have developed against the standards they have chosen to determine which option or options best address their interests on that issue. Consensus decisionmaking is best for this task. If the list of options is extensive, it can be reduced to a manageable length by combining redundant options and by eliminating those that meet none of the standards. Bargainers can once again discuss each option in the light of each standard to further shorten the list. The parties need to develop this step to fit their way of working together.

**Final agreement.** Once all the issues have been moved through the five steps, the parties very likely will have some settled and some unsettled issues. The unsettled issues can be grouped in categories based on similarities of issues or interests. For example, all the money issues can be grouped. Then a package of options can be fashioned to address all the issues in the group.

Unlike traditional negotiations, in which settled issues are almost never reopened for discussion, Win-Win does not foreclose that possibility in this final stage. Consistent with the assumption that the parties should help each other win, this final stage of negotiation provides the opportunity to revisit any issue for further discussion in developing the final package. This is not the type of packaging that occurs near the end of traditional negotiations which typically feature a mixed bag of genuine positions and positions proposed as strategic giveaways.

The creativity of the Win-Win settlement step is aided by a group and individual attitude that seeks a settlement, not another bite-of-the-apple or a sweetener for one side. The final stage of traditional negotiations is characterized by reluctant compromises and grudging concessions. In contrast, the final stage of Win-Win negotiations is characterized by a willingness to yield and a consensus attitude to accept the best solution or settlement under the circumstances.

### **An Illustration From Collective Bargaining**

A collective bargaining example may help the reader better understand the IIOSS steps. In a negotiation between a public school district and the teachers union, too many teachers have been taking personal days off during the last two months of the school year. The administration has difficulty providing enough qualified substitute teachers, and the teachers lose their personal days if they don't use them.

**Step one.** The issue could be stated as follows: Under what conditions can a teacher use his/her five personal days allowed in the labor agreement? If the parties were engaged in traditional bargaining, management would very likely demand restrictive conditions. The union position would very likely demand unrestrictive conditions.

**Step two.** When the parties openly discuss their interests, they learn the following:

a. Union interests are protection for members who are conservative in using their personal days so that they won't lose them if they don't use them; freedom for members to choose; protection for members who use their days early in the year, but who still need time off late in the year; instructional continuity for members' students;\* and maintenance of contractual rights (\*denotes a mutual interest).

b. Management interests are the availability of qualified substitutes; qualified teacher to cover each class;\* the continuity of instruction for students;\*and the control of abuses.

*Step three.* Based on these separate and mutual interests, the parties brainstorm the following options: no restrictions; strict restrictions; personal days bank; reimbursement for unused personal days; conversion of unused personal days to sick leave; carryover of unused personal days to next year; X per cent of teachers on personal days on a given day; and incentives for not using personal days.

*Step four.* In view of the issue, interests, and options, the parties developed the following standards: workability (an option that will be simple and effective in administering the issue) and equity (an option that is fair to everyone).

*Step five.* Judging the options based on the standards, the parties use consensus decisionmaking to achieve a settlement that allows teachers to convert unused personal days into sick leave that can be accumulated.

#### Comments on Interests v. Positions

*Positions are primary in traditional bargaining.* In traditional bargaining, positions are the primary vehicle of communication and exchange between the negotiators. On each issue, each party has a position, its solution to that issue.

Typically, each position is exaggerated to pull the settlement closer to that party's true position. Some positions are established with no belief that they are achievable, but more as throwaways that will be used late in negotiations as bargaining chips, to exchange something with an exaggerated value for something of real value.

Traditional bargainers use posturing and bluffing to make strategic retreats from their positions to reach a settlement. However, the dependence of the process on these tactics can cause major problems when one party misreads the other side's message or misjudges its own power, when egos get in the way of strategy, or when a constituency refuses to abandon a throwaway position at the crucial moment.

Another major disadvantage to position-taking is that it precludes consideration of other possible solutions or options. Each party adopts an extreme position at opposite ends of a spectrum. They then focus arguments and maneuvers on moving the other side. Since all positions discussed or adopted are shades of others along the narrow band of the spectrum, the opportunity for creative, breakthrough ideas is precluded; such ideas are outside the norms allowed by the traditional bargaining process.

Positions are so critical to traditional bargaining that they constitute the price of admission. If a party doesn't have a position on an issue, it cannot play the game; it is seen as not serious about that issue. For most negotiators, positions are anchor points, their frame of reference. Without positions, traditional bargaining is impossible.

*Win-Win bargaining eliminates positions.* Win-Win or interest-based bargaining challenges the traditional approach by not using positions, by not allowing either party to adopt or announce a position on any issue. For traditional bargainers, in fact for most Americans, this is difficult to accept since positional bargaining is so much a part of the way we deal with each other.

For traditional, position-based bargaining, Win-Win substitutes an interest base by seeking to discover both parties' interests and using those interests to create options.

Interest was defined earlier as "one party's concern about an issue." In contrast, position was defined as "one party's solution to an issue." These definitions were illustrated using wages as the issue.

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A *position* on wages is a \$.75 an hour increase. An *interest* on wages is the level of compensation that attracts and retains a skilled workforce.

***Interest statements and position statements.*** The difference between the position statement and the interest statement on wages can be amplified by comparing their characteristics.

The position statement is definite and specific; it provides the solution to the issue. In many cases, the solution is provided before the issue is understood. It precludes an open discussion seeking solutions and establishes the basis for an argument.

The interest statement is softer, more flexible, less specific. It does not provide the solution to the issue; it opens discussion and provides a basis for joint exploration of the issue. Interest statements can't be rejected, objected to, or disagreed with by the other party. In that sense, interests are like feelings, they are the party's own. They don't require justification, whereas positions require, even demand, justification.

Since the parties' positions on an issue typically are different, positional bargaining has a high probability of starting in disagreement. Interest-based bargaining avoids that immediate lack of agreement and the subsequent urge to prepare for a fight. When the parties each state a position, a match is unlikely. Whereas, when each party states a large number of interests, there is a high likelihood that a number of interests will be mutual. And while mutual interests do not necessarily resolve an issue, they provide the basis for options that can facilitate resolution. They set a tone of agreement and mutuality, not on disagreement and a focus on the gap that separates the parties.

***Disguising positions with interest words.*** A difficulty which can arise in Win-Win bargaining involves negotiators who attempt to disguise their positions by using words that appear to be interest statements. For example, a position statement could be preceded by, "We have an 'interest' in staying competitive in a very difficult product market; therefore, we feel the employees should pay a larger percentage of the health insurance premium." Such tactics are using an argument or a justification for a position. This is not interest-based bargaining, and the other party should recognize it. Interest-based bargaining is a genuine and sincere effort to express interests and hear the other side's interests as a basis for developing and considering all possible options.

***Separate, conflicting interests.*** Separate, conflicting interests can be a serious stumbling block to Win-Win negotiations, but not as serious as might first appear. A traditional bargainer would assume that virtually all interests on all issues are conflicting. Such a bargainer's frame of reference is positional, and positions are by definition in conflict. Here, we are talking about interests.

Conflicting interests should be examined carefully to determine what the conflict is, or is not. For example, is it only time or opportunity that is in conflict? The engineer in a train locomotive and the driver of an automobile have conflicting interests about the space at a railroad crossing. Both have only a sporadic interest in the space, but when they do, it is urgent. Automatic crossing gates and flashing lights mediate those conflicting interests.

And it is important to remember what an interest is, and is not. The party who listens to and hears the other party's conflicting interest is not accepting an obligation to do something about it. The expression of a conflicting interest is merely one party's statement of concern about an issue.

### **Comments on Standards v. Power**

In traditional negotiations, the outcome of bargaining is determined to a large extent by relative power. If the union has the power to maintain an effective work stoppage, it will be able to strongly influence the nature and content of the settlement.

Because the extent of power is not known until it is actually exercised, the perception of power has great influence. That fact encourages the parties to posture and use tactics that bluff, mislead, exaggerate, and disguise.

None of the power factors that influence or determine the outcome of bargaining has anything to do with fairness, equity, justice, or even the real needs of the bargainers or their constituents. Power distorts the outcome of bargaining and it detracts from confidence in the bargaining process. Win-Win bargaining introduces the use of standards as a substitute for power's dominance in bargaining.

**Power does not evaporate because of Win-Win.** Advocates of Win-Win bargaining are not so naive as to believe that power will disappear and an egalitarian environment will emerge simply because the parties agree to engage in Win-Win and use standards. On the contrary, participants in Win-Win are not discouraged from speaking frankly about their power and the power of the other side. Such discussion encourages clarity and avoids feelings of impotence. But, ultimately, what the Win-Win approach asks of the parties is to agree that, for the purposes of these negotiations, they will not resort to power. Instead, they will develop and use standards to determine what they will agree on. Win-Win does not eliminate power, only the resort to power.

**Reasons for trying Win-Win bargaining.** To understand why labor and management negotiators would set aside traditional power, it is important to understand their circumstances when they made the decision to engage in Win-Win. The following are typical:

- **Cooperative relationship outside of bargaining.** Such parties realize that the positive level of cooperation in their day-to-day relationship is not congruent with their bargaining relationship. They come to realize that traditional bargaining is harmful to the relationship they have developed and nurtured.
- **Recent negative bargaining experience.** Some parties survive their last deadly negotiations with a conviction that they must find a better way. They both feel motivated by their negative experience to seek an alternative to traditional bargaining.
- **Hearsay.** From a book, a conference, or other source, the parties hear that traditional bargaining is not the only way to bargain. While current practices may not be destructive, the parties are seeking an alternative, a better way to negotiate.
- **Dysfunctional relationship and the bargaining process.** These parties conclude that their relationship and traditional style of bargaining have become dysfunctional and that they are no longer achieving the results they need.

**What is a standard?** The idea of a standard may initially seem foreign to most bargainers. The fact is most of us use standards to make decisions much of the time, but we seldom label them standards. For example, the decision on which route to drive when traveling from home to workplace is based on such factors as: the time that is available, a desire or need to relax, the time of day, and the traffic patterns. Any one of these standards can be used by the motorist to make a decision.

Anyone who has ever been questioned by a boss or a spouse about why he or she did or did not do something probably has used standards to explain an action or inaction. Standards are involved in explanations such as: "I didn't think that was important," "I didn't have time," and "I used my best judgment."

Arbitrators, lawyers, and courts use standards to evaluate evidence. "Beyond a reasonable doubt" and "the preponderance of evidence" are two such standards.

**Developing and using collective bargaining standards.** In collective bargaining, negotiators develop their own standards for each issue. During the fourth IIOSS step, the parties create a list of factors or characteristics which they feel will help them decide among the options they created in the previous step. What is needed is a limited number of specific and relevant standards, not an exhaustive list. While one standard is enough to judge a list of options, most parties use several standards on any given issue.

The parties' early discussions of standards involve the group in learning together and developing understanding about the meaning of a particular standard and how it will be applied. After some

discussion of their standards, most parties find it useful to try their tentative standards out on a real issue and then make adjustments in their standards.

**An illustration of standards development.** Here is an example of how standards are developed. The parties in a rural area factory are negotiating on the issue of attendance during the harvest period.

They identified some of their mutual interests as supporting the farming community, meeting production needs to satisfy customers, getting crops harvested, and a fair distribution of time off.

They brainstorm the following options: plant closure during harvest period; assignments for maintenance crew only during harvest period; partial shutdown and vacation for those requesting it; time-off for farmers only; half-day work schedule during harvest period; and use of overtime to stockpile production followed, by shutdown during harvest time.

The parties developed a list of 10 possible standards and reduced these to five: smallest negative impact on the community; no negative impact on customers; completion of harvest on time; maximum flexibility for employees; and cost effectiveness.

### **Techniques of Win-Win Bargaining**

The "T" in P.A.S.T. stands for techniques. These techniques are the group process methods used to implement the IIOSS steps of Win-Win. Each step requires one or more of the following three primary techniques: idea charting, brainstorming, and consensus decisionmaking.

**Idea-charting.** This technique consists of writing ideas on flip chart paper to focus the group's attention, externalize individual and group ideas, and provide a record of the group's deliberations. Idea-charting is fairly widely used. However, it does require more than innate skills. Some instruction and practice are necessary. The more people in the group with the skill to do idea-charting the better. It is best to have at least one labor and one management person willing and able to participate.

**Brainstorming.** Brainstorming is a group process technique for generating and developing ideas with an emphasis on quantity and not quality. More ideas and more creative ideas are the goals of this technique. In brainstorming, the ideas are not judged during the process. This is done later during consensus decisionmaking. The prohibition includes all verbal and nonverbal signs of judgment.

**Consensus decisionmaking.** In traditional bargaining, decisions are made in several ways. Power is often the determining factor. Other decisions are made on a compromise basis. Within the union, many decisions are based on voting or other democratic processes. Within management, decisions are often based on hierarchical considerations. Sometimes, labor and management ask an arbitrator to make a decision for them. While each of these decisionmaking processes may be appropriate in some circumstances, they are not compatible with Win-Win bargaining. Such decisionmaking processes, even a majority vote, lack the "buy-in" of everyone affected.

Consensus decisionmaking is compatible with Win-Win bargaining. That assertion can be understood best in view of this description. A group has reached a consensus decision when each member can honestly say they have been heard, and while they may not prefer the decision, they support it because it was arrived at openly and fairly and is the best solution under the circumstances.

The actual dynamics of consensus decisionmaking are best comprehended when experienced. Here is an illustration that might help. When Betsy Ross was deciding how the U.S. flag should look, she might have gotten together a group of colonists to make the decision. They might have used the IIOSS steps like this:

**Issue.** They chose the issue of how the U.S. flag should look.

**Interests.** While some individuals had different interests based on their favorite color or symbol, they all agreed that their mutual interest was to have a flag that symbolized the nation.

**Options.** They brainstormed options such as black, green, red, orange, tan, white, pink, brown,

blue, yellow, solid colored background, striped background, sun, moon, stars, crescent, eagle, bear, dove, and symbol of U.S. union.

**Standards.** They established as their standard a flag that suited the tastes of the group.

**Settlement.** Following extensive discussion of mutual interests, options, and standards, one member of the group said, "We seem to have a consensus that the colors for the flag should be red, white, green and blue." Another member said, "I don't believe we have a consensus on green. Only on red, white, and blue." Several other members said in unison, "Yes. Red, white, and blue." Everyone else seemed to be nodding in agreement.

At that point, another member said, "We also have a consensus that the flag should have stripes rather than a solid background. I believe that a consensus favors making our flag symbolic of the union of states." The next member to speak said, "I believe that is our consensus. Maybe each stripe can symbolize one of 13 colonies." And the discussion continued, building consensus with all group members.

### Conclusion

During the last several years, the author has trained more than 40 labor-management pairs involved in bargaining. The evaluative comments reported here are based on these trainees' impressions of the P.A.S.T. model and their use of it, as well as the author's observations of the parties during training, and, in one quarter of the cases, his observations of the parties as he facilitated their negotiations.

**Profile of trained groups.** Management and labor from a variety of sectors and unions have been trained in the P.A.S.T. model.

The industries and sectors that have participated in the training include manufacturing (steel, rubber, food, aluminum, electronics, machine tools, paper, and military vehicles); public utilities (electric, natural gas, and telephone); mineral mining/processing; defense; health care; federal government; municipal government; and public education (K-12, community college, and university).

The unions that have participated in the training include: UAW, IBEW, IBT, IAM, AFGE, AFT, NEA, USW, AFSCME, AFGM, ANA, IUOE, UPIU, URW, and a number of independents.

Other characteristics of trainees demonstrate the parties' diversity. They were equally divided between the private and public sectors. Many were in long-term relationships, others were on a second or third contract. A single union and a single site or plant were common, but a few relationships involved more than one union. One employer was a multi-plant organization. Some had no or few strikes; one had not reached an agreement without a strike in 20 years. Both very competitive and less competitive businesses were trained. A few were foreign-owned.

Trained organizations were located in 18 different states, including rural and urban areas. Some were the largest facility in their area or industry. A few were trend setters in their sector or industry. Some participants were very experienced traditional bargainers, others had little bargaining experience.

**Ideal users of the P.A.S.T. model.** Based on those parties who have successfully used the P.A.S.T. model after training, it is possible to characterize the ideal users.

- Both parties are motivated to change based on a perceived need to change and a belief that they can change.
- Both bargaining teams have at least one member who is willing to urge and push the team when the bargaining gets difficult and negotiators get discouraged. These individuals are cheerleaders or true believers with credibility and a willingness to motivate based on their vision of a better way to bargain.
- The parties have already built some trust into their relationship through some form of labor-management cooperation.

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- The parties have some experience in group process techniques and problemsolving.
- The parties' market or financial environment is not at a point of desperation.
- The parties are willing to allow a third-party facilitator to help them during their first several negotiating sessions.

**Obstacles to using the model.** Parties who were unwilling to quit the traditional bargaining process and adopt the P.A.S.T. model after they were trained were unable to overcome one or more of the following obstacles.

- *Lack of readiness or motivation to change.* The parties were not sufficiently dissatisfied with their current bargaining process and its results to make the effort to change.
- *Lack of constituent support for change.* One or both parties believed that their constituents did not want to change, and the bargaining committee was unwilling to lead or challenge constituents' views.
- *Too little trust by key negotiators.* Based on their bargaining experience together, bargainers had lingering suspicions and doubts about the other negotiator's motives for trying the P.A.S.T. model.
- *Political reasons.* One party, for example, made its agreement to use the P.A.S.T. model contingent on the other side's agreement to an organizing effort at another location.

**Introducing the model after training.** Following the training, each group discussed how to get started using the process. Some decided to test the model before using it in contract negotiations. A few tried the model on some grievances. One multi-plant organization had the local plant bargaining teams trained and used the model on local agreements first. A few parties identified a common problem area for trying the model. One group picked a plant area with a serious group of problems; then they appointed bargaining committees from the area, had them trained, and let them bargain the issues. In all the situations referred to here, the experiments were viewed as sufficiently successful that the trained bargaining committees proceeded to use the model in collective bargaining.

Most of those who used the model tried it in their regular negotiations without experimentation. Of those, the ones that had the most success used an experienced facilitator on the first few days.

**Full to slight use of P.A.S.T. model.** Of the parties trained in using the model, some used it fully in their negotiations; others used it less. Four levels of utilization can be identified.

- *Level one.* Parties used the full P.A.S.T. model on all issues in their negotiations and now use it in day-to-day relations.
- *Level two.* Parties used the full P.A.S.T. model on many issues in their negotiations, but resorted to positional bargaining on a few issues.
- *Level three.* Parties did not use the full P.A.S.T. model, but they were less positional than in the past, used the options step on some issues, and on most issues talked about the need for a Win-Win outcome.
- *Level four.* Parties did not use the full P.A.S.T. model. They experienced a different tone in negotiations based on the assumptions in the model. They were less competitive, less win/lose, and they talked about mutuality.

The P.A.S.T. model and training anticipates the parties' need to sort out which level of utilization they are ready to reach. That sorting out occurs during and after training through consultation with constituents, through examining their environment and their commitment to change, and through considering how rapidly and completely they are capable of changing.

<sup>1</sup> *P.A.S.T. Is the Future: A Model for Interest-Based Collective Bargaining That Works* (Falls Church, VA: Barrett & Sons, 3d ed., 1992). See abstract in Publications section of this issue.

# Conflict Resolution as a Political System

by John W. Burton

*[The following is excerpted from Working Paper 1, title as above, February 1988, Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia 22030, USA.]*

The practice of "conflict resolution" as defined herein can be used to produce major changes in political, social, and economic systems.

4 Conflict resolution means terminating conflict with an outcome that, in the view of the parties involved, is a permanent solution to the problem. Conflict resolution, as opposed to conflict "management" or "settlement," requires methods that get to the root of problems and, therefore, are highly analytical.

Conflict resolution has the capability of dealing with all forms of conflict at all social levels from the interpersonal to the international. This capability extends to conflicts which are complex, intense, and violent—it is here that conflict resolution demonstrates its unique usefulness.

Let us examine the nature of conflict, for one's theory of human conflict determines the manner in which individual conflicts are handled.

One long-standing notion is that conflict originates in the "natural aggressiveness" of humans. This "natural aggressiveness," however, is little more than a label. It reflects an attitude that attributes conflict to instinct, immorality, or deliberate anti-social behavior, thus justifying its repression. This "theory" cannot explain historically how persons become anti-social so it cannot, therefore, suggest remedies.//

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Another view maintains that conflict is inevitable because of the need to compete for scarce resources. This Malthusian notion presupposes an incurably acquisitive person little different from the "naturally aggressive" individual. It grossly underestimates both society's productive capacity and the individual's ability to share.

The approach to the nature of conflict and its resolution defined herein is based on a more positive view of human beings. It assumes that participants in conflict situations are struggling to satisfy universal needs and values, such as security, identity, recognition, and development. They strive increasingly to gain control of their environment in order to ensure the satisfaction of these needs.

<p><b>Universal needs and values include security, identity, recognition, and development. Unless they are met, no political system can be stable.</b></p>
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Values and human needs of a universal character are not for trading. Sufficient coercion on the one side and lack of bargaining power on the other can sometimes lead to temporary suppression of such demands and to what is often known as the "settlement" of a dispute, but not to its full resolution.

The relationship between unsatisfied basic needs and human conflict is a recent and important discovery. It undermines many basic assumptions in Western political philosophy, e.g., that the individual can be socialized into behaviors required by elite norms, and that the social self is the only self which is important. It suggests that deep-rooted conflict cannot be dealt with by conventional

mediation, arbitration, and other implicitly coercive and non-analytical processes.

This new perspective on conflict resolution is far from "utopian." The political reality is that unless these universal needs are met, no system can be stable. It is not the policy of coercion that creates political reality; rather, it is the drive by individuals and identity groups for their independent development.

The need for independence, which gives identity, recognition, and opportunities for indigenous development, is at the root of conflicts in Central America and the Middle East. It also engenders numerous other violent disputes in world society, not to mention the vast number of smaller conflicts which are daily occurrences in every society.

The practice of conflict resolution via an analytical, problem-solving procedure, is deduced from the theory that conflict is a universal response to frustrated needs. The practice involves providing opportunities for the parties to:

- 1) analyze relationships so as to generate an accurate definition of the problem in terms of basic/fundamental motivations and human needs;
- 2) cost their goals and policies once they are fully informed of all aspects of the dispute, including the fundamental motivations and values of the *opposing* side;
- 3) discover possible options that may be available once there has been a full analysis of the conflict in all its aspects.<sup>2/</sup>

This broad conception of conflict and of conflict resolution through analytical problem solving implies that a wide range of current social problems is resolvable. Deviant behavior of all kinds, drug addictions and their related problems, street violence, spouse abuse, terrorism, and arms control are all problems which can be thoroughly dealt with by conflict resolution.

Conflict resolution as defined herein (i.e., through analytical problem solving) has the potential to take the place of courts and power-based bargaining. Conceivably, it could

also deal with many problems of distribution of roles and resources. Insofar as conflict analysis and resolution results in alterations institutions and norms, thereby becoming a major influence for adjustment and change, it becomes a system of decision making.

When conflict analysis and resolution is substituted for authoritative decision making, it effectively becomes the basis of a political system in which analytical problem solving processes are substituted for elite rule, legal norms, and power politics. Conflict resolution has, therefore, to be treated conceptually as an alternative political system.

Conflict analysis and resolution is designed to satisfy basic individual needs while accommodating all forms of government to the reality of individual power. While legal processes are coercive and prohibitive, conflict analysis and resolution processes are positive, non-authoritarian means of social control which seek to establish non-conflictive relationships.

**Conflict analysis and resolution is designed to satisfy basic individual needs.**

The process of social control by power and elite rule has existed throughout most times and cultures. What we are witnessing in contemporary times is the breakdown of this system. Conflict is increasing at all social levels, from interpersonal to international, as individuals resist the attempt by elites to control their behavior.

There has been an intensifying struggle in modern times to preserve societies by finding an institutional accommodation between the individual and society. Through all changes in philosophy and practice has run a consistent theme: the individual must be governed by elites who know best, such as philosophers or priests; by elites with power; and by elites guided by an articulated ideology. These elites

have attached more importance to the *control* than to the *development* of the individual.

Has the problem of conflict really been the aggressive individual from whom society must be defended? Or has the problem been the continuing threat to individual development posed by elites and associated interest groups throughout the evolution of modern societies? Conflict analysis and resolution locates the source of deep-rooted conflict within societies and between nations in the attempts by elites of various kinds to repress the irrepressible needs of individuals. *The core assumption of this new political philosophy and practice is that existing institutions are and should be the servants of individuals.*

Systems of free enterprise, socialism, communism, and communalism all confront problems that threaten their legitimacy. All have been considered ends in themselves—systems to be preserved as they are, rather than adapted to the needs of those on whom their legitimacy ultimately depends. They are systems in which relationships between authorities and subjects, between the privileged and the underprivileged, and among persons and groups have been determined institutionally, by coercion if necessary, and not by the values and needs of their constituencies.

The immediate task, thus, is to deal with these problems in relationships within whatever system prevails, be it free enterprise, centralized planning, or some other. Conflict analysis and resolution is the process that can deal with these problems in all social-political systems.

As systems based on coercive power decay, problem-solving processes are altering the norms of political systems. Conflict analysis and resolution highlights the costs of ignoring the nature of human relationships and suggests the changes that are required to ensure that institutions are the servants of citizens and not their masters.

Whereas legal processes strongly tend to conserve existing norms and institutions, problem-solving conflict analysis and resolution is innovative by nature. It constantly promotes change, but in the direction of satisfying the values and needs of *all* members of society.

Any system based on conflict analysis and resolution is one of constant adaptation to changing environmental conditions. It is conservative in the sense that it preserves those aspects of societies which serve human needs and social stability; it is radical in the sense that it alters those which frustrate human needs and promote instability.

Problem-solving conflict analysis and resolution is a system which allows members of a society to interact in harmony by constantly and continuously dealing with the totality of relationships in the total environment, and adapting in whatever ways are appropriate.

It is in this sense that conflict analysis and resolution represents a political philosophy; its processes reach down to the motivations and values of those in dispute. Its processes spawn consensus-building and conflict prevention within the society.

Because conflict analysis and resolution may be a component of any system, and at the same time a means of change, it has the potential of bringing otherwise competing systems into harmony. It has the potential to link person to person, group to group, and system to system.

#### Endnotes

1/ See *PEACE in Action*, March 1988, p. 17 for a refutation of the natural aggressiveness theory by a group of scientists (Seville Statement on Violence, May 1986).

2/ For a detailed description of conflict analysis and resolution processes, see *Resolving Deep-Rooted Conflict: A Handbook*, John W. Burton, University Press of America, (Lanham, New York, London), 1987. Also available from the Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA 22030, USA.

## ANNEX N

### 1. THE ESSENTIAL CORE OF THE LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

Outstanding contributions to the literature on institution building are summarized below in one of two categories: manuscripts with an institutional-organizational focus or works dealing with phenomena beyond this micro orientation.

The literature with an institutional-organizational orientation resulted largely, but not exclusively, from the Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building (IRPIB). This multidisciplinary program was undertaken by scholars from Michigan State University, Syracuse University, Indiana University, and the University of Pittsburgh, where the project's headquarters are located. This consortium program, financed largely by the Agency for International Development (AID) and the Ford Foundation, was the largest single source of the manuscripts reviewed in the preparation of this book.

Eight of the manuscripts nominated by professionals actively working in the field of institution building resulted directly from the IRPIB. In three others, the methodology developed in the program is used. Because these IRPIB contributions are consolidated in a recently published book of readings, that book is the source of most of the summaries of IRPIB contributions in this chapter. The one exception, however, is Milton Esman's manuscript, "The Institution Building Concepts-An Interim Appraisal." This manuscript is summarized in detail, rather than his shorter chapter in the book edited by Joseph Eaton, because it contains the important conceptual framework developed by him and others.

Although no one group of manuscripts dominates the macro oriented literature, a number of significant contributions have been made. Again, a recently published book -- this one entitled A Theory of Institutions by John Powelson -- is reviewed in detail. Likewise, the book of readings entitled Modernization by Design by Chandler Morse et al. is given considerable attention. An article by T. W. Schultz is reviewed in sufficient detail to indicate clearly its substantive contribution. Finally, attention is called to a bibliography that contains some references to macro oriented literature in the fields of technical assistance and institution building.

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<sup>1</sup>Melvin G. Blase, *Institution Building: A Source Book*, Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities, Inc. for A.I.D., Contract No. A.I.D./esd-3392, 1973.

## INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL LITERATURE

- [1] ESMAN, Milton J. "The Institution Building Concepts -- An Interim Appraisal." Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1967. 66 pages. (Mimeographed. Part of Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building.)

Since much of the institution building literature refers to the framework conceptualized by Esman et al. it will be summarized first. Esman's manuscript contains not only basic concepts but also a partial evaluation of them on the basis of data obtained from the initial IRPIB case studies. These case studies were: the College of Education of the University of Nigeria, by John Hanson [12]; the Central University of Ecuador, by Hans C. Blaise and Luis A. Rodriguez [47]; the Institute of Public Administration of Thammasat, University of Thailand, by William Siffin [72]; and the Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and the Middle East, by Guthrie Birkhead [73].

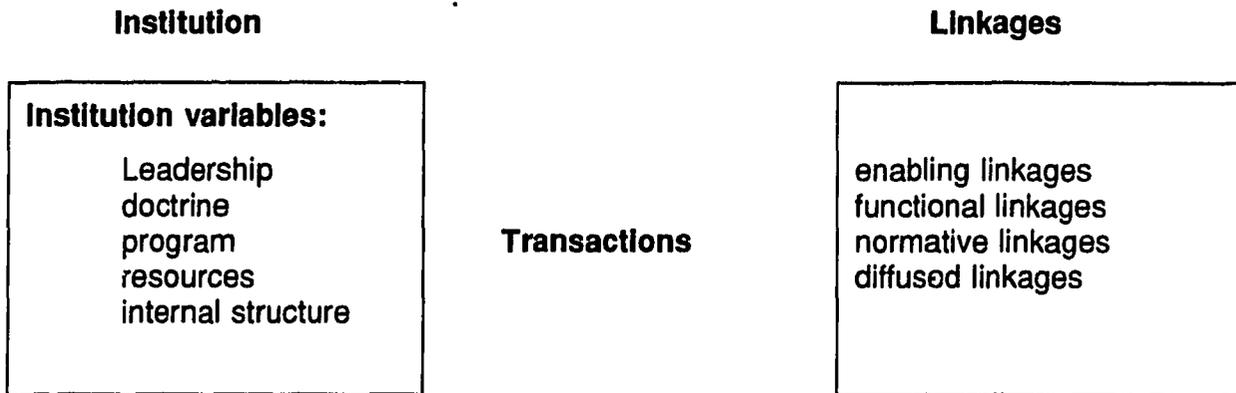
### Basic Concepts

In the restatement of the basic concepts, Esman emphasizes that his approach has a pronounced bias toward social engineering that is based on the proposition that most significant, contemporary changes -- especially in developing countries -- are deliberately planned and guided. Further, the approach presupposes that the introduction of change takes place primarily in and through formal organizations. When these organizations are change-inducing, change-protecting, and formal, they are considered to be institutions. These organizations and the new patterns they foster become institutionalized, e.g., meaningful and valued in the societies in which they function. This involves a complex set of interactions between the institutions and the environment. The latter varies in its readiness or resistance to change both over time and from place to place.

Basic to Esman's approach is the assumption that the efficient assimilation of new physical and social technologies requires that the environment provide supporting values, norms, processes, and structures which usually are not present when the new technologies are introduced. Changing the environment to complement or accommodate the new technologies is an integral part of development. Since these new technologies are primarily introduced in and through organizations, the supportive values, norms, processes, and structures must be institutionalized in and through these organizations; that is, normative relationship and action patterns must be established in and through organizations which incorporate, foster, and protect normative relationship and action patterns and perform functions and services that are valued in the environment. The results of analyses of these institutionalized changes can serve as guides to social action. Hence, the assumption has been made that institution building is a generic social process, i.e., a set of elements and actions can be identified which is relevant to institution building in general.

The three analytical categories upon which Esman's analysis is built are depicted in the accompanying figure from citation [2]. Institution variables are those elements thought to be necessary and sufficient to explain the systemic behavior in an institution.

### The Institution Building Universe



Leadership applies not only to people formally charged with the direction of an institution, but also to others who participate in the planning, structuring, and the guidance of it. Within leadership, viewed as a unit, important factors include political viability, professional status, technical competence, organizational competence, role distribution, and continuity.

Doctrine, as the stable reference point of an institution to which all other variables relate, contains such characteristics as specificity, meaning the extent to which elements of doctrine supply the necessary foundation for action in a given situation; the extent to which the institutional doctrine conforms to the expected and sanctioned behavior of the society; and the degree to which the institution's doctrine conforms to the preferences, priorities, intermediate goals, and targets of the society.

Those actions related to the performance of functions and services constituting the output of the institution represent its program. Hence, important aspects of the program variable include its consistency with the institution's doctrine, stability of output, feasibility regarding resources, as well as complementary production of other organizations in the absorptive capacity of the society, and the contribution of the institution toward satisfying the specified needs of the society.

The inputs of an institution, here defined as resources, are important not only in quantitative terms, but also because of their sources. These sources and the ability to obtain resources through them affect decisions with regard to program, doctrine, and leadership. Hence, the two categories within this variable are availability and sources.

As both structure and process, the category of internal structure includes such things as the distribution of functions and authority, the processes of communication and decision making, and other relationship-action patterns. Consequently, it determines the efficiency

and effectiveness of program performance. Components of this category include identification of participants within the institution, consistency of the structure with the institution's doctrine and program, and the structure's adaptability to shifts in program emphasis and other changes.

Every institution is dependent upon other organizations for its authority and resource; hence, its linkages with other entities are vitally important. These linkages also include an institution's dependency on complementary production of other institutions and on the ability of the environment to use its resources. Finally, linkages are also concerned with and subject to the norms of the society. Through these linkages the institution maintains exchange relationships with its environment, an interdependent complex of functionally related organizations. The four subcategories of linkages are discussed briefly below.

In the initial stages of an institution's life, its prime target is developing its relationship with other entities that control the allocation of authority and resources it needs; this category is called enabling linkages. Developing relationships with such entities is important not only for obtaining authority and resources, but also because these are the same entities through which the institution's opposition seeks to withhold needed inputs from it.

Functional linkages relate the institution to (1) organizations which are complementary in a productive sense, that is, which supply inputs and use the outputs of the institution; and (2) those organizations which constitute real or potential competition. Through functional linkages an institution attempts to spread its innovations as it embodies and promotes new patterns and technologies.

Both sociocultural norms and operating rules and regulations have important implications for institutions via normative linkages, through which the society places certain constraints on and establishes guidelines for institutions. The norms, rules, and regulations can either act as obstacles to or facilitate the process of institution building.

While these three categories of linkages refer to relationships of an institution with other specific institutions and organizations, diffused linkages refer to the relationship between the institution and public opinion and with the public in general. Thus, this category includes relationships established through news media and other channels for the crystallization and expression of individual and small-group opinion.

Through these four linkages, then, an institution carries on transactions with other segments of the society. These transactions involve not only physical inputs and outputs but also such social interactions as communication, support acquisition, and the transfer of norms and values. More specifically, the purposes of transactions have been identified as (1) gaining support and overcoming resistance, (2) exchanging resources, (3) structuring the environment, and (4) transferring norms and values.

Institution building is a time-consuming process. During its initial phase certain values or goals are conceived by the change agents, and a strategy is determined for their attainment. Also during this period, support is sought for achieving goals and values, an

effort is made to overcome resistances, and an attempt is made to acquire the necessary authority and resources for the establishment of the institution. Subsequently in the life cycle of the institution, different strategies and actions are required for executing the program, maintaining the institution, and facilitating the transfer of norms and values to other elements of the society.

### **Case Studies**

In reflecting on the four case studies, Esman attempts to (1) analyze and compare some of the researchers' most salient findings, (2) suggest implications for the program's general approach to the institution building process and to the basic concepts which were their common point of departure, and (3) indicate the future development of theory, methodology, and practical application toward which these studies point. Since these studies are summarized in [12], [47], [72], and [73], attention is now called to generalizations drawn from them rather than their individual findings.

### **Technical Assistance in Institution Building**

In all four of the cases studied, technical assistance staffs made up of foreigners to the country in question provided the main models for change and, in three cases, most of the impulse for action. However, even in these three cases, the staff members were unable to carry their local counterparts with them on significant issues. Although frequently disagreeing among themselves, their counterparts were committed to only a few of the specific changes that they endorsed. Local staff members frequently attached higher priority to protecting existing relationships than to the changes proposed by technical assistance personnel, although they frequently agreed with the technical personnel about proposed goals.

In the instances studied, the technical assistance personnel were welcomed as suppliers of physical resources, as teachers, and, to some extent, as sources of technical ideas which would help the existing system do its old job better. But when viewed as a means of inducing new norms or action patterns within the institution itself or in transactions with linked client groups, they were threatening. These experiences suggest that congruence between the technical assistance personnel and indigenous institutional leaders over goals and tactics, as well as over the doctrine and the program of the subject institution, directly influences the effectiveness of foreign assistance. Without such congruence frustration is inevitable and even conflict may result.

On the basis of this admittedly small sample of four cases, several tendencies appeared to exist. One of these is that the doctrinal compatibility between the technical advisers and the institution's leadership cadre seemed to be more important than the formal positions of power that the technical assistance personnel occupied within the institution. Another is that technical assistance teams need to maintain a position that will enable them to capitalize upon changes in the external environment. A third is that technical assistance personnel tend to use mild and accommodating tactics rather than tension or crisis producing ones. Fourth, at the outset of a technical assistance project, leaders at the host institution are often uncertain of their goals, are more concerned with maintaining existing patterns and

protecting their own interests within the present system than in fomenting changes, are unwilling to incur risks, and tend to be passive or inept in using the resources or the opportunities available. Fifth, in these situations institution builders must deploy a battery of survival and service tactics as well as change tactics. Sixth, the institution builder must be a manager par excellence, who can adjust to unplanned consequences of actions taken as well as to unanticipated contingencies, and who can attempt to create opportunities to facilitate his program. Finally, Esman concludes:

The most generalized proposition that seems to emerge at this stage of institution building research on the question of change tactics is that the institution building leadership should attempt in its transactions with each linked public to distribute or appear to be distributing a far greater volume of benefits than of costs. The margin of benefits over costs must be substantial because costs (dissatisfactions or threats) in status, respect, security, finance, or scope for action are usually perceived to be far more critical, triggering defensive action, than are anticipated benefits triggering supportive action. Where a wide margin of benefits over costs cannot be distributed, or where the organization appears to be under attack from a major linked institution, it must not hesitate to defer some of its activities which might be threatening to an external group. In such cases it must attempt to deal with a few negative situations at a time, must focus enough bargaining energy and resources on the potential conflict, and must be able to deploy enough power in that situation to be reasonably certain of a satisfactory outcome. This is simply the strategy of keeping one's opponents divided and dealing with them separately rather than allowing an effective coalition to mobilize. (p. 46).

Several strategies for institution building are suggested. One is that rather than creating an entirely new institution, an existing one should be strengthened, unless (1) important groups within the society perceive that the existing institution is discharging its functions inadequately or is neglecting activities which it should be performing, or (2) the original institution is not catering to emergent needs or demands within its field of jurisdiction. When the existing institution has a widely diffused internal power structure, the appropriate strategy would appear to be an attempt to create a new unit within the existing institution. In situations where both the leadership and environmental factors are favorable, a rational approach to timing is to give initial emphasis to building a solid and viable organization and then to construct reliable linkages within the environment. Only when these linkages have been established should the riskier and more difficult task of restructuring the environment and transferring norms to linked institutions be attempted. When the environment is especially receptive to change, a more apropos and certainly bolder strategy may be to foster changes within the environment before linkages have been firmly established and the basic organization built on a solid foundation.



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## ANNEX P

### PLANNING FOR THE NEXT GRANT

In Section III.G., it was recommended that AALC should systematically review the program content and structure of the present grant, taking into account recent developments in Africa and evaluation recommendations. This review should be directed toward the goal and purpose of the next grant, as well as tailoring the last two years of the current grant to prepare for a follow-on grant. To facilitate this process, the following are suggestions for project structure, country labor plans and indicators to be incorporated in the next grant.

#### 1. Project Structure

Suggested goal:

"An independent, self-sustaining free labor movement in each African country which is: (1) promoting/sustaining democratic pluralism and respect for worker rights; and (2) seeking to improve the standard of living of its membership while also promoting national economic growth with equity."

This is similar to the goal statement in the current grant, but eliminates the words "to assist".

Suggested Purpose statement:

"To graduate \_\_\_ national labor centers to self-sustaining status, \_\_\_ to Category A status and \_\_\_ to Category B status."

In this context, trade union organizations included in the grant be categorized as follows:

Category A -- trade union organizations which probably could reach self-sustaining status within five years;

Category B -- trade union organizations which are not expected to reach self-sustaining status within five years, but which are sufficiently developed and are operating in an environment that permits the preparation of long-term (e.g., five-year) plans; and

Category C -- trade union organizations for which it would not be realistic to prepare five-year country labor plans because of the domestic political or economic situation or the internal situation within the labor movement.

This type of Purpose statement would permit the establishment of End of Project Status indicators--which is not done in the Logical Framework of the current grant.

In the proposed model, a strategy would be drafted for each trade union organization participating in the program. For Category C organizations, this would mean reviewing the factors which keep the country from becoming a Category B organization and looking at the options available under the program to deal with the situation. Thus, a general plan would be developed, but it might not have specific time-phased outputs--its main focus might be taking advantage of targets of opportunity. The plan would provide, nevertheless, a structured framework in which to plan the use of ITS, impact and regional activities.

For Category B organizations, five-year plans would be prepared. This category might be further sub-divided into: (1) B-1 organizations, whose Purpose might be graduation to Category A by the end of the grant period; and (2) B-2 organizations where it might not be possible to have a specific Purpose statement but rather some targets for achievement within the life of the project, i.e., a series of time-phased outputs.

Category A organizations would be those for which a plan would be prepared that would help the organization reach self-sustaining status by the end of the grant. Achievement of self-sustaining status would not preclude any AID-financed activity with the country, but would presuppose termination of a "country program" and limiting financial support to participation in regional activities, impact projects to meet special circumstances and possibly some ITS union-to-union activity. It is recognized that there are very few countries that would be classified as Category A at this time, but there might be one or two more by the start of the grant if AALC gears the last two years of the program toward this approach.

USAID should provide AALC with A.I.D. Handbook 3 materials on Means-Ends Analysis and the Logical Framework for use in the planning process.

## **2. Country Labor Plans**

Country labor plans for Categories A and B organizations should include an analysis of what is needed to become independent and self-sustaining, and what steps are needed to get there. A clear statement of the institution-building process for trade unions, particularly in the African context, is needed.

The proposed planning process could also facilitate the preparation of simplified PERT-like networks for programs in Category A and B organizations. Such networks help to show the interrelationship between elements of a program, thereby ensuring that time-phased targets and related budgets, which are usually time-sensitive, are more realistic.

## **3. Indicators of Progress**

Using the framework set out above will facilitate the selection of indicators. Some indicators will flow directly from the individual country plans (or strategies in the case of Category C countries). The framework may also suggest some different indicators for cross-country comparisons than those now being collected in the questionnaires. Reviewing cross-country comparisons may be useful in developing country plans and in testing institution-

building theses that may be developed. They should not be seen, however, as a substitute for Purpose and Outputs statements as discussed above.

Whatever the indicators chosen, collection of baseline data is essential. This suggests reviewing the planned outputs (objectives) from the country labor plans and the cross-country indicators with a view to determining what data can be collected that will provide meaningful information for measurement. This analysis may result in changing the framing of questions or the definition of indicators; it may also suggest different questions and indicators.

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