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Trade Unions, Member Services, and Pacification of Workers in Local Councils in Zambia

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to discuss the role of trade union member services in pacifying workers in local councils in Zambia. The discussion is guided by the assumptions of pacification theory. A sample of 112 participants was engaged in the research, comprising 12 union officials and 100 ordinary workers. Purposive sampling was used to select union officials while multistage sampling was used to select ordinary workers. The findings indicate that neoliberal policies implemented in local councils in African countries such as Zambia have led to the co-optation of trade unions in the capitalist mode of production. In line with pacification theory, trade unions are engaged to pacify workers by offering them member services. This enables workers to continue working despite being subjected to poor working conditions. This finding is

significant because it helps us to understand why workers in Africa continue cooperating with management in the neoliberal era. The article recommends that trade unions should build their capacity in research-based collective bargaining so that they can bargain for real wages. Furthermore, the unions should merge and establish a unified labor movement to enhance their bargaining power.

Keywords: *Trade union, member service, worker pacification, worker satisfaction, local council.*

Introduction

The implementation of neoliberal policies in the past four decades in Africa has weakened trade unions. This is due to job losses, loss of union membership, fragmentation of the labor movement, and informalization of work. This phenomenon has occurred in countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, and Zambia, among others (Andrae & Beckman, 2011; Botiveau, 2017; Madimutsa, 2023; McNamara, 2021). Because of being weak, the unions fail to bargain for improved conditions of employment thereby subjecting workers to reduced wages (Botiveau, 2017; Madimutsa, 2023; McNamara, 2021). For the purposes of this article, the term trade union is taken to mean;

[A]ny organization of employees which, first, has as one of its main objectives negotiating with employers in order to regulate the pay and conditions of its members and, second, is independent of the employers with which it negotiates or seeks to negotiate (Farnham & Pimlott, 1990: 106).

From the above definition, we note that apart from negotiating with employers in order to regulate conditions of employment, a trade union can also perform other functions independent of the employers for the benefit of its members. These other functions include mobilizing workers into a pressure group within society and providing individualized services to members (Salamon, 2000). However, the past four decades have seen trade unions failing to perform their core functions especially

negotiating with employers for improved wages of their members. This is because of the implementation of neoliberal strategies such as decentralization, privatization, closure of companies, and retrenchment of workers (Madimutsa, 2016). Because of their failure to bargain for improved wages, the unions have decided to provide a range of services to their members. These include financial and non-financial services (Botiveau, 2017; Madimutsa, 2023; McNamara, 2021). Salamon (2000) argues that trade unions use membership subscriptions to provide a number of services to their members so that the members do not depend on the goodwill of their employers.

Zambia is one of the African countries where trade unions have been offering their members a variety of services to supplement salaries in the era of neoliberalism. This has occurred in sectors such as mining, education, central government, and local government (Chungu, 2023; Madimutsa, 2016; McNamara, 2021). Notable in this era is that as the unions provide individualized services to their members, they have also become less militant when engaging employers to improve salaries. This is seen in institutions such as local councils. A local council can be defined as “a body of democratically elected representatives responsible for policy formulation and delivery of service in a given geographically defined area” (Republic of Zambia, 2013: iii). Local councils in Zambia operate at the local government level where three types of councils have been established. These are city, municipal, and town councils. The loss of militancy by trade unions in these councils is demonstrated by their high levels of tolerance to the extent that they allow workers to continue working for several months without being paid their salaries (see Mwenya, 2019; Siandizya, 2023). This situation shows that the servicing strategy adopted by the unions has introduced a degree of pacification of the workers. By pacification, we refer to “a state or sovereign action that attempts ‘to put an end to strife or discontent’ and ‘to reduce to peaceful submission’ a rebellious population” (Rigakos & Ergul, 2013: 169). From this situation, a question can be raised: How do trade union member services pacify workers in local councils?

The purpose of this article is to discuss the role of trade union member services in pacifying workers in local councils in Zambia. To achieve its purpose, the article begins by reviewing relevant literature on trade unions in Africa. Thereafter, it presents the theoretical framework guiding the discussion in the article. It then presents the methodology used to conduct the research. This is followed by a discussion of worker pacification through provision of union member services. The article

then examines the level of worker satisfaction with union member services. The article further explains how members who are dissatisfied with union services are dealt with. Finally, a conclusion and policy recommendations are given.

Literature review

The literature shows that neoliberal policies implemented in Africa since the 1980s have had negative effects on workers and their unions. The effects include job losses, reduction in union membership, and high cost of living. These effects have occurred because of the implementation of policies such as removal of price controls, introduction of user fees, downsizing of the civil service, and privatization of state-owned enterprises (Andrae & Beckman, 2011; McDonald & Pape, 2002; Simutanyi, 1996). The literature further reveals that in an attempt to increase their membership and bargaining power, the unions decided to diversify their membership. For instance, rather than confining its membership to civil servants, the Civil Servants Union of Zambia decided to extend its membership to workers in semi-autonomous government institutions and non-governmental organizations. To illustrate this diversification of its membership, the Civil Servants Union of Zambia (CSUZ) changed its name to Civil Servants and Allied Workers Union of Zambia (CSAWUZ) (Madimutsa & Pretorius, 2021). The strategy of diversifying membership has also been adopted by unions in other African countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, and South Africa where union membership has been extended to casual and informal sector workers (Andrae & Beckman, 2011; Webster, 2006). Nevertheless, the strategy of diversifying the membership presents new challenges to trade unions in addition to those presented by neoliberal policies. The new challenges include inter-union conflicts as the unions stray into each other's territory and lack of resources to manage multiple bargaining units (Madimutsa & Pretorius, 2021).

Because of having been weakened by the implementation of neoliberal policies, trade unions in Africa are susceptible to manipulation by employers. For instance, employers in Zambia have been clinching deals with small and weak unions and then extending the same deals to

other unions (Madimutsa, 2023). This vulnerability of the unions has made them to become less militant and more cooperative with management. This practice has been reported not only in Zambia but also in other African countries such as South Africa. Consequently, workers are subjected to poor employment conditions (see Botiveau, 2017; McNamara, 2021).

As a way of cushioning workers against low wages, trade unions in Africa have started offering a number of individualized services to their members. For example, unions in the public, education, and mining sectors in Zambia have been offering their members both financial and non-financial services. Financial services include grants and loans while non-financial services include training, union branded clothes, and land (Chungu, 2023; Madimutsa, 2023; McNamara, 2021). The servicing approach has also been adopted by unions in other African countries such as South Africa (Botiveau, 2017; Kgapola & Smit, 2017). However, workers are not happy with the quality and quantity of services offered by their unions. Kgapola & Smit (2017) argue that close to half of the membership of public sector unions in South Africa is not satisfied with the quality of union services. The situation is worse in the primary education sector in Zambia where more than three quarters of the members are not happy with the services offered by their unions (Chungu, 2023). The main reason for the dissatisfaction with union services is that the services are very few such that majority of the members are not able to access them (Chungu, 2023).

Although workers are dissatisfied with union services, they continue to be passive and allow their unions to cooperate with management rather than being militant to meet the needs of their members (Botiveau, 2017; McNamara, 2021). From this literature, it can be noted that trade unions in Africa have been struggling to adapt to the neoliberal environment. Nonetheless, the literature is not comprehensive. It focuses mainly on the experiences of unions in the central government, education sector, and mining industry. It does not cover the experiences of unions in other sectors such as local government, agriculture, and transport, among others. In addition, the literature does not explain how trade unions manage to pacify members who are dissatisfied with union services. This is the gap this article attempts to fill by focusing on the experiences in local councils in Zambia. The experiences in local councils are worth investigating because they involve the needs of workers who deal directly with local people. Therefore, the wellbeing of local people

depends on the motivation of these workers to deliver municipal services effectively.

Theoretical framework

The discussion in this article is guided by the assumptions of pacification theory. There are four assumptions of pacification theory that are relevant to this article. The first assumption is that capitalism creates conditions that discipline workers so that they are easily exploited (Huff & Orengo, 2020). In this regard, capitalism is taken to mean a mode of production that promotes “capital accumulation and the valorisation of private property” (Rigakos & Ergul, 2013: 171). Under this mode of production, workers are exploited by being made to work without pay thereby allowing capitalists to accumulate capital (Rigakos & Ergul, 2013). Based on this assumption, we believe that the adoption of neoliberalism in Africa has allowed capitalism to grow thereby enabling employers to accumulate capital while exploiting workers. Exploitation of workers is expected to occur in both the private and public sectors including local councils. This expectation is due to public sector reforms that have been implemented in the context of neoliberalism which involve the application of private sector principles in the management of public institutions including local councils (Madimutsa, 2016).

The second assumption of pacification theory is that workers are policed to ensure security and capital accumulation (Neocleous, 2013). In line with this assumption, we expect rules and regulations to be enforced in local councils so that workers continue to work despite being subjected to low wages and poor union member services. The third assumption is that trade unions are agents of capital in the process of policing workers (Rigakos & Ergul, 2013). Based on this assumption, we expect trade unions in local councils to be involved in controlling workers so that they do not rise against low wages. This implies that member services that are provided by the unions are aimed at promoting peace at the workplace rather than promoting the welfare of workers. The fourth assumption of pacification theory is that capitalists use unemployment as a tool to lower the expectations of workers. In this respect, if workers decide to increase their demands, they are threatened

with job losses and being “replaced by the unemployed” (Rigakos & Ergul, 2013: 173). In line with this assumption, we expect workers in local councils to not complain about low wages or poor union member services for fear of losing their jobs and being replaced by the unemployed.

Research methodology

The research design that was used to conduct the research was the case study design. This design involves the collection of detailed information on the behavior of a particular social unit, which can be a person, an institution, or a community (Kothari, 2012). In this research, the social units that were studied are trade unions operating in local councils in Lusaka province of Zambia. The case study design was adopted because it helps to understand how a social unit interacts with the environment and how it responds to environmental changes (Kothari, 2012). In this research, the case study design helped to understand how trade unions in local councils interact with neoliberal policies and how they respond to these policies so as to meet workers’ needs.

In terms of research approach, the mixed methods approach was used in this research. This involved the use of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. On the one hand, the qualitative approach enabled the researchers to collect in-depth information about trade unions and their use of member services to pacify workers in local councils in the era of neoliberalism. On the other hand, the quantitative approach enabled the researchers to collect quantifiable or statistical data on trade unions’ use of member services to pacify workers in local councils. The mixed methods approach was adopted so that the two research approaches could complement each other thereby broadening our understanding of the issue under investigation.

The research was conducted in Lusaka province because Lusaka is the most populated province in Zambia. In 2022, around 3.1 million people resided in Lusaka province. This was against a total population of 19.6 million people living in Zambia (Zambia Statistics Agency, 2022). This meant that Lusaka province had the highest demand for municipal services in the country. The province also had the highest demand for union member services. Therefore, conducting the research in Lusaka province gave the researchers the opportunity to have a better understanding of how union services were used to pacify workers in local councils. A sample of 112 participants was engaged in the research,

comprising 12 union officials and 100 ordinary workers. Purposive sampling was used to select union officials while multistage sampling was used to select ordinary workers. On the one hand, purposive sampling was used to select union officials because it allowed the researchers to identify and select individuals that were knowledgeable of the issue under investigation. On the other hand, multistage sampling was used to select ordinary workers because the workers were scattered across the eight local councils in Lusaka province.

The first stage of sampling ordinary workers involved purposively selecting three local councils out of the eight in Lusaka province. The selected councils were Lusaka City, Chongwe Municipal, and Kafue Town Councils. These councils were selected so that the sample of workers could have representation of all the three types of local councils in the province, namely, city, municipal, and town councils. The second stage involved the use of stratified sampling to select 100 out of 3,556 workers in the three councils. 65 out of 3,000 workers were drawn from Lusaka City Council, 20 out of 300 workers were drawn from Kafue Town Council, while 15 out of 256 workers were drawn from Chongwe Municipal Council. Stratified sampling was used at this stage because it ensured that the sample proportionally represented the number of workers in the three selected local councils. The third stage involved the use of simple random sampling to select the workers from each local council based on the registers provided by the councils.

Qualitative data were collected from union officials using semi-structured interviews while quantitative data were collected from ordinary workers using a questionnaire. The data were collected between March 1 and December 31, 2019. Four ethical guidelines were observed in the process of conducting the research. First, research ethical clearance was obtained from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of Zambia before the research was undertaken. Second, official authorization to conduct the research was obtained from the Town Clerks of Lusaka City and Chongwe Municipal councils and the Council Secretary of Kafue Town Council. Third, written informed consent was sought from all the participants in the research. This was done after the research issue, research objectives, and the methods of sampling and data collection were explained to the

participants. In this regard, the participants were also told that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw their consent at any time if they wished to do so. Fourth, efforts were made to maintain the anonymity of the participants by not collecting their names. Instead, ordinary workers were assigned numbers for purposes of identifying them and the questionnaires by answered while union officials were identified by their union titles.

Worker pacification through provision of union member services

As workers in local councils in Zambia continue to work for several months without getting their salaries (Mwenya, 2019; Siandizya, 2023), trade unions decided to pacify them by offering member services. The Secretary General of the Zambia United Local Authorities Workers Union (ZULAWU) mentioned that “even though members belong to Madison Insurance, the union provides medical and funeral support to its members in the best way they can”. In the same vein, the Chairperson of the Kafue Branch of ZULAWU revealed that apart from funeral grants and medical support, the unions also gave their members small loans. The provision of these services was confirmed by 37 workers from Lusaka City, Chongwe Municipal, and Kafue Town Councils who managed to access the services from their unions. The distribution of the services received by workers from their unions is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: *Distribution of union member services received by workers*

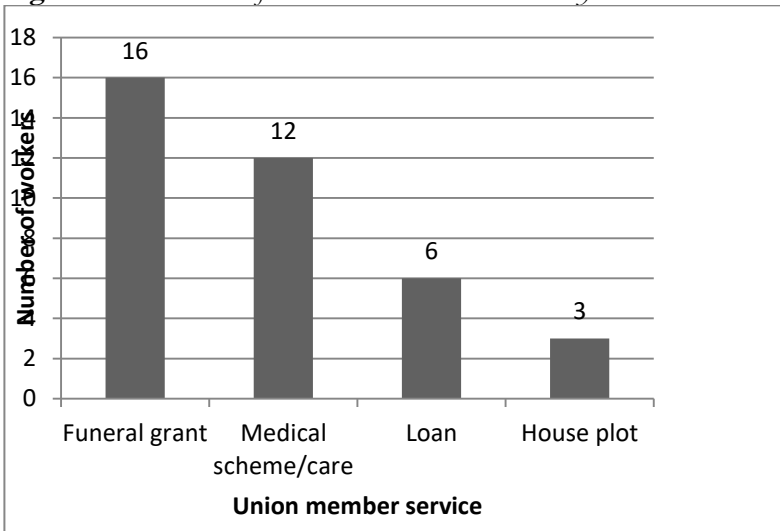


Figure 1 show that most of the services offered by the unions to their members focus on workers' welfare. In this regard, the most popular service offered to the members is funeral grant. This service was received by 16 out of 37 workers who reported receiving individualized services from their unions. This was followed by medical scheme/care which was received by 12 out of 37 workers who received individualized services from their unions. These findings reveal that the poorly remunerated workers in local councils have challenges to deal with the costs of health care and funerals. As such, they need welfare services to sustain their lives. Furthermore, Figure 1 shows that apart from funeral and health care costs, the workers also need loans to help them finance other needs in their lives. In addition, Figure 1 shows that the workers also sought assistance from their unions to help them secure plots to build houses which they could not afford from their low wages. This situation is not only obtaining in local councils but also in other sectors in Zambia such as mining and education where trade unions offer a variety of services to their members (see Chungu, 2023; McNamara, 2021). These services are also offered to union members in other African countries such as South Africa (see Botiveau, 2017; Kgapola & Smit, 2017).

The provision of union member services to workers in local councils in Zambia where the workers work for several months without salaries shows how neoliberal capitalism has penetrated the public sector in Africa. This ideology emphasizes service delivery through market forces. Through this ideology, public institutions including local councils are forced to use private sector principles to deliver public services. These principles include decentralization, performance management, commercialization, outsourcing, and cost saving (Madimutsa et al., 2021). Through these principles, management of local councils in Zambia has been able to transfer labor costs to trade unions. This has been done by making the unions provide member services to workers who are made to work for several months without being paid salaries by their employers. This finding agrees with pacification theory which argues that capitalism creates conditions that discipline workers so that they are easily exploited (Huff & Orengo, 2020). In this respect, trade unions are part of the

avenues used to police workers as they get exploited by capital (Rigakos & Ergul, 2013).

Despite the unions offering individualized services to their members, very few workers are able to access the services. Out of 100 workers engaged in this research, only 37 received the services. The situation is the same in the primary education sector in Zambia where majority of the workers are not able to access individualized union services (Chungu, 2023). This is the case because the unions lack financial resources to provide the services to all their members. The Chairperson of the Lusaka Branch of ZULAWU indicated that “we only collect about 15% of revenue from the membership fee paid to the NEC [National Executive Committee] . . . This amounts to about K18,000 [US\$1,385] which cannot support about 3,500 Lusaka City Council employees who are part of the union”. This finding shows that union services are not meant to promote the welfare of workers but to give them false hope so that they can continue working despite being subjected to poor working conditions. This view was confirmed by the Chairperson of the Kafue Branch of the Fire Services Union of Zambia (FSUZ) who said that “providing welfare services to union members is one of the ways to make them feel part of the union”. This revelation agrees with pacification theory which argues that trade unions are agents of capital in the process of policing workers (Rigakos & Ergul, 2013).

Table 1: *Age and receiving union member services*

Received member services from the union		Age group				Total
		20-29	30-39	40-49	50 and above	
	Yes	1	18	13	5	37
	No	9	35	11	8	63
Total		10	53	24	13	100

Table 1 shows that the most pacified workers are the middle-aged who are the majority in seeking member services from trade unions. The table indicates that the age group with majority of the members who received member services from their union belonged to the age group of 40-49 years. In this age group, 13 out of 24 workers received the services (representing 54.2% of the workers in this age group). This was followed

by those aged 50 years and above where 5 out of 13 workers received the services (representing 38.5% of the workers in this age group). This was followed by those aged 30-39 years where 18 out of 53 workers received the services (representing 34% of workers in this age group). The least pacified are youthful workers. Table 1 shows that only 1 out of 10 workers aged 20-29 years received the services (representing 10% of workers in this age group). Older workers are prone to pacification because of their increased family responsibilities which require increased financial resources. These family responsibilities include parental responsibilities and caring for elderly and ailing family members (Barot & Barot, 2017).

Although workers look up to trade unions for relief through member services, most of the services are not free. Apart from funeral grants, workers are required to pay for the other member services offered by the unions. These include house plots and loans which need to be paid for and paid back, respectively. From this observation, we note that union member services actually put workers in debt rather than improve their welfare. This observation confirms the assumption of pacification theory that capitalism creates conditions that discipline workers so that they are easily exploited (Huff & Orengo, 2020). In this regard, union member services are part of the conditions used to pacify workers in the era of neoliberal capitalism. As observed in local councils in Zambia, workers look forward to receiving member services from their unions while management makes them work for several months without being paid their salaries (see Mwenya, 2019; Siandizya, 2023).

Level of worker satisfaction with union member services

Although trade unions have embraced the member servicing strategy, most of the workers in local councils in Lusaka province are not satisfied with the services. When asked whether they were happy with member services provided by their union, only 27 out of 100 workers indicated that they were happy while the rest (73 workers) were not. This level of dissatisfaction with union services is similar to what is obtaining in other sectors in Zambia such as primary education (Chungu, 2023). Dissatisfaction with union services has also been reported in other

African countries such as South Africa (see Kgapola & Smit, 2017). The reasons for dissatisfaction with union services in local councils in Lusaka province are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: *Reasons for being unhappy with union services*

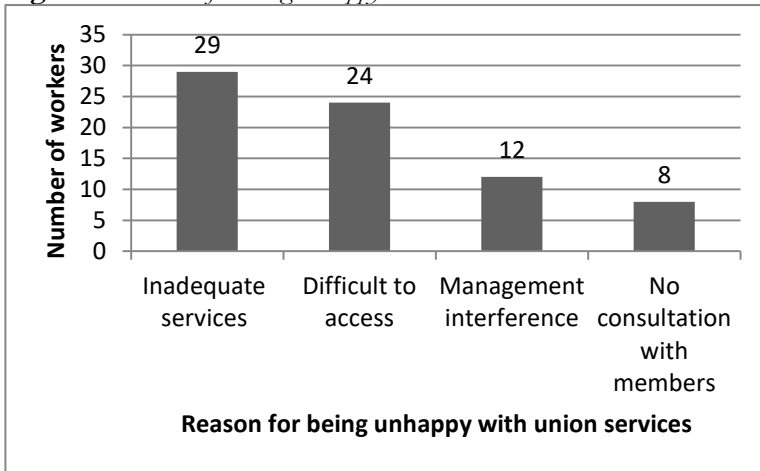


Figure 2 shows that the reasons for workers being unhappy with union services revolve around poor management of the services. As shown in Figure 2, the main reason is inadequate services that cannot be accessed by all the workers. This reason was given by 29 out of 73 dissatisfied workers (representing 39.7% of the dissatisfied workers). The second reason involves the difficulties associated with accessing the services. This reason was given by 24 out of 73 dissatisfied workers (representing 32.9% of the dissatisfied workers). The processes followed to access the services were revealed by the General Secretary of ZULAWU who mentioned that the union executive meets once every month to consider applications for services such as loans and plots while services such as funeral grant and medical scheme/care are provided when need arises. Based on the workers' presentations, it means that these processes make it difficult for them to access union services despite the workers being in need of these services. This observation shows that union services are not meant to promote the welfare of workers but to prevent workers from being agitated. This confirms the argument by pacification theory that trade unions are agents of capital in the process of controlling workers and ensuring continued productivity and capital accumulation (Rigakos & Ergul, 2013).

The third reason for dissatisfaction with union services is interference by management/employers in the process of providing the services. This reason was given by 12 out of 73 dissatisfied workers (representing 16.4% of the dissatisfied workers). The Chairperson of the Chongwe Branch of FSUZ revealed that;

When we recommend our members to get loans from within the organization, they are sent away by management sighting that union members are quite aggressive and stubborn thus do not qualify for those loans. This makes it difficult for us to provide financial assistance to our members.

The fourth reason for dissatisfaction with union services is lack of consultation between union leaders and members in the process of providing the services. This reason was given by 8 out of 73 dissatisfied workers (representing 10.9% of the dissatisfied workers). This undemocratic practice characterizing the provision of union services implies that the services are not meant to benefit workers but to ensure security at the workplace for the benefit of employers. This finding supports pacification theory which assumes that capitalism creates conditions that discipline workers so that they are easily exploited (Huff & Orengo, 2020).

Dealing with dissatisfied union members

Members that are not satisfied with services offered by the unions are dealt with using two strategies of pacification. The first strategy is persuasion. Through this strategy, dissatisfied workers are persuaded to bear with the unions because they face challenges to provide the services. The main challenge presented by both union officials and ordinary members is lack of funds. This challenge was reported by 14 workers who were denied the services because their unions lacked the necessary funds to provide the services. This challenge was also confirmed by the Chairperson of the Lusaka Branch of ZULAWU who indicated that the union did not have enough financial resources to support all the unionized employees at Lusaka City Council. The union officials added

that the situation was worsened by union members who did not support fundraising ventures undertaken by the unions. The National Secretary of FSUZ stated that “even when we come up with a fundraising venture to help us raise money for the provision of the same welfare services, they [union members] rarely support these ventures”. The Chairperson of the Lusaka Branch of ZULAWU added that “for instance, we have a photocopying machine at our offices but very few members come to use the service. They opt to go photocopy from the canteens by the roadside”. The strategy of persuading workers to understand situations rather than being militant has also been used by management in the central government of Zambia (see Madimutsa, 2023). This finding shows that trade unions have been co-opted by management to control workers and create peace at the workplace. This is in agreement with pacification theory which assumes that trade unions are agents of capital in the process of policing workers (Rigakos & Ergul, 2013).

The second strategy used to pacify workers who are dissatisfied with union services involves threats of disciplinary action, especially from management. The National Secretary of FSUZ stated that “when union leaders suggest a way of doing things in the council to benefit the union members, management would oppose the suggestions citing that the union is questioning their authority”. The National Executive Secretary of ZULAWU added that “we work in fear of the people that are politically aligned . . . They will ensure that they find a way of threatening the works of the union”. The threats that are made against active union leaders and members include transfer from one local council to another and loss of employment (Gwasupika & Madimutsa, 2022). This finding agrees with pacification theory which assumes that workers are policed to ensure security and capital accumulation (Neocleous, 2013). In addition, the threats of job losses in local councils in Zambia confirm the assumption of pacification theory that capitalists use unemployment as a tool to lower the expectations of workers (Rigakos & Ergul, 2013). As such, workers who are dissatisfied with union services cannot increase their demands for fear of losing their jobs and being “replaced by the unemployed” (Rigakos & Ergul, 2013: 173).

Conclusion

We argue that the implementation of neoliberal policies in African countries such as Zambia has introduced the capitalist mode of production in public institutions including local councils. Through these

policies, trade unions have been co-opted in the capitalist mode of production. The co-optation involves trade unions being used to pacify workers by offering member services such as financial and non-financial services. Through these services, workers are given false hope so that they can continue working despite being subjected to poor working conditions. This finding is in agreement with pacification theory which argues that trade unions are agents of capital in the process of policing workers (Rigakos & Ergul, 2013). Although the unions have adopted the servicing strategy, their services are so inadequate that they cannot be accessed by all the workers. Despite the high levels of member dissatisfaction with union services, workers cannot rise against their unions or management because of two strategies of pacification used to deal with them. These are persuasion and threats of disciplinary action being taken against them. This finding agrees with pacification theory which argues that workers are policed to ensure security and capital accumulation (Neocleous, 2013).

The major contribution of this article has been to explain the role of trade union member services in pacifying workers in local councils in African countries such as Zambia. This contribution is significant because it helps us to understand why workers in Africa continue working and cooperating with management in the era of neoliberalism despite being subjected to poor conditions of employment. Although the article has made this contribution, it did not discuss the strategies of strengthening the unions in the era of neoliberalism. This is the issue that future research can focus on.

Policy recommendations

In order to strengthen trade unions in the era of neoliberalism, the following policy measures can be adopted:

- 1) Trade unions should build their capacity in research-based collective bargaining so that they can bargain for real wages and prevent workers from being vulnerable to exploitative loans. The research process should involve collecting information on issues

that affect the purchasing power of workers' income such as inflation and cost of living.

- 2) Trade unions should merge and establish a unified labor movement that is capable of speaking with one voice when engaging employers on matters affecting workers such as the terms and conditions of employment.
- 3) Trade unions should organize workers in the informal sector and fight against casualization of labour. This will help to protect workers against threats of underemployment and unemployment and enhance their collective bargaining power.

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