

**EXTENT OF IMPACT OF TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP ON
INDUSTRIAL STRIKES IN MALAWI**

**MASTER OF ARTS (HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS) THESIS**

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**EXTENT OF IMPACT OF TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP ON
INDUSTRIAL STRIKES IN MALAWI**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis entitled '**EXTENT OF IMPACT OF TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP ON INDUSTRIAL STRIKES IN MALAWI**' is my own original work which has not been submitted to any other institution for similar purposes. Where other people's work has been used, acknowledgements have been made.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my departed mum and dad, Mr. Stanford Beaton Masanjala and Mrs. Edna Masanjala; my beloved wife, Treizer Masanjala and my four lovely children, Madalitso, Grace, Chrispin and Christopher for their tireless support during my academic journey. Their moral, spiritual and material support has left an indelible mark in my life.

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study was to assess the extent of impact of Trade Union leadership on strikes in Malawi. The objectives of the study were to discuss the effect of Trade Union leadership on strikes; explain tactics by which Trade Union leadership has influenced the strikes; analyze factors that influence Trade Union leadership to lead the strikes; assess challenges faced by Trade Union leadership in leading the strikes; and examine mechanisms on how trade union leadership can be improved to manage the strikes in the country. The study was conducted to 22 organizations and 15 Trade Unions. Stratified sampling technique was used to select trade unions while purposive sampling method was employed to select a total of 150 respondents of which 137 participants responded to questionnaires. The researcher used Statistical Package for Social Science Students (SPSS) to analyze data. Frequency tables, bar charts, pie charts and linear graphs were used to present the data. The study found that the effect of Trade Union leadership on strikes is relatively to a smaller extent nationally. However, the effect is extensive in unionized organizations largely at enterprise level. The study recommends that both trade union leadership and employers must engage in contact and dialogue; and undergo training in conflict resolution to enable them handle disputes that may arise between them.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

ACB	Anti-Corruption Bureau
ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
BCCEAWU	Building Construction and Civil Engineering and Allied Workers' Union
CCASU	Chancellor College Academic Staff Union
CBA	Collective Bargaining Agreement
CHAM	Christian Health Association of Malawi
CIAWU	Commercial Industrial and Allied Workers' Union
COMATU	Congress of Malawi Trade Union
COWUMA	Communication Workers Union
CSTU	Civil Servants Trade Union
EI	Education International
EMWU	Electronic Media Workers' Union
ESCOM	Electricity Supply Commission of Malawi
ESU	ESCOM Staff Union
HFPCWU	Hotel Food Processing and Catering Services Workers' Union
ICM	Institute of Commercial Management (of United Kingdom)
IFBWW	International Federation of Building and Wood Workers
ITGLWF	International Textile, Garments and Leather Workers' Federation
IUF	International Union of Food
ITF	Transport Workers' Federation
KILM	Key Indicators of Labour Market
MBC TV	Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Television
MCTU	Malawi Congress of Trade Union
MHC	Malawi Housing Corporation
MHCWU	Malawi Housing Corporation Workers' Union
MHRC	Malawi Human Rights Commission
MLFS	Malawi Labour Force Survey
MMWU	Malawi Municipal Workers' Union
MNELP	Malawi National Employment Labour Policy

MTL	Malawi Telecommunications Limited
MUFIS	Malawi Union for Informal Sector
NONM	National Organization of Nurses and Midwives
NSO	National Statistical Office
PAAWU	Plantation Agriculture and Allied Workers' Union
PATEI	Pan-African Teachers Education International
PSEUM	Private Schools Employees' Union of Malawi
PSI	Public Service International
PTC	Peoples Trading Centre
QMIWU	Quarry Mines and Informal Workers' Union
RWUM	Railway Workers' Union of Malawi
SCCATU	Shipping Custom and Clearing Agents Trade Union
SNI	Street Net International
SPAWU	Sugar Plantation and Allied Workers' Union
TGLSSU	Textile Garments Leather and Security Services Trade Union
TGWU	Transport and General Workers Union
TLAC	Tripartite Labour Advisory Council
TTAWUM	Tobacco Tenants and Allied Workers' Union of Malawi
TUM	Teachers Union of Malawi
UNI	Union Network International
US	United States
UWTU	University Workers Trade Union
WETUM	Water Employees Trade Union of Malawi

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

In Malawi, leadership in trade unions appeared in 1949 when the country witnessed the birth of the first trade union called Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) (Dzimhiri, 2005: 65). During this period, it was difficult for trade union leaders to lead industrial strikes in the country because the right to strike was not guaranteed by the Colonial Government. The State and employers strictly monitored activities of trade unions and their leadership (Ibid).

Malawi, however, first registered the strikes during the period of Colonial Government when teachers, night soil workers, domestic servants and rail workers went on strikes in the 1940s in Blantyre (McCracken, 1988). During this period, there were no trade union leadership structures; however Malawian workers used informal leaders and Native Associations to channel labour issues to Colonial Government (Dzimhiri, 2008).

Since then, trade union leadership and its membership in Malawi have been indulging in industrial strikes as a way of exercising trade union rights (Dzimhiri, 2008). In doing so, some leaders of Trade Unions have been victimized in different ways. For instance, the one party- state detained some union leaders in order to silence them (Dzimhiri, 2006). Similarly, in 1992, the State transferred some trade union leaders serving in government to remote parts of the country to weaken their strength (Dzimhiri, 2008).

During the multiparty era the situation did not change; the state and employers continued to harass Trade Union leadership. The State used Police to open fire to disperse striking

workers and their trade union leadership (*Daily Times*, 19 February 2013:1). In spite of the available labour legislation such as Malawi's Republican Constitution (1994) and Malawi's Labour Relations Act(1996), the country continued to register a rising number of cases of victimization of Trade Union leaders by both employers and the State. Some Trade Union leaders were dismissed while others were arrested (Dzimhiri, 2008).The State and employers have believed that leadership in Trade Unions has impact on industrial strikes in Malawi; however, the extent of the impact is not clear. This study is therefore aimed at assessing the extent to which leadership in trade unions has impacted on strikes in the country.

This chapter therefore presents background to the study; statement of the problem; main and specific objectives of the study;research hypothesis; justification for the study and finally a chapter summary.

1.2 Background to the Study

Scholars have carried out a number of studies on industrial relations in various countries on the globe. The scholars have shown that Trade Union leaders have been victimized in many ways for leading industrial strikes (Ananaba (1977), Liatto (1989), Mihyo, P. (1979), Madhuku (1997) and Dzimhiri (2005). Trade Union leaders have been victimized for being critical of the state and employers on labour matters (Dzimhiri, 2006).Eventually; there has been perpetual conflict between employers and trade unions and their leadership.

In Malawi, trade union leaders have considered industrial strikes as an effective collective bargaining tool for persuading employers to improve workers' salaries and other working conditions. Although trade union rights were recognized as human rights under article 23 of the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights (Dzimhiri 2006: 238), the presence of repressive labour legislation such as Trade Union Act (1958) and Trade Dispute (Arbitration and Settlement) Act (1952) during the colonial period restricted freedom of association and outlawed industrial strikes in Malawi(Dzimhiri 2008: 38). Similarly, during the single-party era, the Employment Act (1964) restricted freedom of

association among trade union leaders and employees (Dzimhiri, 2005: 67). The then State strictly monitored activities of trade union leaders and membership on pretext of promoting industrial peace and economic development. The State thus outlawed industrial strikes in the country. In spite of that, the country continued to register a spate of strikes that took place between 1992 and 1993 following international pressure for good governance and adherence to human rights (Dzimhiri 2004). This is the period when the country was transitioning from single-party rule to multiparty administration.

During the multiparty era, the Malawi State has provided legal framework for the operations of trade unions in the country (Dzimhiri 2008: 30). The period has seen influx of a number of labour laws such as The Employment Act (2000), The Labour Relations Act (1996) and Malawi's Republican Constitution (1994). These legal instruments have helped regulate industrial relations systems in the country by limiting the powers of industrial relations actors over one another. In spite of the presence of these legal instruments, the country continues to experience industrial strikes at enterprise and industry levels.

Indeed from colonial rule through the one-party period to multiparty era, the State and the employers in Malawi have viewed trade union leadership as perpetrators of industrial strikes. As evidenced in the subsequent paragraphs and in view of what scholars have written, the state and the employers have attempted to suppress and weaken trade union leadership for leading strikes in the country and this trend appears to continue until now.

1.3 Problem Statement

On the globe, the State and employers have been blaming trade union leadership for inciting industrial strikes in various countries (1997 ICFTU Report). As a result, some trade union leaders have been victimized by their employers through police arrests, sudden transfers to remote areas, death threats and dismissals (Dzimhiri, 2006).

In America, the State harassed trade union leaders for leading industrial strikes (Yoon, 2009). For instance, leaders of Teachers and Transport Workers' Union were sent to jail

for taking part in industrial strikes (Ibid). The New York State's Law also provides for severe penalties against unions and leaders who lead strikes (Ibid).

In Europe, trade union leaders were also victimized. For instance, in France, due to social protests and conflicts between the State and trade unions, some trade union leaders were arrested for leading industrial strikes in the country (Howel, 2009). Although the French constitution guarantees and protects employees' right to strike, the French State has been hostile to trade union leadership since the 1980s (Ibid). In South Korea, the situation was similar. When the National Congress of Korean Trade Unions was formed, trade union leadership got oppressed by the military government (KOILAF, 2006). The Korean government also laid criminal charges against trade union leaders who obstructed business (Ibid).

In Africa the situation is not different. In Zimbabwe, empirical studies have shown that leaders of Zimbabwe Trade Union Congress (ZCTU) were attacked after independence following a series of strikes that were declared illegal (Shadur, 1994 in Dzimbiri, 2006: 243). Trade union leaders were harassed, beaten up and arrested. In Swaziland, the police detained the entire National Executive Council of Swazi Teachers' Union; and the country remained the most hostile country for trade unions (Dzimbiri, 2006: 242). In Morocco, 23 trade union leaders were imprisoned for taking part in strikes over labour law violations; twenty-one of which were tortured by police in detention (Ibid). In Kenya, the state persecuted trade union leaders as communists (Mihyo, 1979: 201). Despite the available evidence that union leaders have been accused as perpetrators of industrial strikes, scholars have not clearly explained the extent to which leadership in trade unions has impacted on industrial strikes in their countries.

In Malawi, trade union leaders have also been harassed and intimidated in different ways. From the colonial period through the single party era to multiparty period, some union leaders were arrested whilst others received death threats for leading industrial strikes (Dzimbiri, 2008). However, the extent to which leadership in trade unions has impacted on industrial strikes in the country is still not known.

Industrial strikes, however, were first registered in Malawi way back between 1930 and 1953 among tea estate workers in Thyolo (Palmer, 1986). In the 1950s the country also witnessed labour unrest among night soil workers in Blantyre; while workers in the railway sector went on strike in the 1960s (Mc Cracken 1988). In May 1992 both public and private sector organizations in Malawi registered a number of industrial strikes ranging from one day to five months strikes (Dzimbiri 2008: 27). Between 1992 and 1999 the country also registered 300 strikes involving 270, 000 workers and 800, 000 days loss (Dzimbiri, 2005). In spite of the available literature on prevalence of industrial strikes in the country from the colonial rule to the multiparty period, there is lack of literature that has assessed the extent to which leadership in trade unions has impacted on strikes in Malawi.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study, therefore, sets out to assess the extent of to which leadership in trade unions impact on strikes in Malawi. The study is guided by the following objectives;

1.4.1 Main Objective

The overall objective of this study was to assess the extent of the impact of leadership in trade union on industrial strikes in Malawi.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

Basically this study aims at achieving the following objectives:

1. Discuss the effect of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi.
2. Explaintactics by which Trade Union leadership has influenced industrial strikes in Malawi.
3. Analyze factors that influence trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi
4. Assess challenges faced by trade union leadership in leading industrial strikes in Malawi
5. Examinemechanismshow trade union leadership can be improved to manage industrial strikes in Malawi.

1.5 Research Hypothesis

This research work adopts the following hypothesis;

‘Trade union leadership has negatively impacted on industrial strikes in Malawi’

1.6 Justification of the Study

From the already existing body of literature, scholars have not shown the extent to which trade union leadership has impacted on industrial strikes. This study therefore attempts to contribute to existing body of literature on industrial relations specifically on trade union leadership and industrial strikes; as well as on theories of industrial relations.

1.7 Outline of Chapters

The researcher has divided this thesis into five chapters. Chapter one gives the background to the study; the problem statement; the main and specific objectives of the study; research hypothesis and justification of the study. Chapter two focuses on literature review; discusses theories in relation to the topic under study, and reviews conceptual framework of the study. Besides that, chapter three discusses the study methodology which includes research design, sample population, sampling methods, data collection methods, data analysis and study limitations. In Chapter four the researcher presents key findings to the study based on the following; effect of trade union leadership on strikes in Malawi; tactics by which trade union leadership has influenced strikes; factors that influence Trade Union leadership to lead strikes in Malawi; challenges faced by Trade Union leadership in leading industrial strikes in Malawi; and mechanisms on how trade union leadership can be improved to manage industrial strikes in Malawi. Finally, chapter five gives conclusions and recommendations based on the findings.

1.7Chapter Summary

The preceding chapter has provided the background to the study; the conceptual framework; the statement of the problem; the main and specific objectives of the study; the research hypothesis and the justification for the study. The chapter has also given an outline of chapters in this study. The subsequent chapter will discuss the literature review.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviewed literature and concepts that are relevant to the study. It focused on definition of key concepts, theories for understanding industrial strikes and a conceptual framework. The chapter also highlighted some factors that have influenced industrial strikes on the globe and in Malawi. At the end of the chapter there is a summary.

2.2 Review of Previous Studies

First, empirical studies have shown that trade union leadership and industrial strikes exist side by side. According to Ananaba (1977:6) in Dzimbiri (2005: 237), industrial strikes have existed in most Southern African countries before and after the independence era. As a result, trade union leaders were arrested; sacked from their jobs; jailed without trial; killed or exiled by independent African States. This trend has persisted in most southern African countries. Coincidentally, these States have been the biggest employers in most African countries until now. Malawi is a good example.

Other studies conducted by Madhuku (1997) and Dzimbiri (2005) in Malawi, Liatto (1989) in Kenya, Shadur (1994) in Zimbabwe have all confirmed that the state being the largest employer and strongest actor in industrial relations perceived trade union rights as luxuries. The studies have also revealed that during the independence period, most southern African countries have been controlling trade union leadership and workers. The state and employers have been banning strikes perpetrated by trade union leadership and membership on pretext of promoting industrial peace. For example, in Zambia, the State controlled and suppressed Zambia's Congress of Trade Union (ZCTU) leadership through political exhortation (Dzimbiri, 2005: 57); in Kenya the State sabotaged trade union leadership by persecuting union leaders as communists before deporting them

(Ibid). In Zimbabwe Trade union leadership became ineffective through close police surveillance, harassment and arrest of union leaders (Shadur, 1994: 61-62) in Dzimhiri (2005: 58). All this confirms that the State and employers believe that industrial strikes are influenced by trade union leadership.

There are a number of studies carried out focusing on industrial strikes describing them as a political as well as organizational phenomenon. Such studies include the works of Howel (2009) in his study of transformation of French industrial relations; Rose (2008) in her work on regulating and resolving public sector disputes in Canada; Levesque & Murray (2005) on their studies of local unions in Canada and Mexico; Reyneke (2009) in his study of labour practices in South Africa and Republic of Korea; Yoon (2009) in his comparative study on industrial relations and collective bargaining in East Asian countries; Ahmad (2012) in his analysis of industrial actions in USA and Japan; and Suzuki (2013) in his analysis of Japanese industrial relations from an international perspective. These studies have all confirmed that trade union leadership plays a political role and that industrial strikes are inevitable in any industrial relations system. The studies have also confirmed the assumptions of Conflict Theory which state that industrial conflict is inherent in any industrial setting.

According to studies also conducted in Nigeria, Adebisi (2011) and Ubeku(1975) in Okojie (2011) have both argued that trade union leaders have been acting as politicians because they have been inciting workers to go on strikes which are believed to be destructive to economic development of the country. Similarly, according to Folorunsho (n.d.), the Nigerian State condemned massive strikes which took place in 1945 and The Iva Valley Miners' strike which happened in the same country in 1949. The strikes were labeled as political propaganda. In addition, in 1976, the Nigerian State suppressed trade unionism by arresting union leaders. Although, various scholars have argued that most trade union leaders in Nigeria influenced industrial strikes to advance their political ambition, very little is known about the extent of impact of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in the country.

According to Motshegwa (2012) Botswana witnessed a few strikes before independence because employees were being intimidated by their employers. However, thereafter the country saw an increase of strikes carried out by different groups of people in the society such as public servants, private sector unions and para-statal. For instance, between 2011 and 2012, a number of strikes were carried out by teachers led by union leaders across the country (Ibid). The strikes took place because the State disregarded court orders on issues of staff welfare. In spite of available evidence that trade union leadership influenced the teachers to go on strikes, the scholar has not clearly shown extent of impact of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in the country.

Dzimhiri (2005) has also shown how trade union leadership has influenced industrial strikes in Malawi. The scholar analyzed factors that influenced industrial strikes in the country and how trade union leadership contributed to strike activity during the colonial, single-party and multiparty era. The scholar however, did not go further to show the extent of impact of trade union leadership on strikes in the country.

Similarly, the findings of the study by Dzimhiri (2008: 37) indicate that both trade union leaders and informal leaders have been inciting workers to go on strike. The scholar concluded that trade union functioning in Malawi has been affected by poor or weak leadership and thus lead to informal leaders exerting significant influence on fellow employees to undertake industrial strikes. The findings of Dzimhiri are perhaps similar to those of Kambilinya (2008) who also notes that poor trade union leadership has impacted on the underperformance of trade unions in Malawi. However, both scholars have not clearly shown and explained the extent of impact of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi.

The following paragraphs present definitions of some concepts relevant to the study. The concepts have been defined by differently by scholars.

2.3 Definition of Concepts

2.3.1 Definition of Leadership

Scholars have defined the term ‘leadership’ differently. First, Banard (1938) in Kouzes and Posner (2007) defines the term ‘leadership’ as the ability of a superior to influence the behavior of subordinates and persuade them to follow a particular course of action. According to Armstrong (2006), the term ‘leadership’ refers to the capacity to inspire individuals to give of their best to achieve a desired result and to maintain effective relationships with individuals and the team as a whole. However, Shackleton (1995) in Torrington, Hall and Taylor (2008) has defined ‘leadership’ as the process in which an individual influences other group members towards attainment of group or organizational goals. Similarly, Cole (2004) has defined the term ‘leadership’ as a dynamic process whereby an individual in a group is not only responsible for the results, but also for active collaboration and commitment of all group members in achieving group goals in a particular context and against a particular background.

Based on the definitions above, it can be argued that leadership is about ability, capacity, or process of influencing others to perform a function to attain organizational goals. Leadership may fail if it lacks influence over others to perform a duty. For the sake of consistency, the researcher applies the definition of ‘leadership’ as given by Armstrong (2006) as it better explains the concept as used in this study.

According to Manning (2012: 261-262), the primary function of leadership is to communicate a compelling picture of where the organization is heading so that people may be empowered and committed to any change. Manning (ibid) asserts that effective leaders must be visible to those they lead; must listen to them; and must involve them. In doing so, the leaders may build a network of support from all people in achieving shared goals. This explanation of an effective leader perhaps applies well to trade union leadership in the event of industrial strikes since strikes must involve workers and leadership must listen to the demands of workers who are trade union members

2.3.1.1 Types of Leadership Style

There are various leadership styles leaders can demonstrate in an organization. Some of them are as follows:

2.3.1.1.1 Autocratic Leadership Style

According to Armstrong (2006) autocratic leaders impose their decisions, using their position to force people to do as they are told. The leaders make decisions without consulting with employees; and eventually, this may cause industrial strikes by trade union leadership and workers.

Autocratic leadership style can, however, be used when there is no need for input on the decision from employees; and when the decision taken will not change as a result of input by other parties. However, a trade union leader who imposes decisions on workers may not be successful to persuade workers to go out on strikes.

2.3.1.1.2 Democratic Leadership Style

This style of leadership assumes that workers should be involved in decision making and that decisions should be arrived at through consensus (Torrington, Hall & Taylor, 2008). The only challenge with this style of leadership is when there are several opinions or solutions about an issue and when there is no clear way of striking a compromise. For instance, if trade union leadership involves all employees to decide and negotiate with employers on a percentage of salary increase, seeking opinions from all employees may jeopardize the outcome of negotiations. It therefore just requires an assertive leader to guide the employees to come up with realistic demands.

Democratic leadership is believed to be important when making decisions affecting employees' welfare (Ibid). However, the style may be difficult to manage if there are lots of ideas from trade union membership.

2.3.2 Definition of Industrial Strike

Section 2 (1c) of Malawi Labour Relations Act No. 16 of 1996 defines industrial strikes as ‘a concerted action resulting in cessation of work, a refusal to work or to continue to work by employees, or a slow down or other concerted activity of employees that is designed to or does limit production or services, but does not include an act or omission required for the safety or health of employees or a refusal to work under section 52.¹ Similarly, Gourdnier (1965) in Dzimbiri (2008: 29) defines the term ‘strike’ as a concerted withdrawal from work by part of or all employees unless the employer meets their demands. It is a social phenomenon of enormous complexity which in its totality is never susceptible to complete description let alone complete explanation (Ibid).

Another author Michael Poole (1986) in Sale (2003) has described ‘industrial strike’ as a typical indicator of industrial conflict and has four dimensions, namely: frequency, breadth, duration and impact. Strike frequency is defined as the number of work stoppages in a given unit of analysis over a specific period of time (ibid). Strike breadth is the number of workers who participate in work stoppages; while strike duration is the length of stoppage, usually in man-days of work lost. Finally, Strike impact is the number of working days lost through stoppages (Ibid).

According to Dunlop (1978) a strike can be used as a means of general protest, a political demonstration or as an integral part of the collective bargaining process used to induce agreement. Eldridge et al (1991) in Dzimbiri (2008) points out that strike statistics may induce a social and industrial change or an attempt to test theories of corporatism, the labour movement or the role of economic environment. They also symbolize the country’s state of industrial relations.

This study has applied the definition of the term ‘industrial strike’ as given by Gourdnier (1965). The researcher strongly feels that the definition applies relatively well to the study.

¹ Section 52 of Labour Relations Act provides that an employee has the right to refuse to do any work normally done by an employee or employees who are on strike or lock-out except in the case of an essential service

The following paragraphs discuss three theories of understanding industrial strikes. Later in the paragraphs, a conceptual framework has also been presented.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

2.4.1 Theories of Understanding Industrial Strikes

There are three theories that are relevant to the study, namely: Unitary Theory, Pluralist Theory and Marxist Theory. Unitary Theory assumes that conflict is nonexistent in an organization and therefore any form of conflict like strikes must be removed from the organization. On the contrary, Pluralist Theory states that strikes are endemic in an organization and Trade Union leaders and employers must jointly find ways to manage strikes. Marxist Theory states that Trade Unions fight economic insecurity and therefore leadership can hardly challenge capitalism.

In order to better understand industrial strikes, the researcher has discussed the theories as follows:

2.4.1.1 Unitary Theory

According to Salamon (1992) the unitary theory assumes that conflict does not exist in an organization. It is believed that there is unity of interest and direction among members of the organization and thus industrial strikes are nonexistent, and if they exist then they must be removed. However, the researcher feels that removal of industrial conflict like strikes may be a source of another conflict at work especially when the strikes have been carried out without following procedures. Trade union leadership must therefore always consult with employers and members of the trade union if an industrial strike is to be successful.

2.4.1.2 Pluralist Theory

According to this theory, an organization is viewed as a plural society containing many related but separate interests and objectives which must be maintained in some kind of equilibrium (Armstrong, 2006). Since employees may have divergent feelings, views and aspirations over their work, they may form trade unions to act as a front for providing checks and balances to power inequalities between management and unions or between employers and employees.

The essence of Pluralist theory is that industrial strikes are endemic in any given organization and that leaders of trade unions and employers must jointly rethink ways of how to manage and resolve them. The pluralist perspective therefore views institutions such as trade unions as a platform for resolution of industrial strikes

2.4.1.3 Marxist Theory

Marxist theory assumes that in any industrial setting there are two classes of people; the 'haves' so called the bourgeoisie or the capitalists and the 'have-nots' also called the Proletarian class (Farnham&Pimlott, 1979: 53). The bourgeoisie are the owners of capital and employers of wage labour while the 'proletariat or proletarian class' are the wage earners who have no means of production of their own but sell their labour in order to live. The assumptions of Marxist theory are that the proletarian class (workers) must overthrow the capitalist class (employers) in order to enjoy equal share of production profits. According to Marxists, workers join trade unions to fight economic insecurity, political exploitation and social degradation perpetrated by their employers Ibid). However, according to Hyman (1975) in Dzimbiri (2008: 28) Marxist Theory views employer-employee relationship in exploitative terms' and assumes that trade union leadership can hardly challenge capitalism.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

In Malawi, the State and the employers regard trade unionism as a source of industrial strikes and conflict in an organization. Such strikes have arisen after employers and the State have failed to collectively bargain with Trade Unions and their leadership (Farnham&Pimlott, 1979). While the State and employers feel that Trade Union activities such as strikes are destructive to the political and economic development of a country, Trade Union leadership and their membership have regarded the strikes as a strong tool for collective bargaining. As a result, there has been conflict between workers and their employers. This conflict vindicates the assumptions of Conflict Theory which states that conflict between trade unions and employers is inevitable as it demonstrates the power relations which exists between the two industrial relations actors (Ibid).

As argued in the previous paragraphs, one important aspect of Conflict Theory is Pluralism which views Trade Unions as an opposition representing the interests of workers and which helps regulate conflict between workers and employers at work (Armstrong 2006). In the case of Malawi, during the multi-party era, the State and employers slightly demonstrated pluralist views in industrial relations. During the period, a number of labour legislation were put in place to check powers of industrial relations actors over one another. The country saw the adoption of Labour Relations Act (1996), The Employment Act (2000), The Republican Constitution (1995) and other pieces of legislation which supported the growth of trade union movement in the country. The State and employers also accepted the existence of trade unions in the country, in one hand, but rejected them in the other hand. Dzimbiri (2005) highlighted the anti-union character of the State and employers towards trade union leadership during the multiparty period in Malawi. The state employed several tactics to suppress union leadership and control trade union activities such as industrial strikes.

Although Malawi slightly adopted pluralist assumptions during the multi-party period, the colonial period and the single-party era were characterized by principles of the Unitary Theory. According to Armstrong (2006) the theory is held by leaders who view their function as that of directing and controlling the workforce to achieve economic growth. The leadership also believes that it is the rule-making authority and the organization has one source of authority. It emphasizes on teamwork where everyone strives to achieve a common objective following the leadership of the appointed manager or supervisor (Ibid). Leadership is, therefore, key to industrial relations and therefore must help maintain discipline at organizational level.

Based on the Unitary Theory, leadership does not tolerate industrial conflict like strikes; and conflict is considered dysfunctional to the wellbeing of an organization hence must be eliminated from the organization (Farnham&Pimlott, 1979). Trade union leadership that adopts principles of unitary theory does not condone industrial strikes unlike pluralist leadership. There is no conflict of interests between employers and workers as they are regarded as joint partners who must work together as a team to perform tasks for the good

of an organization (Ibid). However, strong leadership on the part of employers or trade unions must exist to ensure that workers are committed to achieving organizational goals (Armstrong 2006). The workers must also remain loyal to the organization and exercise team spirit with their employers.

In Malawi, during the colonial period and the single-party era, the State and employers displayed principles of Unitary Theory. For instance, during the colonial era, the state never tolerated divergent views from trade union leaders (Dzimhiri, 2005:61). They used legal instruments like Trade Union Act (1958) and Trade and Dispute (1952) Settlement Act as tools for harassing and suppressing trade union leadership and their activities. Similarly, during the single party rule, trade union leaders had no opportunity to channel workers' interests to their employers. The State further weakened trade union leadership by integrating union leadership into then ruling party (Dzimhiri, 2001). The labour law then further weakened trade union leadership by outlawing industrial strikes in many sectors of the economy on pretext of safeguarding and expediting economic development of the country. During the colonial era and the one party period the State and employers were relatively unitarists.

2.6 Factors that influence Industrial Strikes

Dzimhiri (2008) studied factors contributing to industrial relations in Malawi and looked at causes of strikes and factors that shaped workers' militancy in the 1990s in the country. He also compared studies carried out in Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia, Ghana, Zimbabwe, India, Venezuela, USA and Britain. He noted that the state in the above countries banned trade unions; outlawed strikes; monitored union activities; and detained union leaders (Ibid: 29).

The study carried out by Dzimhiri (2008) revealed that there are generally many factors that cause industrial strikes, namely; high inflation, ignorance of both employers and employees on industrial relations matters, absence of effective procedures for conflict resolution, dictatorial management, democracy and presence of trade unions, just to mention a few.

A number of other studies have also revealed that the causes of industrial strikes are similar to those in other countries across the globe. However, the researcher has categorized them into economic and non-economic factors.

2.6.1 Economic Factors

The economic factors have been listed as follows: workers' demand for higher wages, un-procedural retrenchment of workers and discriminatory salary restructuring. The economic factors have often caused dispute between employers and workers. Eventually, workers go on strikes to persuade their employers to bow down to their demands for improved conditions of employment.

2.6.1.1 Demand for higher wages and allowances

This factor may bring about industrial Strikes when employers have failed to implement salary increments for its staff as agreed in a collective bargaining agreement. For example, an industrial strike erupted between Malawi's Judiciary staff and their employer – Government- following government's failure to implement salary increments (*The Nation Newspaper*, 29 January 2015, Judiciary Gears up for Strike again. Article by Nyirongo, Edwin. pp.1) Usually trade union leadership may spearhead the concerns of employees through strikes to force their employer or management to bow down to their demands as contained in their collective agreement.

2.6.1.2 Un-procedural Retrenchment of workers

In *Chima v The Development Centre* (IRC Matter No. 41 of 2001), the Industrial Relations Court defined the term 'retrenchment' as workforce reduction as a result of economic down run. According to court determination for the above case, consultation between employer and employees or their representatives was necessary before retrenching any employee. Where there is no prior consultation with employees or their union leaders, un-procedural retrenchment of employees may jeopardize the relationship between employers and trade union leaders and all employees as a whole. Eventually such a situation may culminate into industrial strikes.

2.6.1.3 Discriminatory Salary Restructuring

Discriminatory salary restructuring can also be a source of industrial strikes. For instance, in 2002, the University Workers Trade union led an industrial strike against The Council of the University of Malawi for carrying out salary restructuring for all employees without first consulting with the trade union (Muhome, 2012). The workers and their trade union leadership believed that the council's decision to restructure the salaries was unfair and discriminatory. Discriminatory salary restructuring has therefore emerged to be one of the economic factors that eventually workers to go on strikes.

2.6.1.4 Non- Economic Factors

Non-economic factors include unfair disciplinary actions, failure to implement collective bargaining agreements and failure to consult workers on issues affecting their welfare. The non-economic factors have also played a role in influencing workers to go on strikes since they also affect welfare of employees at work.

2.6.1.4.1 Unfair disciplinary action

This may be a source of industrial strikes especially when employees are dismissed from work without following proper procedures. For instance, according to IRC Matter No. 8 of 1999, 128 trade union members were dismissed by their employer, National Seed Company of Malawi (NSCM) for taking part in a lawful strike. The Industrial Relations Court (IRC) held that the dismissal of the employees was unfair. Therefore, unfair dismissal of the employees could have been a source of industrial strike.

2.6.1.4.2 Failure to implement Collective Bargaining Agreements (CBAs)

Failure to implement collective bargaining agreements in some organizations has also triggered some workers and trade unions to go on strikes. For instance, according to 'The Daily Times Newspaper' dated 4 February 2015, health workers in Christian and Health Association of Malawi (CHAM) hospitals went on strike to persuade their employers to implement collective bargaining agreements on general improvement of working conditions for the health workers. The workers (e.g. nurses) through their unions (e.g. National Organization of Nurses and Midwives) proceeded with strikes to push

government and their respective health institutions to succumb to their demands. Therefore failure to implement collective bargaining agreements may trigger an industrial strike.

2.6.1.4.3 Failure to consult workers on issues affecting their welfare

This factor may be a source of industrial action especially when managers impose decisions on employees without proper consultation with trade union leadership or general employees' representatives. Employees, therefore, may develop resistance to any change that affects their interests. For instance, according to IRC Matter No. 46 of 2003, University of Malawi workers and their union leaders went on strike when their employer proceeded with restructuring of workers' salaries without first consulting with trade union leaders and workers.

2.7 Chapter Summary

The preceding chapter has provided a review of previous studies by highlighting key arguments made by various scholars. The concepts of Trade Union leadership and industrial strikes have also been defined and linked with theories of industrial strikes. The conceptual framework and factors that influence industrial strikes have also been presented. The key argument in the chapter is that many scholars have studied industrial strikes in various countries on the globe and have shown that Trade Union leadership have been associated with industrial strikes. The scholars have further shown that Trade Union leadership has been victimized in many ways for being associated with the strikes in their countries. However, literature on extent of impact of Trade Union leadership on industrial strikes is not available. The following chapter will discuss research methodology that enabled the researcher to carry out the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methodology used to conduct the study. The chapter discusses the research design, sample population, sampling methods, data collection methods and instruments. The chapter further discusses how data was managed and analyzed, and covers study limitations and ethical considerations. Firstly, data was collected through personal interviews using interview guides and secondly, respondents to the study answered questionnaires which were administrated to managers or supervisors of employees, Trade Union leaders and Ministry of Labour Officials. Both primary and secondary data was collected to supplement findings of the study.

3.2 Research Design

The term ‘research design’ refers to a plan or proposal that is followed in conducting a research which involves the intersection of philosophy, strategies of inquiry and specified methods (Creswell, 2009:5). This study used both qualitative and relatively quantitative methods of data collection. The researcher used the qualitative method to determine the extent to which trade union leadership has impacted on industrial strikes in Malawi. Secondly, the researcher slightly used the quantitative method to collect data on industrial strike duration and frequency in the country in order to establish the extent of impact. The data on strikes frequency and duration helped the researcher to supplement the qualitative data.

3.3 Sample Population

According to Yount (2006), the term ‘population’ refers to all the subjects the researcher wants to study. The sample population for this study was nine (9) trade union leaders, six (6) Ministry of Labour officials, one hundred and three (103) trade union members and nineteen (19) managers of employees.

The sample was made of twenty-eight (28) trade unions out of thirty-five (35) trade unions available in Malawi. Twenty-three trade unions are currently affiliated to Malawi Congress of Trade Union (MCTU) while twelve are non-affiliates but are duly registered with the Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training (*Oral Interview with Secretary General of MCTU, 12 April 2015*).

The total sample population was one hundred thirty-seven (137) participants.

The study was conducted to twenty-two (22) organizations in Malawi. Six (6) of the organizations were from each of the northern and central regions of Malawi; whilst five (5) organizations were from each of the Southern and Eastern regions of Malawi.

In the Northern Region, the study was conducted at Standard Bank, PTC, Northern Education Division, ESCOM and Kayelekera Mine in Karonga and Northern Region Water Board in Mzuzu. In Central region, the study was carried out at Illovo Sugar Corporation and Dwangwa Cane Growers’ Association in Dwangwa, at G4 Security Company in Lilongwe, Kasinthula Cane Growers in Nkhotakota; Save the Children Malawi and AHL Commodities Exchange in Lilongwe.

In Southern Malawi, the study was conducted at ESCOM, Malawi Telecommunications Limited (MTL); Malawi Poly-technique, Nico Life and Blantyre Water Board in Blantyre. In the Eastern region, the researcher conducted the study at Zomba General Hospital, Hotel Masongola, Chancellor College, Sun Bird Nkopola Lodge and Southern Region Water Board.

A part from the organizations listed above, the researcher also conducted the study of fifteen trade unions, namely: Malawi Congress of Trade Union (MCTU); Malawi Food

Processing and Catering Services Union of Malawi (MFPCSUM); Sugar Plantation and Allied Workers Union (SPAWUM); Private Schools Employees' Union of Malawi (PSEUM); Textile, Garments Leather and Security Workers' Union (TGLSWU); Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU); Commercial, Industrial and Allied Workers' Union (CIAWU); Teachers' Union of Malawi (TUM); ESCOM Workers' Union (EWU); Mzuzu University Workers' Union; Plantation and Allied Workers' union (PAWU); Water Employees' Trade Union of Malawi (WETUM); National Organization of Nurses and Midwives of Malawi (NONM); and Civil Servants Trade Union (CSTU).

3.4 Sampling Methods

Sampling is the process of selecting a group of subjects in such a way that the individuals represent the larger group from which they were selected (Yount, 2006:7). Due to the geographical spread of trade unions in Malawi, the researcher used various sampling methods to identify subjects to the study.

First, the researcher used stratified random sampling method to identify trade unions according to the three geographical regions of the country, namely; North, Center and South. Stratified sampling enabled the researcher to identify trade unions and their leadership irrespective of regions they are dominant in, hence creating a sample that was unbiased and representative of all trade unions.

Secondly, the researcher used purposive sampling to identify the following participants to the study; trade union leaders and membership, Ministry of Labour Officials at district or regional levels, and managers of employees at work.

3.5 Data Collection Methods

The researcher used the following data collection tools;

3.5.1 Interviews

The researcher used both oral and written interview guides ranging from highly structured ones to largely unstructured interviews. According to Dorsten (1996),

interviews help collect data from respondents in face-to-face communication with the researcher.

One of the reasons why the researcher used face-to-face oral interviews was to collect in-depth empirical data that would otherwise not be collected by using other tools like questionnaires and textbooks (Chadwick et al, 1984). The interviews were administered to trade union leaders, managers of employees and Ministry of Labour Officials.

3.5.2 Questionnaires

Besides interviews, the researcher used structured questionnaires. The researcher used the questionnaires in order to maintain focus of the subject and obtain more unbiased, reliable and consistent data. The questionnaires were administered to trade union members.

3.5.3 Documentary Data

Apart from the above data collection tools, the researcher collected data by analyzing both printed and electronic documents. The researcher used both primary and secondary data sourced from libraries, bookshops, offices and internet. Such documents included textbooks, peer-reviewed journal articles, magazines, research reports and newspapers. The main reason for using the documentary data was to supplement data that was collected through oral interviews and questionnaires in order to balance up the findings.

3.6 Data Management and Analysis

3.6.1 Data Management

The researcher ensured that all collected data were properly stored in hard copies and properly filed. The researcher stored electronic data in memory sticks. Since data management is an important step of data analysis, the researcher safeguarded both electronic and hard copy files against computer viruses, fire, water and other harmful substances.

3.6.2 Data Analysis

The researcher conducted data analysis right from the beginning to the end of the study. As data were being collected through personal interviews, questionnaires and document review, the researcher identified data themes and sub-themes and properly documented them. Based on major thematic areas derived from the objectives of the study, data was presented using frequency tables, pie-charts, bar-graphs, tables and linear graphs. Through content analysis, the researcher presented the findings statistically to show impact of trade union leadership on industrial strikes.

In order to analyze both qualitative and quantitative data, the researcher used Statistical Package for Social Science Students program. The researcher coded and computed the variables.

3.7 Study Limitations

The researcher encountered some limitations in the course of the study. For instance, some participants in the study did not answer the questionnaires because they were reportedly on leave. The researcher therefore had to resend the questionnaires to new participants to meet the required sample.

Secondly, some participants such as employees, managers, trade union leaders and Ministry of Labour officials were unwilling to participate in the study. To maintain study ethics, the researcher only interviewed participants who cooperated.

3.8 Threat to Validity and How to overcome them

Some literature pertinent to the study was inaccessible. Such literature includes strike incident reports at ESCOM in Blantyre and Mzuzu, Kayelekera Mine in Karonga, Malawi Housing Cooperation (MHC) in Blantyre, Shoprite in Lilongwe and G4S in Blantyre and Lilongwe. Certainly, the reports could have added more value to the study. However, through oral interviews, relevant data was collected.

3.9 Chapter Summary

The preceding chapter has presented the study methodology used by the researcher to collect data. The chapter has highlighted the study design, the sample population and sampling methods used in the study. The chapter has also discussed various tools used to collect data, and how data was analyzed to present major findings. The major data collection tools used were personal interviews using interview guides, questionnaires and through document analysis. The task of the following chapter is to present study findings and interpretation.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

Chapter three provided the methodology used to collect data for the study. The chapter highlighted the study design, sample population, sampling methods and data analysis methods. This chapter focuses on the study findings and interpretation. First, the chapter has analyzed the findings based on major themes of the study aligned with the five objectives of the study outlined in chapter one. It presents the findings on the extent of impact on Trade Union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi based on analyzed data. The data has been presented using tables, bar charts, pie charts and linear graphs. Factors that have influenced Trade Union leadership to lead strike in the country have been highlighted and challenges encountered by trade union leadership in leading strikes have also been presented. Finally, the chapter has discussed various mechanisms that can improve Trade Union Leadership in managing industrial strikes in the country.

4.2 Effect of Trade Union Leadership on Strikes

An industrial strike has four broad aspects, namely; frequency, breadth, duration, and impact as discussed in chapter two. Strike frequency is the number of work stoppages in a given unit of analysis over a specific period of time while strike breadth is the number of workers who participate in an industrial strike. Strike duration is the length of the strike usually measured in man-days of work lost while strike impact is the number of working days lost through stoppages. The researcher analyzed the effect of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in the country with particular focus on the following; strike frequency, strike breadth (number of strikers involved) and strike duration. The researcher further analyzed the impact in terms of the following; control over

membership during strikes, effectiveness of the strikes, recurrence of the strikes, and chain effect of strike.

4.2.1 Effect on Strike Frequency

According to study findings, both trade union leadership and informal leadership have influenced frequency of industrial strikes in the country as shown in Table 1 below. However, the frequency of the strikes has depended much on various factors discussed in subsequent paragraphs. It should be noted that some trade union leadership has actually intervened in strikes perpetrated by informal leadership. Depending on the cohesiveness of membership during the strikes such leadership has joined in the strikes. In some cases, some trade union leadership has declared the strikes illegal as long as the strikers have not followed proper procedures.

Out of a sample of fourteen organizations as per Table1 below, four organizations experienced frequent strikes in a year. Some strikes led by trade union leadership happened more frequently than strikes influenced by informal leadership and vice-versa. Table1 and Figure1 show how frequently industrial strikes have occurred in sampled organizations in Malawi over a period of one year.

Table 1:Frequency of industrial strikes over a period of one Year

Organization Name	Year	Trade Union Name	Source of influence	Frequency (Approx)	Total
Mzuzu University	2014	Mzuzu University Workers' Union	Trade Union Leadership	/	1
University of Malawi	2014	University of Malawi Workers Union	Trade Union Leadership	/	1
Chancellor College	2014	Chancellor College Academic Staff Union	Trade Union Leadership	/	1

Organization Name	Year	Trade Union Name	Source of influence	Frequency (Approx)	Total
ESCOM	2014	ESCOM Workers' Union	Trade Union Leadership	/	1
Malawi Housing Corporation	2014	MHC Workers' Union	Informal Leadership	/	1
Ministry of Education	2014	TUM	Trade Union Leadership	//	2
Civil Service	2014	CSTU	Trade Union Leadership	/	1
Karonga City Council	2014	Municipal Workers' Union	Informal Leadership	//	2
Paladin Malawi Ltd	2014	Paladin Workers' Trade Union	Trade Union Leadership	/	1
Judiciary	2015	Judiciary Workers' Association	Informal Leadership	//	2
Malawi Parliament	2015	Parliamentary Staff Union	Trade Union Leadership	//	2
Shoprite	2015	CIAWU	Informal Leadership	/	1
Civil Service	2015	CSTU	Trade Union Leadership	/	1
Anti-Corruption Bureau (ACB)	2015	ACB Workers' Association	Informal Leadership	/	1

Source: Fieldwork Data collected by author

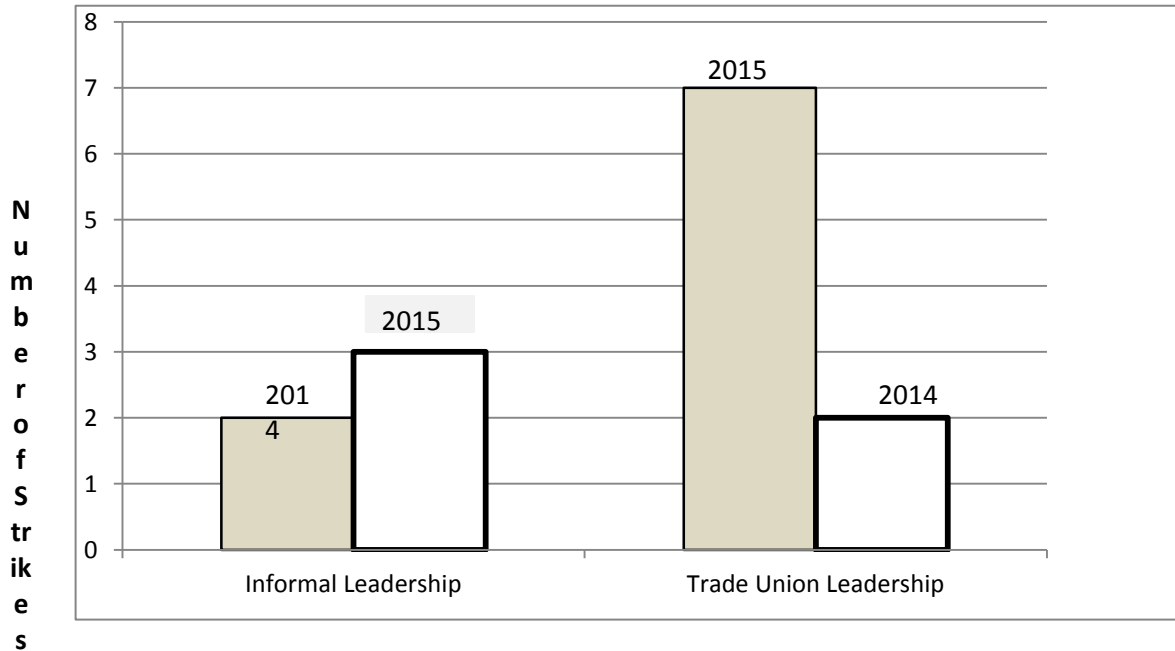


Figure 1: Variations in number of strikes lead by Trade Union leadership and Informal leaders in sampled organizations in 2014 and 2015

Source: Generated from Table1 by the Author

Based on the above data, out of fourteen organizations which experienced strikes, nine of the strikes were influenced by trade union leadership representing sixty-four percent. However, five of the strikes were orchestrated by ordinary employees. Of the fourteen organizations, four organizations experienced two strikes each in one year constituting eight industrial strikes over a period of one year. Four of the strikes in each case were influenced by either trade union leadership or informal leadership. However, overall, the total number of strikes influenced by trade union leadership is ten while those influenced by ordinary employees is seven. On the basis of this finding, it can be concluded that the frequency of industrial strikes in the country may be influenced by either trade union leadership or ordinary workers.

4.2.2 Effect on number of Strikers

Fieldwork findings have shown that the number of workers who have been participating in industrial strikes has varied from time to time and can be described qualitatively and not quantitatively. The strikes have been partly attributed to increase in violation of labour rights in the country as shown in Table 2 and Figure 2. Strikes that have been influenced by some trade union leadership have registered a large turn-out of workers unlike strikes lead by informal leadership.

Conversely, strikes, led by informal leadership, have registered more turn out of striking workers than those led by trade union leadership. However, establishing the exact number of strikers during industrial strikes has proved to be more difficult than describing them rather qualitatively.

Table 2: Violation of Right to Fair Labour Practices

Cases	No. of cases received	
	2013	2014
Cases Received	97	86
Cases under investigation	35	48
Cases under Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR)	12	7
Cases under Legal action	0	0
Cases Resolved by Way of advice	26	14
Cases Referred	22	16
Cases Resolved/ Concluded through Investigation/ Legal action	1	1

Source: MHRC 14th & 15th Annual Reports for 2013 & 2014 respectively

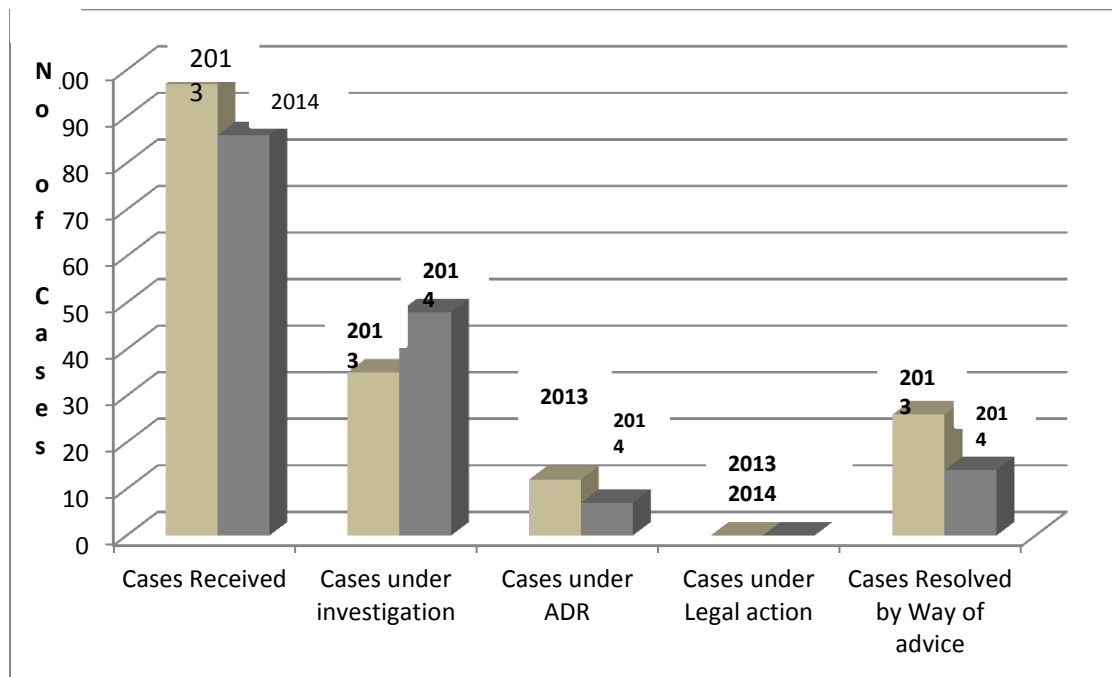


Figure 2: Number of labour rights violations between 2013 and 2014

Source: Generated from Table 2 by the Author

One of the underlying explanations for this, according to respondents, could be that industrial strikes sanctioned by some trade union leadership have turned out to be legal and workers have been fully protected by the law. On the contrary, strikes perpetrated by some informal leadership have turned out to be illegal because some striking workers have not followed strike procedures. Hence, since workers have not been protected from employers' administrative action, the workers have been feeling less secure at job hence staying away from industrial strikes.

4.2.3 Effect on Strike Duration

According to study-findings, either trade union leadership or ordinary workers have influenced strike duration in the country. Out of one hundred thirty-seven participants to the study, ninety-three responded that strikes led by trade union leadership have taken a longer period than those led by ordinary employees. One explanation given for this was that workers who participated in strikes sanctioned by trade union leaderships felt more protected from employers' administrative powers than workers who take part in such strikes perpetrated by informal leadership. Eventually, a number of strikes in the country have taken average period of one to two days. Table 3 and Figures 3 and 4.4 show strike duration in some organizations.

Table 3:Duration of some Strikes in Malawi

#	Organization	Sanctioned by	Year of Strike	Strike Duration (Approx. no. of days)
1	ACB	ACB staff leadership **	2015	4
2	Chancellor College	Chancellor College Academic Staff Union Leadership *	2015	5
3	Malawi Judiciary	Judiciary Support-staff leadership **	2014	60
4	Shoprite	Commercial Industrial and Allied Workers' Union (CIAWU) **	2014	2
5	Zomba Central Hospital	Informal Worker's Group leadership *	2014	5
6	Paladin Malawi Ltd.	Paladin Malawi Workers' Union Leadership **	2013	12
7	People's Trading Centre	CIAWU Leadership **	2012	2
8	Mzuzu University	Mzuzu University Workers' Union leadership *	2015	5
9	G4S	Textile Garments Leather and Security Services Trade Union leadership *	2014	3
10	Mzuzu University	Mzuzu University Workers' Union leadership *	2014	1
11	ESCOM	ESCOM Workers' Union leadership *	2014	1
12	Malawi Parliament	Parliamentary Staff Union leadership *	2015	14
13	Malawi Housing Corporation	MHC Workers' Union leadership *	2014	1
14	Ministry of Education	TUM Leadership *	2014	2
15	Civil Service	CSTU Leadership *	2014	10
16	Civil Service	CSTU Leadership *	2015	4
17	Karonga Municipal Assembly	Karonga City Council Staff leadership**	2015	2

Note: * Refers to formal trade union leadership and ** Stands for informal leadership

Source: Fieldwork Data collected by the author

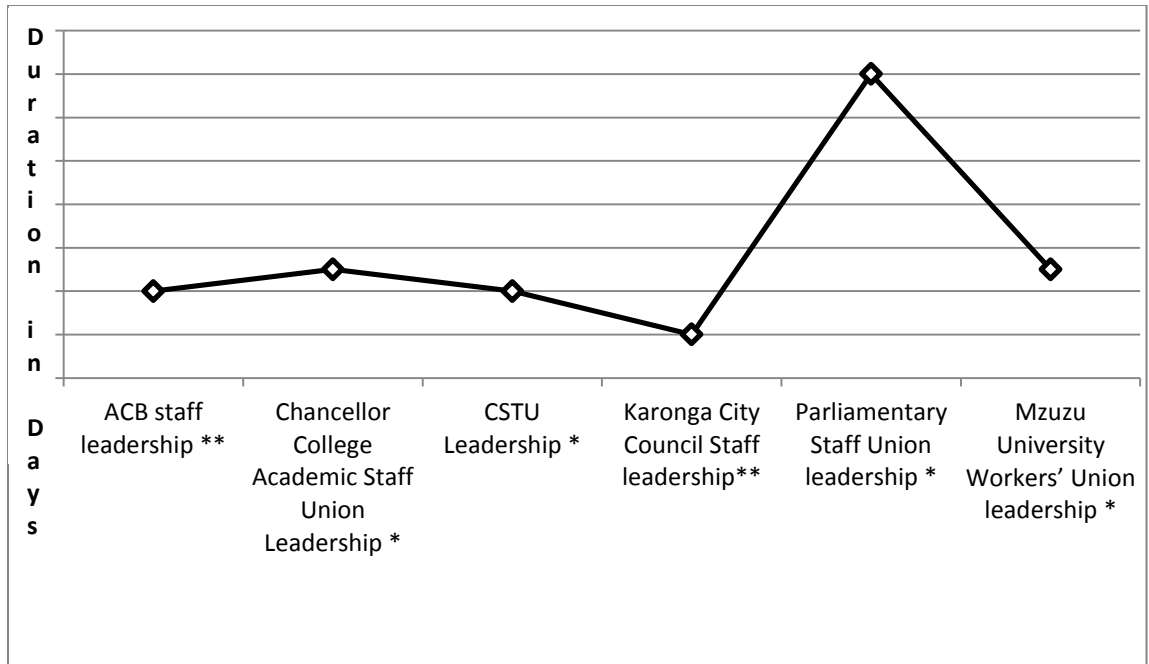


Figure 3:StrikeDurationIn A Sample of Organizations In 2015

Source:GeneratedFrom Table 3 By The Author

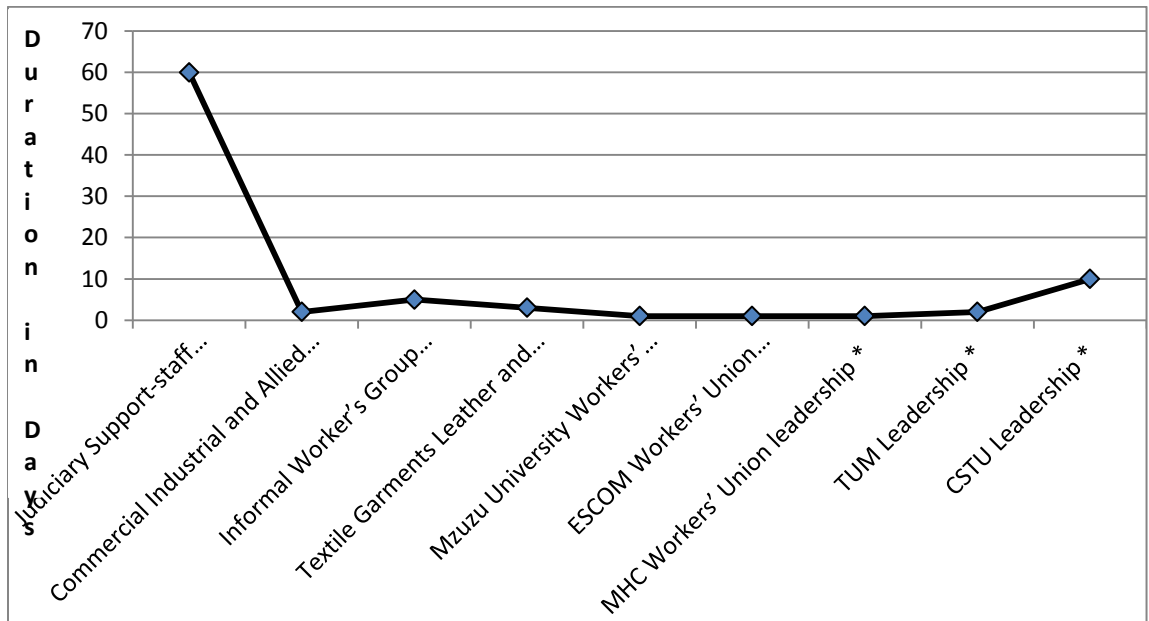


Figure 4:Strike duration in a sample of organizations in 2014

Source: Generated from Table 3 by the author

Out of seventeen sampled organizations that experienced industrial strikes as indicated above, eleven of the strikes were led by trade union leadership whilst six were influenced by informal leadership. Although industrial strikes at the Judiciary and at Paladin Limited took much longer period than at the rest of the above organizations, there is no direct pattern to conclude that strikes influenced by informal leadership have taken longer period than strikes led by trade union leadership. In some instances, of course, strikes influenced by trade union leadership have taken much longer period than those influenced by ordinary workers or informal leaders. For instance, strikes staged by employees of Paladin Malawi Limited employees and Malawi Parliament took twelve and fourteen days respectively much longer than strikes held by Shoprite and G4 Security Company as per Table3 above. Similarly, as per the above table strikes at anti-Corruption Bureau took relatively longer period than strikes held at ESCOM. This finding vindicates that there is no clear pattern in either way to conclude that trade union leadership has actually influenced strike duration in the country.

4.2.4 Effect on Strike Effectiveness

According to study findings, some strikes have failed to achieve their intended objectives when led by trade union leadership whilst others led by informal leadership have managed to achieve their anticipated objectives. On the contrary, as will be seen from Table 4, some industrial strikes, led by trade union leadership, have partly achieved their objectives. In some cases, employers have bowed down to workers' demands advanced by trade union leadership whilst in other cases informal leadership has failed miserably.

However, both trade union leadership and informal leadership have viewed industrial strikes as a more effective bargaining tool than contact and dialogue and arbitration. Table 4 shows occurrence of industrial strikes and achievement of objectives.

Table 4: Occurrence of industrial strikes and achievement of objectives

Organization	Trade Union Leadership	Strike Date	Intended Objective	Objective		Remarks
				Achieved	Not Achieved	
Chancellor College	CCASU	2015	Increase of salary by 25%			
Mzuzu University	Mzuzu University staff Union	2015	Increase of Salaries by 25%			
Paladin Malawi Limited	PMWU	2014	Improve working conditions			Employer threatened to retrench staff
CHAM	Health Workers' Association	2014	Increase of Salaries by 25%			
Ministry of Education	TUM	2014	Recruitment of special needs teachers			
Malawi Government	CSTU	2014	Increase of salaries by 50%			Salaries were increased by 45%
Ministry of Education	TUM	2014	harmonize hardship allowance			
Malawi Parliament	Parliamentary Workers Union	2014	Increase of salary by 24%			18% salary increase effected
Malawi Judiciary	Judiciary Workers' Association	2015	Increase salary by 25%			Govt paid 18% salary increase
Blantyre Water Board (BWB)	BWBWU	2014	Removal of their autocratic CEO			Govt sent CEO on leave
Ministry of Health	NONM	2015	Reinstate 339 nurses on payroll			Govt reinstated nurses

Source: Fieldwork data collected by the author

As can be seen for the above table, out of a sample of eleven industrial strikes which happened between 2014 and 2015, eight strikes that were led by trade union leadership managed to achieve their objectives whilst only three failed. It can therefore be construed that trade union leadership has actually helped some striking workers to achieve their intended objectives hence rendering the strikes effective.

4.2.5 Effect on control over strikers

The study findings have shown that industrial strikes led by trade union leadership are better controlled and managed than those that are sanctioned by ordinary membership. Out of one hundred participants to the study, thirty-one responded that strikes sanctioned by trade union leadership have been better planned; have had resources allocated for management of strikers; and have sought police support and escort to avoid violence. In general, trade union leadership has been able to control striking employees through provisions of directions, guidelines, and intensifying of general security whilst strikes influenced by some ordinary employees have been handled haphazardly; have been disorderly; have lacked concrete objectives and have turned out to be more violent.

Similarly, industrial strikes influenced by some trade union leadership have been conducted within a specified time-frame; members have been kept informed of any development or updates; and have well set objectives according to study findings.

4.2.6 Chain- effect of industrial strikes

According to the study findings, some industrial strikes conducted by trade union leadership have chain-effect on other industrial strikes within or outside the industry. For instance, when some trade union leadership led an industrial strike which turned out to be successful, some trade union leadership in other industries influenced industrial strikes to achieve similar objectives. Figure 5 shows chain effect of industrial strikes led by trade union leadership in the country.

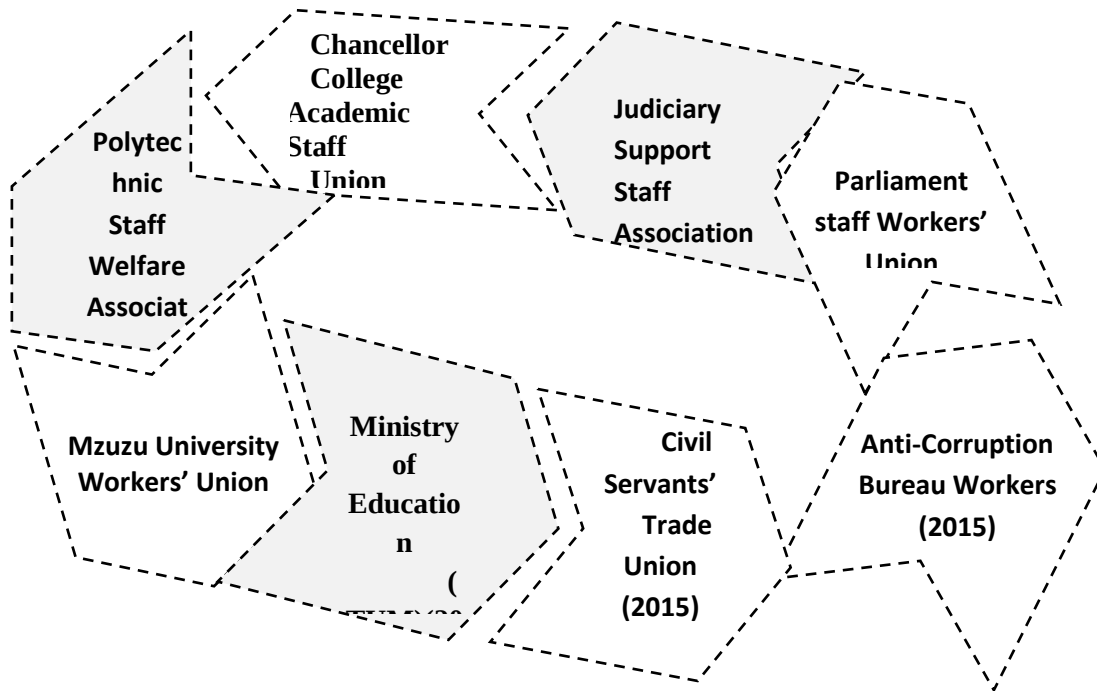


Figure 5:Chain effect of industrial strikes in some selected organizations

Source: Fieldwork data collected by the author

The researcher observed that the tactics and objectives set by strikers in some unionized and non-unionized organizations were similar; and this has helped striking workers to capitalize on success of industrial strikes led by some trade unions or workers associations to stage an industrial strike.

4.2.7 Effect on Strike Recurrence

Study findings have revealed that some industrial strikes have occurred and recurred within a particular period. While some strikes have recurred due to trade union leadership, the study findings have revealed that such strikes have recurred because of failure by trade union leadership to provide complete information to its membership on collective bargaining agreements. The research findings have shown that the probability of strikes recurring is higher at industry level than at enterprise level and one reason attributed for that is that it becomes increasingly difficult to manage and control striking workers at industry than at enterprise-level. Please, refer to Table 5 showing strike recurrence at industry and enterprise level in Malawi.

Table 5: Recurrence of strikes at sampled organizations in Malawi

Organ.	Trade Union Name	Initial Strike (Year)	Reason	2 nd Strike (year)	Reason for Recurrence	Remarks
Zomba Central Hospital	ZCH Workers' Union	2013	Insensitive Leadership Style	2014	Insensitive Leadership Style	Govt changed Management of Zomba Central Hospital
Ministry of Education	TUM	2013	Delayed Promotions,	2014	Delayed Promotions	Govt promoted teachers
ESCOM	EWU	2014	Unbundling of ESCOM	2015	Unbundling of ESCOM	Govt assured employees of job security
Karonga Municipal Council	MWTU	2014	Unclear Pension administration	2015	Unclear Pension administration	Pension administration clarified
Parliament	PWTU	2014	Delayed salary Restructuring	2015	Delayed salary restructuring	Government restructured salaries
Judiciary Staff	Judiciary Workers' Association	2014	Demand for Salary Restructuring	2014	Demand for Salary increase by 25%	Government paid 18% salary increase
G4S	TGLS WU	2013	Demand for salary increase of 25%	2014	Demand for salary increase of 25%	G4S increased salaries by 15%

Source: Fieldwork Data collected by author

According to Table 5, out of seven organizations where industrial strikes recurred, six unionized organizations experienced recurring strikes within a period of one year. From the data above, there is 86% probability that an industrial strike led by trade union leadership may recur as opposed to 14% probability of recurrence for industrial strikes influenced by ordinary membership. According to the fieldwork data, some industrial

strikes have recurred, among other reasons, due to change of trade union leadership; and failure to implement collective bargaining agreements by employers at the expense of employees. In all cases, according to the research data, industrial strikes have recurred because of influence from either trade union leadership or ordinary membership.

4.3 Tactics used by Trade Union Leadership to influence strikes

The researcher classified ways in which trade union leadership has influenced industrial strikes in the country into two, namely; direct and indirect ways.

4.3.1 Direct Ways

4.3.1.1 Boycotting Consultations with employers

According to the study findings, some trade union leadership has been shunning consultations with Employers and Employers' Association in Malawi. This has happened when they have negative attitude towards the State and employers' bargaining agents. The leadership has preferred to negotiate with the State or employers whose delegates are flexible; who could better understand their plight and whom they felt they could manipulate. Because of disagreements on who should be on the negotiating table, some trade union leadership has boycotted consultative meetings with employers and the State, and instead called for an industrial strike if employers or the State did not change their bargaining agents. This has happened when some trade union leadership proposed a fixed rate of salary increase which employers could not agree to. In this regard, membership has been watching developments with keen interests and has received orders from their trade union leadership to indulge in industrial strikes. For instance, in 2014, Teachers Union of Malawi (TUM) boycotted consultative meeting with government and demanded change of their main bargaining agent- then Principle Secretary. Government gave in to the demands of TUM by replacing the Principle Secretary with his deputy before moving the Principle Secretary to Ministry of Health.

4.3.1.2 Hide-and-seek Tactics

Lack of transparency between trade union leadership and membership has also caused betrayal amongst workers who eventually indulged in industrial strikes. This lack of openness to its membership comes about when trade union leadership has failed to provide adequate or complete information regarding collective bargaining agreements or any decision arrived at jointly by employers and trade union leadership. As a result, workers felt betrayed and sidelined on matters affecting their employment hence indulging in industrial strikes.

According to the findings, the workers have felt that trade union leadership sided with employers in order to win favors such as promotion, salary increases, decent housing and training, and development. Eventually, some workers have indulged in industrial strikes spearheaded by trade union leadership according to the study findings.

4.3.1.3 Through Court Injunctions

The study findings have also revealed that some trade union leadership resorted to obtaining court injunctions to restrain employers or the State from executing any administrative action on them before thorough consultation with trade union leadership. For instance, according to research data, when some para-statal organizations intended to retrench staff in at MBC TV/ MBC in 2011; at Central Region Water Board and Lilongwe Water Board in 2013, and at ESCOM in 2015 trade union leadership obtained court injunctions to restrain their employers from executing government plans. Similarly, National Organization of Nurses and Midwives (NONM) obtained an injunction in 2015 to restrain the State from conducting interviews for nurses who had already been employed. Upon lifting of the injunctions, some trade union membership has always felt betrayed; and eventually, industrial strikes have erupted forcing employers and the State to suspend their plans.

4.4 Indirect ways

4.4.1 Through Mass Media

According to the research data, trade union leadership has also influenced industrial strikes in the country by discussing industrial relations matters such as poor working conditions, low wages and salaries, lack of promotions, and employers' insensitiveness to workers in the mass media. Such mass media include newspapers, face-book, television, radios and press conferences.

Through emotive discussions and statements, some trade union leadership has instigated their membership to take to the streets to protest over poor working conditions. In some cases, the leadership has also issued threats, deadlines and strict conditions to their employers to satisfy them as a precondition not to stage the strikes.

Out of one hundred thirty-seven participants to the study, twenty- four responded that some trade union leadership has been using mass media and press conferences as fora for discussing very sensitive industrial relations matters and often such discussions have been emotive. This has therefore infuriated trade union membership to take to the streets.

4.4.2 Through Third-Parties

The study findings have also revealed that some trade union leadership has been using third parties to influence industrial strikes in the country. According to one hundred thirty-seven participants to the study, fifteen respondents cited rights organizations, religious societies, vendors, unemployed people and political parties to have been used by trade union leadership to influence industrial strikes in the country. Third parties have therefore instigating the general public to join hands in participating in industrial strikes in the country as a way of forcing employers to improve general working conditions and the economy of the country. Since the right to strike is a human right, trade union leadership has been lobbying organizations, groups and individuals to influence workers to take part in industrial strikes as a way of showing discontent to employers over poor working conditions.

4.5 Factors that influence trade union leadership to lead strikes in Malawi

The researcher has categorized the factors into two; Macro- and Micro- factors.

4.5.1 Macro - Factors

4.5.1.1 High Unemployment Rate in Malawi

According to 2013 Malawi Labour Force Survey, Malawi's Economic Policy has evolved over time and since 1981 the country has been implementing a series of structural adjustment programs. In the 1990s and early 2000s, macroeconomic instability continued and in February 1994, the Malawi Kwacha depreciated by 73% from MK8.76 to MK15.21 per US Dollar within one year (Ibid). Due to the depreciation of the currency, inflation rate rose from 35 percent to 83 percent in 1994. Similarly, in 2008, the country continued to experience a high rate of unemployment characterized by insufficient number of jobs created in the labour market (Welfare Monitoring Survey, 2007). The trend has since persisted until now. According to the MLFS 2013 there were 7.0 million people who were economically active out of a total working age population of 7.8 million in Malawi. 3, 3 million people were males while 3, 7 million were females.

Due to escalating rate of unemployment in the country, some workers have been scared to take part in industrial strikes for fear of losing their jobs. Trade union leadership has therefore faced a lot of resistance from such workers to participate in strikes. Out of one hundred thirty-seven participants in the study, a total of sixty- three indicated that high unemployment rate in the country is a major factor that has been negatively affecting trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi. Table 6 shows the rate of unemployment in rural and urban areas in Malawi.

Table 6: Distribution of Employment Rates by age and Sex for Urban/ Rural, Education Level

Char.	Residence								
	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
Total	79.6	85.7	74.3	71.8	82.4	60.8	80.8	86.2	76.1
Age Group	70.5	71.9	69.3	46.9	53.1	41.0	72.8	73.2	72.0
15-19									
20-24	74.4	80.7	69.5	46.9	53.1	41.0	72.8	73.7	72.0
25-29	81.3	90.3	73.7	72.6	85.8	60.4	82.9	91.2	76.1
30-34	82.1	89.8	75.1	80.8	90.6	69.6	82.3	89.7	76.0
35-39	86.5	91.7	80.8	81.2	91.5	67.1	87.3	91.8	82.6
40-44	85.4	91.0	79.7	83.9	92.9	74.2	85.6	90.8	80.4
45-49	86.6	89.4	84.1	88.0	93.2	82.3	86.4	88.9	84.3
50-54	82.2	93.2	73.2	81.9	93.5	69.8	82.2	93.2	73.6
55-59	79.8	86.8	73.7	84.3	93.0	69.4	79.3	85.8	74.0
60-64	76.3	77.9	75.0	77.7	82.3	73.5	76.2	77.5	75.2

Source: Malawi Labour Force Survey 2013- NSO

Overall, employment rate in the rural areas is 81 percent compared to 72 percent in the urban areas and these rates combine both formal and informal employment. People who are in formal employment are much less than those in informal employment; and a few of the people that are formally employed have been afraid of job losses and have opted out of trade union activities such as industrial strikes for fear of losing their jobs. Out of one hundred and thirty-seven participants to the study, forty-five responded that trade union leadership in the country has influenced strikes to protect workers from retrenchment or loss of employment. Trade union leadership has therefore fought for job security and creation of more job opportunities and have fought against lay-offs and retrenchment planned by employers; and the state by way of industrial strikes.

4.5.1.2 Long and Excessive hours of work

Out of one hundred and thirty-seven participants in the study, seventy-nine responded that long and excessive working hours have also been a major factor triggering trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi. Respondents indicated that workers have been exposed to long and excessive working hours for little or no pay at all. Instead of providing the workers with relevant overtime allowances, some employers have been intimidating the workers by use of threats of dismissals; and the workers have remained silent to secure their jobs.

The Malawi Employment Act provides for 48 hours of work per week. However, according to the most recent 2013 MLFS, the average actual working hours is 40 hours per week. According to the survey, females spend an average of approximately 36 hours whilst males spend 44 hours.

Table 7: Excess Hours of Work by Region, Sex, Residence and Education

Background Characteristics	Malawi		Urban				Rural		
	Both	M	F	Both	Male	Female	Both	M	F
National	17.0	22.9	11.9	23.2	23.9	14.1	15.9	21.2	11.6
Region	15.5	24.6	7.5	19.7	27.2	13.6	15.4	24.6	7.4
North									
Central	17.2	21.2	13.9	11.6	13.3	10.4	17.2	21.2	13.9
South	15.5	20.1	11.7	20.2	26.8	14.3	15.3	19.8	11.6
Education	15.8	22.3	11.0	22.0	32.0	14.6	15.2	21.4	10.6
Non									
Primary	16.1	20.4	12.1	20.8	29.9	12.8	15.1	18.4	12.0
Secondary	24.6	30.7	16.9	29.2	41.3	14.9	22.5	26.2	17.7
Tertiary	22.7	24.1	20.2	20.9	23.7	16.9	24.1	24.4	23.4

Source: Malawi Labour Force Survey 2013- NSO

According to MLFS 2013, as indicated in Table 7, males in urban areas work eleven hours more than female workers whilst in the rural areas the average usual working hours per week for both females and males are below prescribed usual working hours. Despite that, the average hours of work for males across Malawi is over fifty above normal working hours stipulated in Section 36 of Malawi's Employment Act No. 6 of 2000.

With long and excessive hours of work, workers have little time to rest and consequently resort to absenteeism. According to MLFS 2013- NSO, at National Level, 17 percent of all employed persons had excess hours with more males than females to have worked excess hours. According to the report, employed persons with secondary education or higher education were likely to work for more excess hours than their counterparts with primary education or less. Eventually, some workers have become less productive at work due to fatigue and this has contributed again to industrial accidents and occupational injuries. This practice has also triggered some trade union leadership to call upon its membership to indulge in industrial strikes.

4.5.1.3 Breach of Collective Bargaining Agreements (CBAs)

The study has also revealed that non-adherence to collective bargaining agreements was one of the factors that pushed trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in the country. Out of one hundred thirty-seven respondents, eighteen responded that collective bargaining agreements were signed in their organizations but have not been adhered to due to employers' reluctance. Some noted that the agreements were ambiguous and were manipulated to the advantage of employers and others cited lack of follow-up on the part of trade union leadership as a major cause for employers not adhering to collective bargaining agreements. Table 8 shows some organizations where industrial strikes took place because collective bargaining agreements were not adhered to by employers.

Table 8: List of organizations where strikes due to breach of CBAs

Name of Organization/ Employer	Name of Trade Union or Workers' Association	Year of Industrial Strike
Blantyre Water Board	WETU	2012
Malawi Government	Civil Servants Trade Union	2013
Shoprite	CIAWU	2013
Mzuzu University	Mzuzu University Workers' Union	2014
G4S	Textiles, Leather, Garments and Security Services Workers' Union	2014
Ministry of Education	Teachers' Union of Malawi (TUM)	2015

Source: Fieldwork Data Collected by the author

According to the table, industrial strikes ensued after employers failed to implement collective bargaining agreements. Trade union leadership therefore called upon its membership to take part in industrial strikes as a way of forcing employers to uphold the CBAs. According to Dunlop (1978) an industrial strike may be used as an integral part of collective bargaining process to induce agreement

4.5.1.4 Absence of Collective Bargaining Agreements (CBAs)

The study findings also revealed that some employers have been reluctant to sign collective bargaining agreements at the expense of workers and trade union leadership. Of one hundred thirty-seven respondents to the study, fifty-nine respondents cited lack of collective bargaining agreements between employers and workers, and trade unions as one of the attributing factors that has caused trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in the country. One of major reasons cited by the respondents was that employers feared the aftermath of not implementing the CBAs. As a way of forcing employers to sign collective bargaining agreements, some trade union leadership has incited membership to take to the streets as a strategy to force employers to enter into a CBA with workers on issues related to improvement of wages and salaries; and other working conditions.

Existence of collective bargaining agreements signals trade union power to collectively decide with employers, Management and employees on salaries and wages and other working conditions. Out of one hundred thirty-seven participants to the study, seventy-two responded that they were not aware that their organizations signed any CBAs. Table 9 shows existence of CBAs in some organizations whilst others do not have any.

Table 9:Existence of CBAs in some organizations in Malawi

Name of Trade Union	CBAs	Client Organizations
Commercial Industrial and Allied Workers' Union	6	• Import and Export Company, Shoprite, Supreme Furniture Limited, Leopard Match, • PTC, Game Stores.
Textile, Garment, Leather and Security Service Workers Union(TGLSWU)	4	• David Whitehead, Safari Clothing, Malawi Council for the Handicapped, Chilimba Garments.
Railways Workers Union (RWU)	1	• Malawi Railways Ltd
Communications Workers Union of Malawi (COWUMA)	3	• Telekom Network Malawi, Postal Corporation, MTL
HFPCWU	12	Sunbird Hotels, Blantyre Hotels
Malawi Housing Cooperation Workers Union	1	MHC

Name of Trade Union	CBA's	Client Organizations
Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union	2	Tea Association of Malawi
Tea, Coffee, Macadamia and General Workers Union	2	Tea Association of Malawi
Sugar Plantation and Allied Workers Union of Malawi (SPAWUM)	1	Illovo, Kasinthula Cane Growers Association
Tobacco Tenants and Allied Workers Union	1	TAMA
Malawi Municipal Workers Union	0	Zomba Municipal Assembly
University Workers Trade Union	0	Chancellor College, Polytechnic, Kamuzu College of Nursing
Teachers Union of Malawi (TUM)	1	Government of Malawi
Transport and General Workers Union	6	Gaffar, Shire Bus Lines, Petroleum Services, Automotive, Malawi Lake Services, TRANSCOM, South African Airways,
Private School Employees Union of Malawi	0	Phwezi Private Secondary School
Water Employees Trade Union of Malawi (WETUM)	3	- Blantyre Water Board, Southern Region Water board, Central Region Water board - Northern Region Water Board
Civil Service Trade Union (CSTU)	1	Government of Malawi
Chancellor College Academic Staff Union (CCASU)	0	Chancellor College
Carlsberg and Southern Bottlers Trade Union	0	Carlsberg Malawi Limited
Building Construction Civil Engineering and Allied Workers Union (BCCEAWU)	3	Masters Builders, Barloworld Equipment Malawi Limited, Portland Cement
ESCOM Staff Union (ESU)	1	ESCOM
NONMM	0	All Public and Private Hospitals
Mobil Oil Malawi Staff Union	0	Puma Energy Malawi Limited

Source: Trade Unions and Employers' Mini Survey Report- January 2009

In total by January 2009, employers and trade unions had signed forty-eight (48) CBAs. According to Table 9 above, only sixteen (16) trade unions had signed collective bargaining agreements by January 2009.

4.5.1.5 Inadequate guidelines for Pension Fund Administration

The Malawi's National Employment and Labour Policy (MNELP) provides a framework which guides the country's efforts towards promotion of productive and decent employment within a period from 2014 to 2019. The policy is aimed at enhancing enterprise development; compliance with labour standards by employers, investors and workers; social protection and social dialogue.

Prior to inception of MNELP, employers have been obliged to pay workers pension for the purpose of ensuring that every employee in Malawi receives pension and supplementary benefits on retirement in accordance with section 6 (1) of Malawi's Pension Act No. 6 of 2011. The Act fuelled misunderstanding largely between civil servants and Malawi Government on the implementation of the Act. The civil servants demanded payment of their pension benefits prior to adoption of the new law. Apart from civil servants some workers of the private sector organizations also requested their employers to pay them their pension dues before adopting the new law. Eventually, the debate triggered some trade union leadership to intervene and rescue the aggrieved workers by calling upon them to participate in industrial strikes.

Of a total of one hundred thirty-seven participants to the study, eighty-nine cited lack of clarity of guidelines on the provision of the new Pension Act as one of the reasons trade union leadership have influenced industrial strikes in Malawi. They also cited irregular and unclear implementation of the Malawi's Pension Act No. 26 of 2011 as one of the major factors that caused trade union leadership to influence its membership to indulge in strikes in the country.

4.5.1.6 Political Environment

According to the study findings, the political environment was also cited as a factor that has led trade union leadership to influence industrial strikes in the country. Some politicians have associated with trade union leadership so as to persuade governing political party to improve on economic environment by creating a sustainable and effective labour market in the country. During the colonial government, for example, the State was scared by trade union activities (Dzimbiri 2008); hence victimized trade union leadership for fear that they would take over government. During the single-party era, the State also feared trade union leadership and hence victimized it in form of arrests, intimidation, dismissals and issuing of death threats. As if that was not enough, in the multiparty era, the situation has not improved any better; research studies have shown that the State and employers have been working hand in hand to suppress the interests and mandates of trade union leadership (Ibid).

Out of a total of one hundred thirty-seven participants to the study, sixty-five cited hostile political environment as one of the major factors that have infuriated trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in the country. According to the respondents, some trade union leadership has been associating itself with opposition parties in order to dislodge a political party in government as a solution to improve on wages and salaries as well as working conditions for workers. In their quest to achieve this goal, some trade union leadership have been lobbying Government to honor their demands for reduction of unemployment rate; increase of workers' salaries and wages; and improvement of workers' general working conditions.

4.5.1.7 Legal Framework

Part II of Malawi's Labour Relations Act No. 16 of 1996 provides for the formation of trade unions in the country. The Mandate is derived from Malawi's Republican Constitution under Sections 31 and 32; and International Labour Organization Convention No. 87 and No. 98. The conventions recognized trade union rights as human rights and such rights include Freedom of Association and protection of the right to organize and collectively bargain. Malawi Government ratified the conventions in 1999 and 1965 respectively (Trade Unions and Employers' Mini Survey Report- 2009).

Freedom of Association, therefore, empowers workers to join any trade union of their interest whilst the right to strike entitles workers to go on strike to express their grievances to their employers according to Malawi Labour laws and procedures.

In exercising their right to strike as provided for by Malawi's Labour Relations Act 1999, some Trade union leadership have lead workers to take part in industrial strikes. The legal framework has since protected these workers from victimization by their employers whilst exercising their right to strike. Such can be seen in Table 10 below which shows a list of organizations where employees got dismissed but were protected by the law.

Table 10: List of Organizations where workers were protected by Legal Framework

Employer	Trade Union	Year of Strike	Employers' Action	Remedy by IRC
National Seed Company of Malawi- Milling Division	MCTU	1996	Dismissal	Court ordered for compensation of dismissed workers
National Seed Company	MCTU	1998	Order of arrest of MCTU President by employer	Court ordered that Management's decision was illegal
Malawi Telecommunication Ltd	MPTWU	2001	Dismissal	IRC overturned the decision and ordered for reinstatement
Council of University of Malawi	UWU	2002	Failure to recognize the Trade Union for the purpose of collective bargaining	Court ordered that restructuring be redone in consultation with Trade union Leadership
G4S	TGLSSU	2008	dismissal	The court ordered for reinstatement of workers
University of Malawi	CCASU	2011	Threat of dismissal	Court ordered that the workers must proceed with withdrawal of labour

Source: Fieldwork Data collected by the author

4.5.2 Micro- Factors

4.5.2.1 Low Wages and Salaries

The study findings have revealed that low salaries and wages constitute one of the major factors that have compelled trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in the country. According to Malawi Labour Market Profile 2014, about 71% of employed people have been living on less than US\$1.25 a day. The minimum wage was raised from 317 Malawi kwacha per day in 2012 (US\$1.3) to 511 Malawi kwacha in 2014 (US\$2.1). Thus, in 2014 the minimum wage has increased by 38%. In spite of that, salaries and wages have not responded positively to cost of living in the country.

Malawi Labour Force Market Profile 2014 shows that over 60 percent of income earners earn less than MK10, 000 and over 90 percent less than the mean. The median monthly gross income in Malawi is MK13, 600 (Please, refer to Table 11 below for more details). The monthly gross income for males is MK10, 500 for females compared to MK16, 000 for males. Table 11 below shows monthly average, median and legal minimum wages in the country.

Table 11: Wages & Earnings**Monthly Average, Median and Legal Minimum Wages**

Wage	Source	Malawi Kwacha	US Dollar
Median Wages (2013)	MLFS	13, 600	37
Mean Wages (2013)	MLFS	41, 643	113
Minimum Wage (2014)	Ministry of Labour	13, 224	32
Minimum Wage for 19 year old worker or an apprentice (2014)	Doing Business (Published by World Bank)	9, 330	23
Growth of real Minimum Wage (2000- 2011)	Global Wage Data base & MCTU	63%	
Growth of real average Wage (2000- 2006)	KILM	89%	

Source: Malawi Labour Market Profile 2014

Meanwhile according to Employment (Minimum wage) Amendment order 2013 (cap. 55:01) the minimum wage is now pegged at MK551 per day. However, out of one hundred and thirty-seven respondents to the study, most workers have complained that the minimum wage is too little to sustain livelihood at household level. Consequently, they have demanded increase in their salaries to respond to ever-rising cost of living and inflation in the country. This has necessitated trade union leadership to call upon its membership to take to the streets to force employers to increase their wages. However, a number of employers have often turned down the workers' demands; and eventually trade union leadership has also sanctioned industrial strikes to force employers to honor the workers' demands.

4.5.2.2 Salary and Wage Discrimination

Study findings have shown that despite salaries and wages being low for workers in most sectors of the economy, discrimination in salary administration has been another factor that has necessitated trade union leadership to call for industrial strikes in the country.

Out of one hundred and thirty seven people who took part in the study, sixty-one indicated that salary and wage administration has been discriminatory between professional cadres and support staff at their organizations. According to the participants, this discrimination has been manifested in academic and health institutions; in parastatals and in Government Departments and Ministries. Whilst employers have granted a higher percentage of salary or wage increase to some core cadres in their organization, some workers have not enjoyed similar salary increases and benefits. Table 12 shows some salary discrimination among different cadres of employees in some organizations.

Table 12: Strikes due to Salary and Wage Discrimination

Organization	Cadre of workers	More Salary Plus additional professional Allowances	Little Salary/ no professional allowances	Discriminated
Mzuzu Central Hospital	Doctors, Nurses & Clinicians	✓		Administrative Support staff
	Administrative Support staff		✓	
Chancellor College	Lecturers (Core Staff)	✓		Technical Staff
	Clerical & Technical Staff		✓	
Ministry of Education	Teachers in Rural Areas	✓		Teachers in Urban Areas
	Teachers in Urban Areas		✓	
ESCOM	Electrical Engineers	✓		Administrative staff
	Administrative staff		✓	

Organization	Cadre of workers	More Salary Plus additional professional Allowances	Little Salary/ no professional allowances	Discriminated
Northern Region Water Board	Core Technical Staff	✓		Administrative & Clerical Staff
	Administrative and Clerical staff		✓	
Judiciary	Lawyers & Judges	✓		Administrative & Clerical Staff
	Administrative & Clerical Staff		✓	
Anti-Corruption Bureau	Core Technical Staff	✓		Administrative & Clerical Staff
	Administrative & Clerical Staff		✓	
National Food Reserve Agency	Core Technical Staff	✓		Administrative & Clerical Staff
	Administrative & Clerical Staff		✓	

Source: Research Data collected by the author

4.5.2.3 Leadership Style

Leadership style has been cited to be among major factors that have caused trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in the country. Leadership style that is autocratic or insensitive to workers' welfare and conditions of emplacement is enough cause for trade union leadership to call for industrial strikes in the country.

According to study findings, a number of organizations experienced strikes perpetrated by trade union leadership due to insensitive or autocratic leadership styles demonstrated by managers and employers. Table 13 shows a list of organizations where trade union leadership influenced industrial strikes because of poor leadership style of employers.

Table 13: Strikes due to Leadership Style

Organization	Year of strike	Strike Cause
Telecoms Networks Mw Ltd	2006	Management's insensitiveness to workers' demands
Kamuzu Central Hospital	2010	Autocratic Management style
Blantyre Water Board	2011	Insensitive Management
Mwaiwathu Hospital	2011	Stubborn Management
Alliance One Tobacco Company	2011	Discriminatory Management
Malawi Housing Corporation	2012	Insensitive Management
Chinese Construction Company- Lilongwe	2012	Autocratic Management
Zomba Central Hospital	2013 & 2014	Autocratic Management style
Ministry of Education	2014	Inflexible Principle Secretary
Kayerekera Mine- Karonga	2014	Discriminatory Management
ESCOM- Blantyre	2014 & 2015	Autocratic Management
Karonga Municipal Council	2014 & 2015	Management's insensitiveness to workers' pension demands
Shoprite- Lilongwe	2015	Exploitative Management

Source: Fieldwork Data collected by Author

4.5.2.4 Absence of Strike Procedures at Work

Existence of procedures for conducting strikes at work is of critical importance to any organization. Among other benefits, procedures help regulate strikes and ensure that employees exercise discipline all the time.

Workers who wish to go on strike have legal mandate to do so as entrenched in Malawi's Republican Constitution and in Chapter V of Malawi's Labour Relations Act No. 16 of 1996. There are, however, procedures that must be followed before workers can go on strike. The Act stipulates that workers may go on strike if the following guidelines are complied with: (1) they must give adequate notice to strike and (2) they must comply with all the other procedures stipulated in section 46 of the Labour Relations Act namely that: (a) the dispute must be deemed to be unresolved

(b) the dispute is reported to the Principal Secretary and conciliation process is instituted and fails and (c) the matter is not pending for determination in the Industrial Relations Court. If the above guidelines are not satisfied, the strike may be declared illegal.

Out of one hundred thirty-seven respondents in the study, fifty-six indicated that some workers have been victimized by way of dismissal because they took to the streets to exercise their right to strike because they were not aware of industrial strike procedures which were not even present at their organizations. Eventually, Trade union leadership instigated the workers to take to the streets in protest. Table 14 shows existence of strike procedures in some organization.

Table 14: Existence of industrial strike procedures in a sample of organizations

Organization	Availability of strike Procedures	
	Available	Not Available
Masongola Hotel		✓
Zomba Central Hospital		✓
Limbe Leaf Tobacco Company Ltd.		✓
Sunbird Mount Soche Hotel	✓	
Mzuzu City Assembly		✓
ESCOM	✓	
Northern Region Water Board		✓
Southern Region Water Board	✓	
Judiciary- Blantyre		✓
Chancellor College		✓
Mzuzu University		✓
Malawi Housing Corporation (MHC)	✓	
Alliance One Tobacco Industry		✓
Shoprite		✓
ADMARC		✓

Organization	Availability of strike Procedures	
	Available	Not Available
AHL Group Limited		✓
Malawi Telecommunication Limited (MTL)	✓	✓
Parliament		
Civil Service	✓	
Carlsberg Malawi Limited	✓	
Paladin Malawi Limited		✓
G4S		✓

Source: Fieldwork data collected by the author

Out of twenty-one organizations studied, only seven organizations had industrial strikes procedures at the time of study whilst the rest had none. Organizations with industrial strike procedures at the time of the study represent thirty-three (33%) percent whilst seventy-seven percent (77%) of the organizations had no procedures at all. Participants in the study responded that absence of strike procedures at work entails that trade union leadership and aggrieved workers may lack adequate guidelines as to when and how to conduct an industrial strike effectively without infringing on employers' rights. Similarly, employers may monitor behavior of striking workers effectively where industrial strike procedures are available at an organization.

4.5.2.5 Absence of Grievance Handling Procedures

Procedures are an outline of methods to express policies in day to day operations of an organization. Procedures are framed to enable decision-makers to influence and standardize all major decisions and activities taking place in an organization.

Absence of grievance handling procedures at work results in employees behaving in a disorderly manner whenever they have grievances to present to their employers. The procedures regulate movement of the grievances from one level to another when they are

being handled or resolved. If not properly resolved, grievances degenerate into industrial disputes and these can result in an industrial strike.

Out of one hundred-thirty seven participants to the study, twenty- eight participants responded that grievance procedures were not available in their organizations at the time of the study and that employers have not been accessible to handle the grievances in time. The participants noted that absence of the procedures and the delay to handle grievances triggered trade union leadership to call for industrial strikes in the country. Figure 6 shows the proportion of organizations where grievance procedures were available at the time of the study.

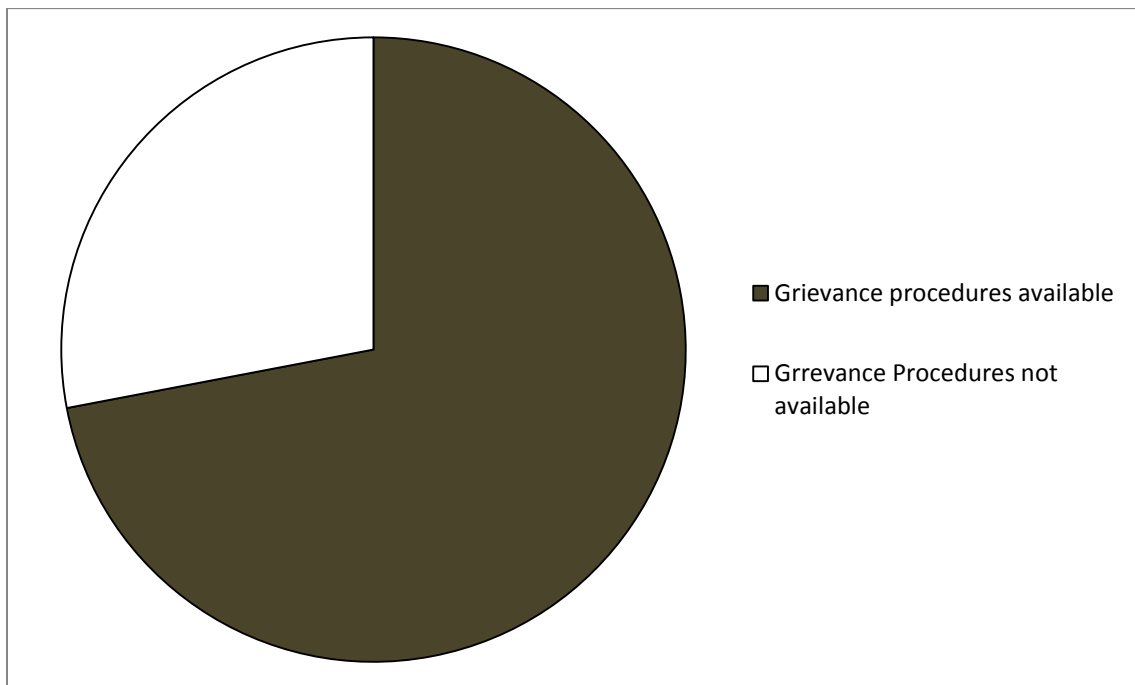


Figure 6: Pie Chart, existence of Grievance Procedures in some organizations

Based on the pie chart above, seventy-two percent of organizations studied do not have grievance procedures; while only twenty-eight percent had the procedures at the time of the study. Although some organizations without the procedures had not experienced any strikes prior to the study, grievance procedures may guide both trade union leadership and workers before taking to the streets.

4.6 Challenges Faced by Trade Union Leadership in Managing Strikes

The researcher categorized the challenges into two: Internal and External.

4.6.1 Internal Challenges

4.6.1.1 Low Trade Union Membership

Membership to trade unions among workers is low in Malawi. Overall, 6 percent and 4 percent of persons in wage employment are members of trade unions and employees' associations in Malawi respectively according to Malawi Labour-Force Survey 2013. Table 15 shows percentage of trade union and employees' associations' membership as per the survey.

Table 15: Percentage of Trade Union and Employees' Association Membership by Profession

Occupation	Trade Union Membership			Employees' Association			Collective Bargaining		
	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F
Total	5.5	6.8	3.6	3.6	4.1	2.9	18.1	21.6	13.3
Manager	19.9	20.3	17.4	13.9	15.0	7.7	56.1	57.6	47.8
Professionals	22.8	24.4	20.2	22.8	21.0	25.9	56.8	55.8	58.5
Technicians & Associated Professionals	3.4	1.0	14.1	1.7	2.1	-	33.6	34.9	28.0
Clerical Support Workers	23.3	23.2	23.5	6.1	5.6	6.8	44.7	44.8	44.5
Service and Sales Workers	8.1	7.4	10.5	2.3	2.9	2.1	25.9	26.6	23.4
Skilled Agricultural, forestry & Fishery Workers	0.4	0.0	0.8	0.9	0.7	1.1	4.1	7.6	0.8
Craft & Related plant & Machine operators	6.9	6.9	6.8	2.8	2.9	2.1	21.7	21.4	24.1
Assemblers	9.9	11.0	4.2	5.0	5.8	0.4	30.2	33.7	10.7
Elementary Occupations	2.2	3.7	0.8	1.4	2.3	0.6	11.8	13.5	10.1

Source: Malawi Labour Force - Survey 2013- NSO

Out of a total of one hundred thirty- seven (137) participants who took part in the study, nineteen responded that due to low trade union membership, trade union leadership has had problems to call for industrial strikes in some organizations in the country due.

According to the respondents, some employers have threatened to take disciplinary action against striking workers whose representation has not reached twenty percent of workers, a proportion required by law to sign recognition agreement with their employers. Eventually, some trade union members have boycotted an industrial strike yet they would benefit from the outcome of the strike.

4.6.1.2 Inadequate Funding

The study findings have also revealed that most trade unions in Malawi have low membership. This can be seen from Table 16 below. Although some trade unions have been depending largely on donor funding, some local unions solely count on funding realized from check-off system where a small percentage is deducted from members' salaries. This means that a trade union with low membership will equally realize low membership fees to support its activities.

Out of one hundred and thirty respondents in the study, fifty-nine participants responded that due to inadequate financial support, trade union leadership have been failing to lead strikes in the country in terms of logistical arrangements like stationery, transport, legal fees, communication, hiring of journalists, police officers, publications in newspapers, announcements on radios and other mass media. Table 16 shows source of direct funding for some trade unions in Malawi.

Table 16: Membership of Trade Unions and their Source of Funding

Trade Union / Trade Union Centre	Affiliation	Total Members (2014)	Dues (share of salary)	No of CBAs	No. of Occupational Health Safety committee at workplaces
MCTU		144,733	-	80	-
COMATU		7,000	-	-	
BCCEAWU	MCTU	6,401	MK100/m	2	2
CSTU	MCTU	13,200	1 %	4	-
CIAWU	MCTU	5,124	0.03 %	3	5
ESCOM Staff Union	MCTU	2,845	1 %	1	1
HFCSU	MCTU	5,006	MK100/m	12	7
EMWWU	MCTU	350	1 %	-	2
MHCWU	MCTU	350	1 %	1	1
CWUM	MCTU	2,500	1 %	5	8
PAAWU	MCTU	11,852	1 %	2	10
PSEUM	MCTU	3,310	1 %	-	-
RWUM	MCTU	368	1 %	2	10
SPAWUM	MCTU	6,229	1 %	1	5
TUM	MCTU	35,000	MK100/m	2	-
TGLSSU	MCTU	7,764	1 %	22	2
TTAWUM	MCTU	27,510	MK300 /Year	1	9
TGWU	MCTU	3,500	MK100/m	17	7
UWU	MCTU	1,085	K1,000/y /	1	5
WETU	MCTU	2,488	1 %	2	6
NONM	MCTU	1,500	-	2	-
MUFIS	MCTU	2,201	500 MK / year	-	-
SCCATU	MCTU	350	1 %	-	-
MMWU	MCTU	4,500	-	-	-
QMIWU	COMATU	1,300	-	-	-

Source: Malawi Labour Market Profile 2014

As per the table above, the lower the membership, the lower the revenue for a trade union, hence carrying out trade union activities like industrial strikes may be too difficult and expensive on the part of leadership if their trade union has low membership base.

4.6.1.3 Lack of Collective Bargaining Skills

Based on the study findings, the researcher noted that some trade union leadership lack collective bargaining skills in the performance of trade union activities. While some have relevant skills to perform their activities, others have problems to collectively bargain with employers as they do not know where to start from and how to do it.

Apart from collective bargaining skills, negotiation skills among some trade union leadership leave a lot to be desired. The researcher noted that whilst some trade union leadership has sound knowledge of collective bargaining, others literally do not have the knowledge and therefore solely depend on employers to start a collective bargaining argument and discussion. For instance, respondents indicated that leadership of Teachers Union of Malawi (TUM), ESCOM Workers (EWU) and Plantation and Allied Workers of Malawi (PAWU), lacked strong collective bargaining skills, and therefore have always chosen industrial strikes as an effective collective bargaining tool.

Whilst research on the country's inflation, salary structures, budgets and turn-over of a company are of vital importance during collective bargaining discussions, some trade union leadership do not see the importance of these hence just move in a collective bargaining meeting unprepared and without vital information for discussion. Whether the company has made a profit or not and to what extent, some trade union leadership has always insisted to force employers to increase their salaries without first understanding challenges faced by their employers. Eventually, this tendency has fuelled industrial strikes in Malawi.

4.6.1.4 Lack of Training and Development Opportunities

Some trade union leadership have not adequately undergone any training to acquire skills to perform trade union activities like leading effective industrial strikes. Whilst it is very important to understand trade union rights and their limits, it has not been an easy task for some trade union leadership to understand labour rights and the law and conventions that support them (Appendix 5 shows some of ILO conventions signed by Malawi).

One attributing factor is that most trade union leadership has low education qualifications as also pointed out by Kambilinya (2008, Unpublished) and this has limited their understanding of trade union rights and activities such as industrial strikes in the country.

4.6.1.5 Internal Power Squabbles and Politics

The findings in this study have also revealed that within some trade unions at industry and enterprise level, there have been power squabbles between union executive members partly because they do not discharge their duties transparently or because of power of politics. All this has been aimed at discrediting the leadership to step down so that an aspirant could take over.

Out of twenty-seven trade unions studied, the researcher found out that twelve of them witnessed power squabbles within their executive leadership representing forty-four percent of the trade unions. This has brought challenges among some trade union leadership in the discharge of their duties as well as in handling industrial strikes at enterprise as well as at industry level. Figure7 shows a list of Trade Unions which witnessed internal power squabbles at some point.

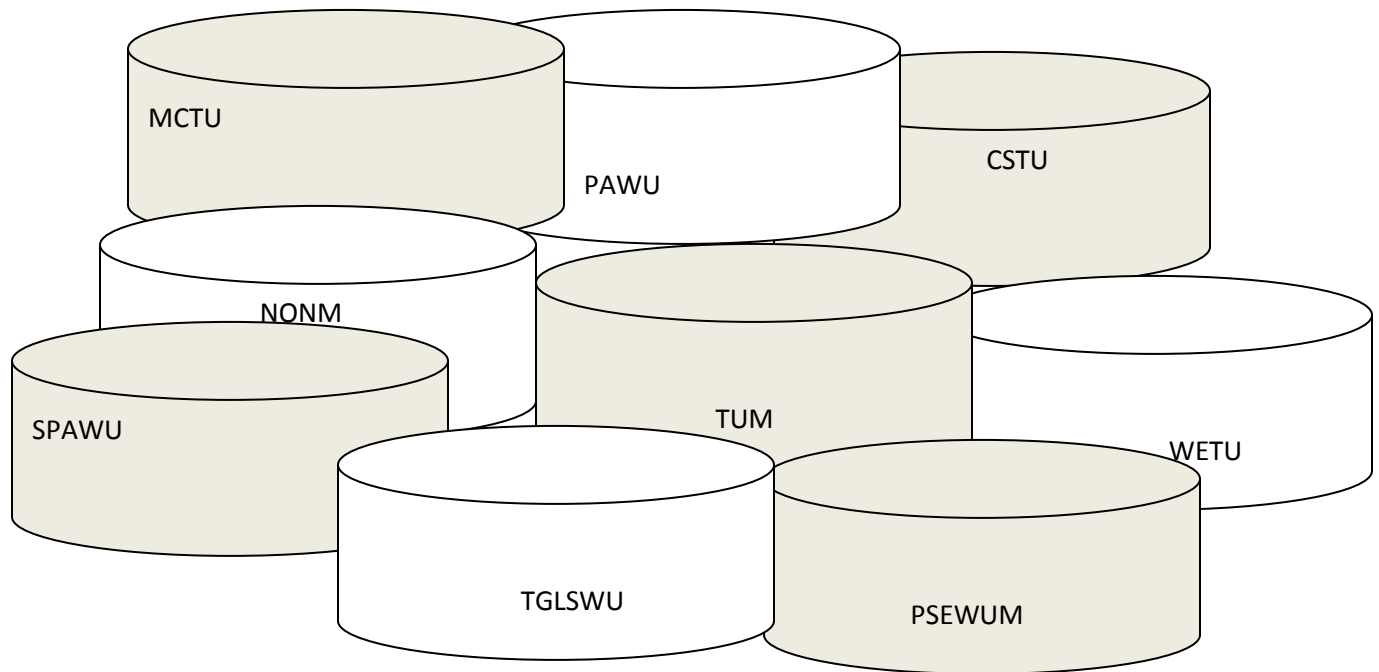


Figure 7: List of Trade unions which witnessed internal power squabbles

Source: Research data collected by the Author

4.6.1.6 Lack of Transparency and Accountability

According to study findings, some trade union leadership have not been transparent in carrying out trade union activities and this has resulted in leaving membership with suspicion and unanswered questions. Out of one hundred participants in the study, thirty-one responded that some leadership allegedly misappropriated union funds for no positive results at all when they called for industrial strikes. While holding of strikes is associated with allocation of some resources, some trade union leadership has been accused of embezzling public funds. Eventually trade union leadership became discouraged in their discharge of duties hence less effective. While trade union leadership must share information to all its membership on current and general developments, the study findings have shown that some leadership hides sensitive information from membership as a way of protecting employers from unnecessary rebuke and property damage. However, some leadership has gone further to reveal pertinent information to membership. In turn, membership has attempted to strike against employers for not being honest with them.

4.6.2 External Challenges

4.6.2.1 High Unemployment Rate

According to 2013 Malawi Labour Force Survey (MLFS), there were 7.0 million economically active people out of a total working age population of 7.8 million. 3.3 million of this total were males and 3.7 million were females. According to the survey, unemployment rate is higher among the economically active persons in urban areas with 28% while in rural areas it is 19%. Table 17 below shows unemployment rate in Malawi by 2013.

Table 17: Unemployment Rate by residence, age and region

Background Characteristics	Residence								
	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
Total	20.4	14.3	25.7	28.2	17.6	39.2	19.2	13.8	23.9
Age Group									
15-19	29.5	28.1	30.7	53.1	46.9	59.0	27.2	26.3	28.0
20-24	25.6	19.3	30.5	44.0	33.3	53.4	22.7	16.9	27.1
25-29	18.7	9.7	26.3	27.4	14.2	39.6	17.1	8.8	23.9
30-34	17.9	10.2	24.9	19.2	9.4	30.4	17.7	10.3	24.0
35-39	13.5	8.3	19.2	18.8	8.5	32.9	12.7	8.2	17.4
40-44	14.6	9.0	20.3	16.1	7.1	25.8	14.4	9.2	19.6
45-49	13.4	10.6	15.9	12.0	6.8	17.7	13.6	11.1	15.7
50-54	17.8	6.8	26.8	18.1	6.5	30.2	17.8	6.8	26.4
55-59	20.2	13.2	26.3	15.7	7.0	30.6	20.7	14.2	26.0
60-64	23.7	22.1	25.0	22.3	17.7	26.5	23.8	22.5	24.8

Source: Malawi Labour Force Survey 2013- NSO

Out of one hundred and thirty seven participants in the study, thirty-two respondents mentioned that high unemployment rate in Malawi is one of the challenges of Trade Union leadership in leading strikes in the country. According to the respondents, with high unemployment rate in Malawi, trade union leadership has had challenges to call upon workers to go out on strike. The workers have feared for their job security and therefore have not participated comfortably in some industrial strikes despite them being legitimate members of trade unions. Eventually, Trade Union leadership has failed to conduct some industrial strikes successfully.

4.6.2.2 Hostile Working Environment

The findings of the study have also revealed that some trade union leadership have been issued with threats of dismissals while others have been intimidated by employers and the State before, during or after indulging in industrial strikes in the country.

The hostile working environment created by employers has made some trade union leadership silent hence less effective than before. Through intimidations, some trade union leadership has been sidelined in times of promotions and this has made them less vocal and critical of prevailing poor working conditions.

Out of a total of nine trade union leaders interviewed seven indicated that they were once intimidated by employers and the State in their discharge of duties during industrial strikes or in carrying out their duties. Similarly, the study findings revealed that some trade union leaders were transferred to remotest areas or to other departments away from their original duty place in order to disturb their participation or influence over strikes in the organization. Similarly, others received death threats, arrests, dismissals, demotions or unspecified actions from politicians and employers.

According to Bean (1994), a study of fifteen countries revealed that acceptance of trade unions by employers, mutual accommodation and institutionalization of collective bargaining has the potential to reduce incidences of strikes activities. This entails that a hostile working environment may be a catalyst for industrial strikes in a country like Malawi.

4.6.2.3 Lack of Freedom of Association

Part II of the Labour Relations Act number 16 of 1996 provides for the formation of trade unions in Malawi. The provision is derived from Sections 31 and 32 of the Republican Constitution and the ILO core conventions No.87 and No.98 on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining. These conventions were ratified by the Malawi Government in 1999 and 1965 respectively (See Appendix 1).

Although freedom of association is recognized as a human right under Malawi's republican constitution, according to study findings most employers have not yet realized the importance of this right to workers. For instance, out of one hundred thirty-seven participants in the study, eighty-nine participants responded that they do not enjoy freedom of association and right to strike in their organizations. According to the study findings, workers have not been provided with an opportunity to take time off to participate in trade union activities and this has rendered trade union leadership less interactive with membership; and ineffective in carrying out trade union activities. Similarly, some workers have not been provided with opportunities to join a trade union of their interest for fear that they would one day revolt against their employer. Trade union leadership has therefore failed to interact with aggrieved workers and in some instances has not been given opportunity to conduct meetings with the workers at enterprise level.

4.6.1.4 Weak Collective Bargaining Agreements

According to the study findings, another attributing factor is that trade union leadership has been signing weak CBAs which have also been ambiguous and difficult to follow up. In signing CBAs, trade union leadership has not adequately understood the contents including conditions attached to any CBA. Although the CBAs are framed jointly between trade union leadership and employers or their associations, the applicability and effectiveness of the agreements have remained conditional and difficult for some trade union leadership to follow up on implementation.

4.6.1.5 Geographical Distance

Some trade union leadership has failed to reach out to its membership especially when such a trade union is at industry level unlike at enterprise level. Some trade unions do not have offices at regional or district level and this has brought about problems of coordination with membership. Eventually, trade union leadership has been rendered ineffective when carrying out industrial strikes in the country.

Similarly, according to the study-findings, due to geographical distance, communication system within a trade union have been affected and hence coordinating membership during industrial strikes has not been an easy task. While some workers have taken to the streets in towns and cities, others in rural and remote areas have not done so due to lack of information.

4.7 Mechanisms to improve Trade Union Leadership to better manage Strikes

The study findings have revealed that there a number of mechanisms by trade union leadership can be improved to manage industrial strikes in the country some of which are as follows:

4.7.1 Training and Development

This has been rated as the first mechanism of improving trade union leadership to properly manage industrial strikes in the country. According to the study findings, while some industrial strikes have erupted without knowledge by Trade Union leadership, the leadership has been compelled to intervene and ensure that the strikes have been properly managed without compromising on relationship between workers and employers.

Forty-five out of one hundred and thirty-seven participants responded that training and development is very essential in improving performance of trade union leadership and such can be initiated by employers or their associations, the State, civil society organizations or Tripartite Labour Advisory Council (TLAC). Trade union leadership that is conversant with labour laws and industrial strike procedures as well as formulation of CBAs would be instrumental in overcoming unnecessary work stoppages and disruptions.

According to the respondents, training and development is of benefit to employers and the State since well trained trade union leadership may be able to tackle industrial relations issues independently and professionally without being influenced by any other parties. Training and development would also be important to trade union leadership to

understand the business of the organization and the challenges it faces whilst ensuring that workers' demands are realistic in light of a prevailing economic environment.

4.7.2 Democratic Election

The study findings have also shown that undemocratic election of some trade union leadership has also constituted another challenge for trade union leadership. Nineteen of the one hundred thirty-seven participants to the study responded that the practice has created animosity between leadership and workers so much so that performance of trade union activities has been compromised.

According to the study findings, Trade union leadership that has been unfairly elected has posed a great challenge to win loyalty and sympathy of membership; and thus affecting implementation of check-off system in some companies and organizations. Such leadership has been suspected to be supportive of employers so much so that membership has seen no relevance in the performance of their duties. On the basis of this finding, out of one hundred thirty-seven participants to the study, one hundred and three responded that trade union leadership must be elected fairly by involving all members at grassroots levels. Respondents believed that this would help enhance membership support and command to perform trade union activities effectively and efficiently.

4.7.3 Decentralizing Trade Union Power

Out of one hundred thirty-seven participants in the study, twenty-one respondents responded that decentralizing trade union power would help strengthen trade union structures at both national and regional level. One of the findings of the study is that some trade union leadership has not established structures at regional or district levels and this has compromised on performance of trade union activities in the country. Based on this finding, establishment of structures at regional and district level will help bring effectiveness and efficiency in the performance of trade union activities such as carrying out industrial strikes in the country.

According to the respondents, the structures will also help enhance communication and coordination between trade union leadership and its membership and this will improve the level of interaction between them. Establishment of the structures would also help facilitate fair election of members into various executive positions without imposing leadership on them.

4.7.4 Resource Mobilization

The study findings have revealed that some trade unions in Malawi lack adequate funding for their activities as they solely rely on check-off system. Such activities include training and development for its membership on various roles; visiting and holding meetings with membership to update them on current developments in labour laws and general communication like publication of magazines, brochures and various reports about their unions.

Nine out of one hundred participants responded that resources for trade unions have been too little to thoroughly support union activities and emoluments for their recruited staff. This has been the case because not all trade unionmembers have been paying subscription fees regularly; whilst others have been withdrawing their membership. The respondents have indicated that due to inadequate donor support, trade unions have failed to establish structures at regional levels whilst others have not managed to pay for office space and utility bills.

As a way of ensuring effective and efficient performance of trade union activities, the respondents suggested that trade unions must intensify campaign to attract and widen its membership base. With large membership, unions will be able to increase their revenue base. Similarly, trade unions must continuously write and develop proposals on various projects and submit them to both local and international donors for support. In doing so, unions may increase their revenue collection and be able to effectively and efficiently conduct their activities (e.g. industrial strikes) at industry and enterprise levels.

4.7.5 Exchange Visits

Some trade unions have been affiliated to international confederations or bodies and this has given them an opportunity to exchange ideas on how to perform their activities. Exchange visits could provide a platform for trade union leadership to learn from one another both locally and internationally. Table 18 shows affiliation of some local trade unions to international bodies where local union leadership can enjoy exchange visits.

Table 18: Affiliation of Some Trade Unions to International Bodies

Name of Trade Union	Local Affiliation	International Affiliation
Building, Construction & Civil Engineering Workers' Union (BCCEWU)	MCTU	International Federation of Building and Wood Workers (IFBWW)
Commercial Industrial & Allied Workers' Union (CIAWU)	MCTU	• Union Network International (UNI) • ITGLWF
Malawi Union for Informal Sector	MCTU	Street Net International
Textile, Garment, Leather and Security Services Union (TGLSSU)	MCTU	ITGLWF
Railways Workers Union	MCTU	Transport Workers Federation
Communications Workers Union	MCTU	Union Network International
HFPCWU	MCTU	International Union of Food
Plantation and Agricultural Workers' Union (PAWU)	MCTU	International Union of Food (IUF)
Sugar Plantation and Allied Workers' Union of Malawi (SPAWUM)	MCTU	International Union of Food (IUF)
Tobacco Tenants and Allied Workers' Union (TTAWU)	MCTU	International Union of Food (IUF)
Municipal Workers Union (MWU)	MCTU	Public Services International (PSI)
Teachers Union of Malawi	MCTU	Pan-African Teachers Education International
Transport and General Workers' Union	MCTU	International Transport Workers Federation (ITF)
Private School Employees' Union	MCTU	Education International
WETU	MCTU	PSI
Civil Service Trade Union (CSTU)	MCTU	PSI
ESCOM Staff Union (ESU)	MCTU	ICM

Source: Trade Unions & Employers' Organizations Mini-Survey Report, January 2009

Participants to the study cited exchange visits as beneficial to trade union leadership for leadership can learn more from each other and their confederations on collective bargaining; how to effectively and efficiently perform trade union activities such as industrial strikes; how to mobilize financial and material resources for the union; and finally how to expand their membership base.

4.7.6 Contact and Dialogue

In Malawi, we have Tripartite Labour Advisory Council (TLAC) which acts as a forum for resolving differences originating from employers and their associations, the State, and employees and their unions.

Fifty-six out of one hundred thirty-seven participants in the study responded that contact and dialogue is a better strategy to sort out industrial relation problems between trade union leadership and employers. The study findings have revealed that the country would not experience industrial strikes at worrisome levels. Trade union leadership must always proactively and pragmatically engage in contact and dialogue with the rest of industrial relations actors; and efficiently resolve disputes as quickly as possible before resorting to industrial strikes.

Trade union leadership and membership must also carefully consider other options for resolving labour disputes and consider strikes to be the last resort.

4.7.7 Integration in Budget Committees

Based on the study findings, establishment of budget committees at enterprise or company level is considered another option trade union leadership must adopt. Seven out of one hundred and thirty-seven participants in the study responded that integrating trade union leaders into budget committees in an organization helped enhance transparency and awareness of the company's annual business status including profits and liabilities. Workers who are represented at budget committees and whose representatives sit with employers to decide together on expected salary increases and improvement of conditions of employment may likely reduce the occurrence of industrial strikes at enterprise and

national level. Additionally, establishment of budget committees may help enhance mutual understanding of the company's business environment and transactions. Two examples of organizations where budget committees have proved to be successful and have helped avert industrial strikes are Illovo Sugar Corporation and Masongola Hotels where Sugar, plantation and Allied Workers Union Leadership and Hotel, Food Processing and Catering Workers Union (HFPCWU) leadership respectively were integrated in budget committees.

Working in the budget committees widens knowledge amongst trade union leadership, and helps them understand the economic environment of a country or a company before making any demand for salary increases and improved working conditions. Understanding the business environment of a company enhances candid interactions between trade union leadership and employers before any collective bargaining agreements are entered.

4.7.8 Performance Management

According to the study findings, eleven out of one hundred thirty-seven participants in the study responded that some trade union leadership has demonstrated failure in their performance of trade union activities. According to the respondent's membership elected their trade union leadership fairly and the leadership received support of a majority of its membership. However, surprisingly, the leadership has not performed trade union activities well as evidenced by their failure to plan and manage industrial strikes.

In order to ensure that performance of trade union leadership remains efficient and effective, some participants in the study suggested that trade unions must adopt strict performance management systems to ensure that who so ever is elected to that position must adhere to good performance standards.

The performance of trade unions can also be better improved if trade unions adopt a vision, mission, core values, and probably a strategic plan against which trade union

leadership performance can be measured. Trade union leadership that has failed to demonstrate good performance results can be discharged.

4.7.9 Independence of Trade Union Leadership

The study findings have also revealed that some trade union leadership combine their roles with that of being employees; and others have been aspiring to be Politicians and this has compromised on their professionalism.

Five out of one hundred participants in the study suggested to separate trade union leadership from being employees of an organization or a company. They suggested that separating the two roles would help enhance independent decision-making when facing an industrial relations issue and when creating CBAs. Table 19 shows a summary of ways proposed by research participants to improve trade union leadership in Malawi and their rankings.

Table 19: Summary of Mechanisms to improve Trade Union Leadership in Malawi

#	Strategy	Frequency	Percentage %	Ranking
1	Contact and dialogue with the state and employers	56	30.3	1
2	Training & Development	45	24.3	2
3	Decentralization/ devolution of trade union powers	21	11.4	3
4	Democratic election of trade union leadership	19	10.3	4
5	Exchange visits	12	6.5	5
6	Performance management	11	5.9	6
7	Resource mobilization	9	4.9	7
8	Integrating trade union leadership into budget committees	7	3.8	8
9	Independence of trade union leadership	5	2.7	9

Source: Fieldwork Data Collected by Author

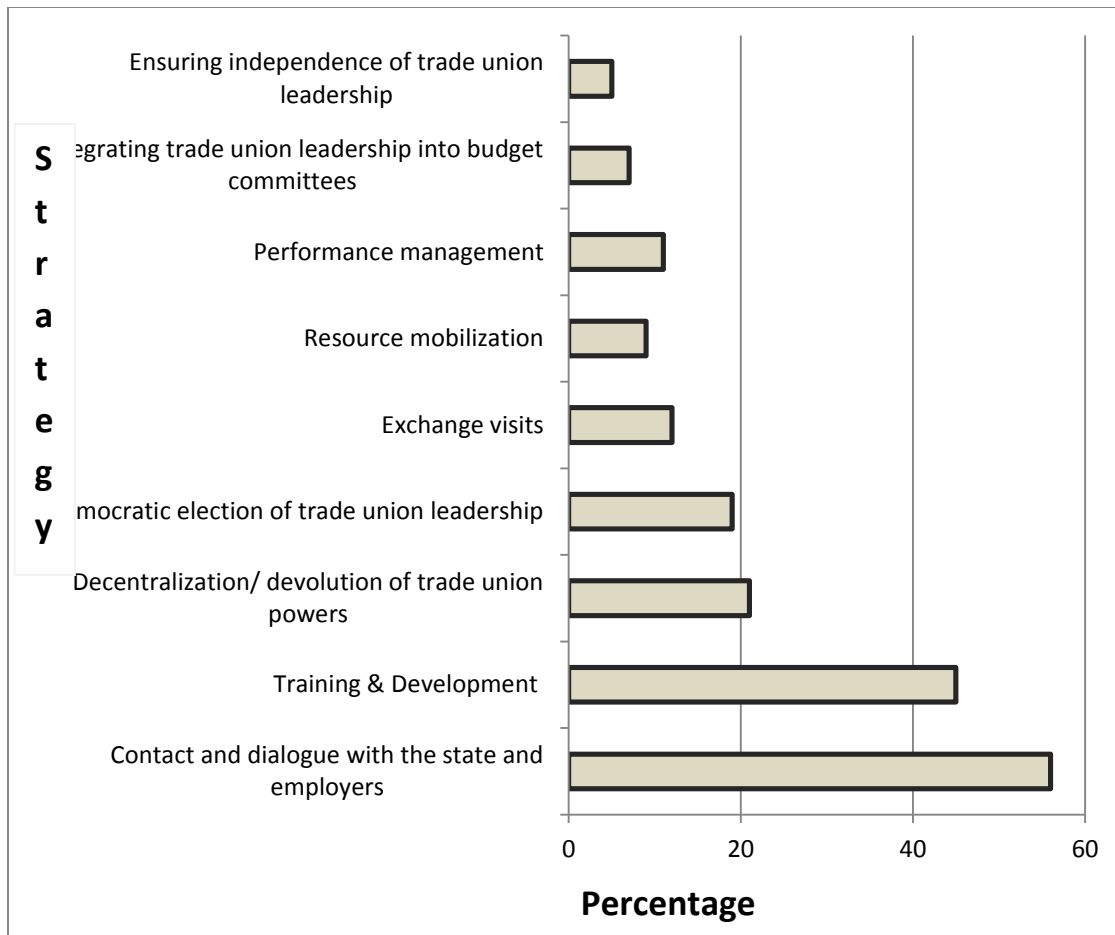


Figure 8: Mechanisms to improve trade union leadership as proposed by Research Subjects

Source: Created by author based on data on Table 19 above

As can be seen from the above table contact and dialogue has been considered the first and most important step to be taken before trade union leadership incites membership to indulge in industrial strikes.

4.8 Conclusion

Both Trade Union leadership and informal leaders have influenced strike frequency, duration and breadth of strikes in Malawi. However, the effect of trade union leadership has been to a smaller extent. It should be noted that Trade Union leadership has contributed to chain-effect of strikes in the country and has better controlled the strikes. The tactics used by Trade Union leadership to influence strikes in the country are various and some of them include boycotting consultations with employers and through hide and seek tactics. When leading the strikes, Trade Union leadership has faced challenges and some of them are inadequate funding, lack of collective bargaining skills; and lack of training and development opportunities. Contact and dialogue has emerged to be the most favored mechanism to improve Trade Union leadership to better manage industrial strikes in the country. The following chapter summarizes the study. It highlights the major finding of the study and recommendations to improve Trade Union leadership in times of strikes.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter four presented major findings of the study. The chapter has shown the extent of impact of Trade Union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi by focusing on major themes of the study. The major themes were aligned to the objectives of the study. The chapter has shown that Trade Union leadership has impacted on industrial strikes in the country to a smaller extent at national level. This chapter concludes the chapter; it presents the author's conclusion of the findings based on the major thematic areas aligned to the five objectives. The chapter also presents recommendations made by the researcher and highlights future research areas.

5.2 Effect of Trade Union Leadership

Trade union leadership has impacted on industrial strikes in the country, to a smaller extent, in unionized and non-unionized organizations; but to a large extent at enterprise level among unionized organizations. Both trade union leadership and informal leaders have contributed to the influence of frequency, duration and breadth of industrial strikes in the country. Notably, strikes orchestrated by some informal leadership have taken longer periods than those influenced by formal union leadership; and vice versa. However, some strikes orchestrated by trade union leadership have been better planned and managed and have achieved intended objectives than strikes orchestrated by ordinary workers. Additionally, trade union leadership, unlike informal leadership, has better controlled striking workers.

In addition, there is evidence that some trade union leadership has contributed to chain-effect of industrial strikes in the country. Whilst the effect of trade union leadership is unclear in some aspects like duration, frequency and breadth of the strikes, the effect of

trade union leadership has been very conspicuous in terms of control over strikers, On the contrary, strikes led by ordinary workers have turned out to be illegal, and have failed to achieve their intended objectives.

5.3 Tactics used to influence Strikes

There are both direct and indirect ways trade union leadership has influenced industrial strikes in the country. The direct ways include boycotting consultations with employers on industrial relations matters; through hide and seek tactics; siding with political parties; and through court injunctions. The mass media, journalists, senior Management and third parties have also indirectly played a role in influencing trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in the country.

Of both ways above, trade union leadership has been using the direct ways more often than the indirect ones. However, both the direct and the indirect ways have complemented each other in many aspects in contributing towards the level of industrial strikes in the country. For instance, when trade union leadership boycotted consultations with employers and the State, the mass media has always covered the disagreements and passed on the information to aggrieved workers. Eventually, an industrial strike has emerged. Similarly, through 'hide and seek' tactics some political parties have used trade union leadership to instigate industrial strikes in the country. Trade union leadership has therefore influenced the level of industrial strikes in the country in many overlapping ways, to a smaller extent; but to a larger extent at enterprise level.

5.4 Factors that influence strikes

Both macro- and micro- factors have influenced trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in the country, to a large extent. Some of the macro-factors are high unemployment rate in the country; long and excessive hours of work; non-adherence to collective bargaining agreements; lack of collective bargaining agreements; Lack of adequate guidelines for pension fund administration; the political environment and the legal Framework. Of these macro-factors, high unemployment rate and breach of

collective bargaining agreements have emerged more influential than the rest of the factors, to a larger extent.

Besides the macro-factors are the micro factors such as low wages and salaries; salary and wage discrimination; oppressive leadership style; and absence of strike and grievance procedures.

Of the micro factors, poor and discriminatory salaries and wages; and oppressive leadership style have emerged to be determining factors that have led union leadership to lead industrial strikes in the country, to a larger extent. Of these factors, salaries and wages, and high unemployment rate are economic factors and these have played a bigger role in influencing the strikes in the country. This finding has also confirmed the finding of a study conducted by Dzimbiri (2008:33), where poor salaries and wages constituted the major factor that contributed to wildcat strikes in the country. Dzimbiri also found out that high inflation, absence of effective procedures for conflict resolution, and dictatorial management contributed to high levels of industrial strikes in the country.

5.5 Challenges Faced by Trade Union Leadership

The study has revealed that trade union leadership has been encountering both internal and external challenges when leading industrial strikes in the country. Internal challenges include; low trade union membership; inadequate funding; lack of collective bargaining skills by trade union leadership; lack of training and development opportunities; unfair election of trade union leadership; internal power squabbles and politics; dual accountability of trade union leadership; lack of transparency and accountability within trade union leadership; and lack of proper handover of power to successors.

The leadership has also faced external challenges such as high unemployment rate in the country; hostile working environment; lack of freedom of association; corruption; weak collective bargaining agreements; legal framework; and geographical distance. Apparently, more serious challenges have come from outside trade union leadership and these have negatively affected some union leadership during industrial strikes, to a larger

extent. For instance, hostile working environment has been created when employers and the State become antagonistic and arrogant when making decisions that affect general workers. In some cases, the employers have disregarded union decisions or have unilaterally decided on industrial relations matters (Dzimbiri, 2008:38). Workers have therefore not been satisfied with the manner decisions have been handled by employers and management.

5.6 Mechanisms to improve Trade Union Leadership

There are a number of ways trade union leadership can be improved to better manage industrial strikes in the country. Some of them include the following; through contact and dialogue with the State and employers; through training and development; democratic election of trade union leadership; decentralizing trade union power; resource mobilization; exchange visits; integration of trade union leadership into budget committees where they can make joint decisions with employers and management; performance management; and ensuring that the leadership is independent of management or employers' interference.

Of all the strategies mentioned above, contact and dialogue has been favored as the best strategy to manage industrial strikes in the country, to a larger extent. Training and development comes second and the other strategies come as optional. It is therefore important to use contact and dialogue wherever possible preferably before industrial strikes to avoid strike recurrence and violence during the strikes.

5.7 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings, the researcher recommends the following;

Firstly, the State, employers and their associations; and trade union leadership and membership must always consult each other through contact and dialogue before an industrial strike erupts. Trade unions must also work hand in hand with employers and exhaust all legal procedures before indulging in strikes. A strike must be the last resort!

Secondly, CBAs signed between employers and Trade Union leadership and their membership must be arrived at jointly between the employers and trade union leadership.

All parties to the CBAs must show commitment to implement the contents of their agreements within a specified time lag. They must also provide checks and balances to each other to enhance accountability and transparency in decision making.

Additionally, it is important to organize relevant training programs for Trade Union leadership at all levels, and with Management and employers in order to acquaint them with skills on contact and dialogue, conflict resolution and collective bargaining. This will help mitigate the number of strikes at enterprise and industry levels.

5.8 Future Research Areas

The findings of this study have revealed that Trade Union leadership has influenced industrial strikes to a large extent among unionized organizations, but to a smaller extent in the country as a whole. The study has also revealed that a number of strikes that have occurred in the country were due to poor conditions of employment, poor leadership style, and poor collective bargaining agreements. Workers have voiced out their concerns against employers and Management through industrial strikes as the only effective and efficient way to persuade Management and employers to bow down to workers' demands. Although Management and employers have tried several tactics (e.g. intimidating Trade Union leadership and membership) to subdue efforts and activities of Trade Union leadership and its membership, some Trade Union leadership and membership have become victorious after undertaking the industrial strikes at industry and enterprise level.

The study has also shown that there are both macro- and micro-factors that have influenced trade union leadership and their membership to lead industrial strikes in the country. The strength of the factors, however, has varied from one industry to another.

Based on the findings of this study, further studies can be conducted to establish the extent to which Management and employers have influenced the level of strikes in the country. The study can be conducted at industry or enterprise level. Another researchable area is to examine the extent to which collective bargaining agreements have contributed to the level of industrial strikes in the country. A study can also be conducted to assess

the role of employers' associations in mitigating industrial strikes in Malawi. The study would wake up employers and their associations as well as Trade Union leadership and their membership to be proactive in handling industrial strikes before they become unmanageable.

5.9 Chapter Summary

This study was aimed at assessing the extent to which trade union leadership has impacted on strikes in Malawi. It sought to discuss the effect of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi; explain tactics used by Trade Union leadership to influence strikes in Malawi; analyze factors that influence trade union leadership to lead strikes; assess challenges faced by trade union leadership during strikes in Malawi; and examine mechanisms on how trade union leadership can be improved to manage industrial strikes in Malawi. The overall finding of this study is that trade union leadership has impacted on industrial strikes, to a large extent at enterprise level, but to a smaller extent at industry level in the country.

This chapter has concluded the study. The researcher has summarized the findings and given his opinion of the findings. The subsequent pages will present bibliography and appendices.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire Administered to Trade Union Membership

Dear Respondent,

My name is John Masanjala, a postgraduate student at Chancellor College, a constituent college of the University of Malawi. I am studying towards a Master's Degree in Human Resources Management and Industrial Relations.

I am currently carrying out a research work whose title is 'Extent of Impact of Trade union Leadership on industrial Strikes in Malawi'. I am therefore targeting trade union leaders, members of trade unions, managers of unionized organizations and police officers in-Charge. You have therefore been selected to participate in this study by virtue that you are a member of trade union/ manager of unionized organization/ police officer In-Charge.

The main purpose of this research work is to assess the impact of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi. This study will, among others, help find out how trade union leadership has impacted on industrial strikes in the country and the challenges faced by trade union leaders in leading industrial strikes. I therefore kindly urge you to cooperatively take part in the study by completing the attached questionnaire. The answers to the questionnaire will be treated confidentially, and your identity as respondent shall remain undisclosed.

I will be able to collect the duly completed questionnaire in person preferably in three days time from the date of receipt of this questionnaire; or you may send it on the following address;

John Masanjala
AHL GROUP
P.O. Box 20567
Luwinga
Mzuzu 2

I will be very much grateful if you take part in this study.

Yours Sincerely

John Masanjala

(Post-Graduate Student)

Part 1 : General information about the respondent

1. Which organization do you work for?
2. What position do you hold in the organization?
3. Are you a member of a trade union?.....
4. What is the name of the trade union?.....
5. Which position do you hold in the trade union you have mentioned in ‘4’ above?.....

Part 2: Effect of trade Union leadership on Industrial strikes in Malawi?

6. What effect does trade union leadership have on industrial strikes?

In the following table, please, indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the statement. Please, tick under the weights 1- 4 that best represents the extent to which you agree. (1-Disagree, 2- Strongly Disagree, 3- Agree, 4-Strongly Agree.

Effect of trade Union leadership on Industrial strikes in Malawi	Weight			
	1	2	3	4
Trade union leadership increases the frequency of industrial strikes in Malawi				
Trade union leadership increases the number of workers who are involved in industrial strikes in Malawi				
Trade union leadership prolongs the period (number of productive days lost) of industrial strikes in Malawi				
Trade union leadership has made industrial strikes in Malawi the most effective bargaining tool				
Trade union leadership makes industrial strikes in Malawi uncontrollable hence destructive				
Trade union leadership determines the success of industrial strikes in Malawi				
Many strikes in Malawi have failed to achieve their intended objectives because of trade union leadership				
Trade union leadership has no any effect on industrial strikes in Malawi				
Specify any other effect of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi				

Part 3: Ways in which trade union leadership has influenced industrial strikes in Malawi

In the following table, please, indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the statement. Please, tick under the weights 1- 4 that best represents the extent to which you agree. (1-Disagree, 2- Strongly Disagree, 3- Agree, 4-Strongly Agree.

7. In what ways has trade union leadership impacted on industrial strikes in Malawi?

Ways in which trade union leadership has influenced industrial strikes in Malawi	Weight			
	1	2	3	4
Some Trade union leadership has NOT been open to its membership on issues of collective bargaining agreements hence workers resort to go on strikes				
Some Trade union leadership has made industrial strikes the only effective collective bargaining tool in Malawi hence the only solution to industrial matters				
Some Trade union leadership has been corrupted by employers and politicians (e.g. being promised promotions, vehicles) hence workers become helpless and eventually resort to go on strike				
Some Trade union leadership have been applying for court injunctions against employers' administrative powers; hence workers are free to proceed on strikes				
Trade union leadership in Malawi conduct press conference to issue threats and ultimatums to employers to bow down to workers' economic demands (e.g. salaries) hence workers take to the streets in solidarity				
Trade union leadership walk out of collective bargaining meetings to openly show discontent to their negotiating partners (e.g. employers or their associations) hence workers resort to strike in solidarity				
Trade union leadership have political ambitions hence uses workers to go on strike to advance their political agenda				
Trade union leadership visit or hold meetings with their membership at workplace to hear and discuss issues affecting workers, hence workers are instigated to go on strikes				
Trade union leadership set minimum working conditions for its membership which often cannot be met by employers or the state				
Specify any other way trade union leadership has influenced industrial strikes in Malawi				

Part 3: Determine factors that influence trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi

8. What factors influence trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi?

In the following table, please, indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the statement. Please, tick under the weights 1- 4 that best represents the extent to which you agree. (1-Disagree, 2- Strongly Disagree, 3- Agree, 4- Strongly Agree.

Factors that influence trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi	Weight			
	1	2	3	4
Trade union leadership advances their political ambition by instigating workers to go on strikes.				
Disgruntled workers force trade union leadership to call for industrial strikes or else lose command over trade union membership				
Trade union leadership instigate workers to go on strike as a way of showing solidarity to the workers				
Some trade union leadership have personal interests to force employers to increase their wages and salaries or improve general working conditions				
The legal framework (e.g. Labour Relations Act and Malawi's Republican Constitution) protects trade union's right to strike, hence influences trade union leadership to instigate workers to go on strikes to exercise such a right				
Suppressive political environment influences trade union leadership to instigate workers to go out on industrial strikes to defend workers' rights				
Rising number of work-related accidents influence trade union leadership to call upon workers to go on strikes to maintain accident-free workplace				
Autocratic leadership styles influences trade union leadership to persuade employees to go out on strikes				
Employers' failure to implement collective bargaining agreements influences trade union leadership to call for industrial strikes				
Unfair labour practices (e.g. unfair dismissals, retrenchment etc.) influences trade union leadership to call for industrial strikes				
Specify any other factor not mentioned above you feel may also influence trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi				

Part 4: Challenges faced by trade union leaders in leading industrial strikes in Malawi

9. What are the challenges faced by trade union leaders in leading industrial strikes in Malawi?

(In the following table, please, indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the statement. Please, tick under the weights 1- 4 that best represents the extent to which you agree (1-Disagree, 2- Strongly Disagree, 3- Agree, 4-Strongly Agree)

Challenges faced by trade union leadership in leading industrial strikes in Malawi	Weight			
	1	2	3	4
Lack of adequate funding has challenged trade union leadership in leading industrial strikes in Malawi				
Trade union leadership is intimidated (e.g. through dismissal, demotion etc.) before or after leading industrial strikes in Malawi				
Employers and the state have been corrupting trade union leadership not to lead industrial strikes in the country e.g. through promises of promotion				
Trade union leadership lack strong collective bargaining skills so they just resort to leading industrial strikes as a last solution to force employers to grant their economic demands e.g. salary increases				
High unemployment rate among people in Malawi has made workers not to participate actively in industrial strikes called upon by trade union leadership for fear of losing their already secured jobs				
Low and dispersed trade union membership base makes it difficult for trade union leadership to mobilize workers to go out on strikes				
Trade union leadership lack strong leadership structures at district, regional and national levels hence mobilization of workers to go on strike remains difficult				
Trade union leadership fails to balance up their official job roles with trade union activities such as leading industrial strikes because they are not given time-off by employers.				
Legal framework (e.g. labour laws) in the country restrict workers to go on strikes in essential service areas hence trade union leadership fails to instigate workers to go on strikes				
Hostile working environment (e.g. restrictive employment policies) in workplaces makes it difficult for trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi				
Internal power squabbles within trade unions make it difficult for trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi				

Unfair election systems of trade union leadership into various positions makes it difficult for elected leadership to appeal to workers to go on industrial strikes				
Specify any other challenge encountered other than the above.				

Part 5: Ways how trade union leadership can be improved in managing/ leading industrial strikes in Malawi

8. How can trade union leadership be improved to manage industrial strikes in Malawi?

(In the following table, please, indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the statement. Please, tick under the weights 1- 4 that best represents the extent to which you agree (1-Disagree, 2- Strongly Disagree, 3- Agree, 4-Strongly Agree)

Ways in which trade union leadership can be improved to manage/ lead industrial strikes in Malawi	Weight			
	1	2	3	4
Trade union leadership must undergo training and development programs to understand the law governing industrial strikes in the country				
Elections of trade union leadership must be transparent and credible for trade union leadership to command support from trade union membership in the face of industrial strikes				
Trade union structures must be established at district and regional levels for easy communication with membership on issues of industrial strikes				
Trade union leadership must mobilize both financial and material resources to enhance capacity building among its leadership in terms of recruitment of its executive members				
Trade union leadership must pay exchange visits to international trade unions and federations to widen their knowledge and skills on trade union rights and industrial strikes				
Trade union leadership must widely consult with the State, employers and workers before leading industrial strikes in the country in order to build sense of trust, transparency and accountability (contact & dialogue)				
Trade union leadership must not indulge in political activities of the country when leading industrial strikes in Malawi				
Election of trade union leadership must be conducted by all membership at district, regional and national levels				
Trade union leadership must be strictly performance-based, hence a need to develop and adopt a robust performance management system for trade union leadership				
Specify any other way to improve trade union leadership in leading industrial strikes in Malawi				

END OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Trade Union Leaders

Dear Respondent,

My name is John Masanjala, a postgraduate student of Chancellor College, a constituent college of the University of Malawi. I am currently studying towards a Master's Degree in Human Resources Management and Industrial Relations.

These interviews are intended to determine impact of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi. The researcher therefore undertakes to find out 'Extent of Impact of Trade union Leadership on industrial Strikes in Malawi'

Data collected through this study will enable trade union leadership, their affiliates and all organizations to determine ways how trade union leadership can effectively manage industrial strikes in the country.

Considering the significance of this study, you are kindly urged to answer all interview questions honestly and cooperatively. Since this is not an examination, there is no correct answer to the interview questions.

I sincerely thank you in advance for taking part in this study.

John Masanjala

Post Graduate Student

Part 1: Effect of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi?

- a) What **effect** does trade union leadership have on frequency of industrial strikes in Malawi?
- b) What **effect** does trade union leadership have on number of workers involved in industrial strikes in Malawi?
- c) What **effect** does trade union leadership have on length of period industrial strikes take place in Malawi?

Part 2: Ways in which trade union leadership has impacted on industrial strikes in Malawi

- a) In what ways has trade union leadership affected industrial strikes in Malawi? Elaborate!
- b) What could be done to ensure that trade union leadership does not negatively impact on industrial strikes in Malawi?

Part 3: Factors that influence trade union leaders to lead industrial strikes in Malawi

- a) What are some of the factors that influence trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi? Please, elaborate.
- b) How do such factors influence trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi?

Part 4: Challenges faced by trade union leaders in managing industrial strikes in Malawi

- a) What are some of the challenges faced by trade union leadership when leading industrial strikes in Malawi? Please, elaborate.
- b) How do you overcome the challenges?
- c) Why does trade union leadership face such challenges? Please, elaborate.

Part 5: Ways how trade union leadership can be improved to manage industrial strikes in Malawi.

- a) In what ways can trade union leadership be improved to effectively manage/ lead industrial strikes in Malawi? Please, elaborate in each case.

THANK YOU FOR TAKING PART IN THESE INTERVIEWS!

Appendix 3: Interview-Guide For Ministry Of Labour Officials

Dear Sir/ Madam,

My name is John Masanjala, a postgraduate student at Chancellor College, a constituent college of the University of Malawi. I am studying towards a Master's Degree in Human Resources Management and Industrial Relations.

I am currently carrying out a research study to determine impact of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi. As one way of collecting data pertinent to the study, I am supposed to administer interviews to Ministry of labour officials especially those who deal with matters of industrial relations conflict like strikes. These interviews are intended to come up with factors that influence trade union leaders to lead industrial strikes in the country; challenges faced by trade union leaders in managing industrial strikes and suggest ways how trade union leadership can be improved to manage industrial strikes in Malawi.

Data collected through this study will enable all unionized organizations as well as trade union leaders to better manage industrial strikes in the country.

Considering the significance of this study, you are kindly urged to answer all interview questions honestly and cooperatively. Since this is not an examination, there is no correct answer to the interview questions.

I sincerely thank you in advance for taking part in this study.

John Masanjala

Post Graduate Student

Part 1: Effect of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi?

- a. What are the effects of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi in terms of the following;
- Number of people/ workers involved in industrial strikes in Malawi (strike breadth)
 - How frequently or often industrial strikes take place in Malawi (Strike frequency)
 - How long industrial strikes take place (Strike duration)

Part 2: Ways in which trade union leadership has influenced industrial strikes in Malawi

- b. In what ways has trade union leadership influenced industrial strikes in Malawi?

Part 3: Factors that influence trade union leaders to lead industrial strikes in Malawi

- c. What are some of the factors that influence trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi?

Part 4: Challenges faced by trade union leaders in leading industrial strikes in Malawi

- d. What are some of the challenges faced by trade union leadership in leading/ managing industrial strikes in Malawi?
- e. How can such challenges be overcome.

Part 5: Ways how trade union leadership can be improved to manage industrial strikes in Malawi.

- f. How can trade union leadership be improved to manage/ lead industrial strikes better in Malawi?

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR TAKING PART IN THESE INTERVIEWS!

Appendix 4: Interview Guide for Managers of Employees

Dear Sir/ Madam,

My name is John Masanjala, a postgraduate student at Chancellor College, a constituent college of the University of Malawi. I am currently studying towards a Master's Degree in Human Resources Management and Industrial Relations.

As a student, I am required to carry out a study to examine the impact of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi. I am therefore obliged to conduct interviews which are intended to identify ways in which trade union leadership has impacted industrial strikes in Malawi; determine factors that influence trade union leaders to perpetuate industrial strikes in the country; find out challenges faced by trade union leaders in managing industrial strikes the country and suggest ways how trade union leadership can be improved to manage industrial strikes in Malawi.

Data collected through this study will help in designing strategies to improve trade union leadership in managing industrial strikes in the country.

Considering the significance of this study, you are kindly urged to answer all interview questions honestly and cooperatively. Since this is not an examination, there is no correct answer to the interview questions.

I sincerely thank you for taking part in this study.

John Masanjala

Post Graduate Student

Part 1: Effect of trade union leadership on industrial strikes in Malawi?

- a. What effect does trade union leadership have on industrial strikes in Malawi in terms of the following;
- How frequently industrial strikes take place in Malawi
 - How many people or employees are involved in industrial strikes in Malawi
 - How long (number of productive days lost) industrial strikes take in Malawi

Part 2: Ways in which trade union leadership has influenced industrial strikes in Malawi

- b. In what ways has trade union leadership influenced industrial strikes in Malawi?

Part 3: Factors that influence trade union leaders to lead industrial strikes in Malawi

- c. What are some of the factors that influence trade union leadership to lead industrial strikes in Malawi?
- d. How can the factors be mitigated?

Part 4: Challenges faced by trade union leaders in leading industrial strikes in Malawi

- e. What are the challenges faced by trade union leadership in leading industrial strikes in Malawi?
- f. How can the challenges be overcome?

Part 5: Ways how trade union leadership can be improved to manage industrial strikes in Malawi.

- g. In what ways can trade union leadership be improved to better manage/ lead industrial strikes in Malawi?

I THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR TAKING PART IN THESE INTERVIEWS!.