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**Trade union responses  
to globalization:  
Case study on Ghana**

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International Institute for Labour Studies Geneva

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## **Introduction**

There have been two principal driving forces of the process of globalization. The first is vastly improved transport and communications which have greatly reduced the importance of geographical distance. The World Bank (1995) estimates that by 1960 maritime transport costs were less than a third of the 1920 level, and they have continued to fall. The jet aircraft has made most parts of the world accessible in a relatively short time. The fall in the cost of communications has even been more dramatic. According to the World Bank, the cost of an international telephone call fell six-fold between 1945 and 1970, and ten-fold between 1970 and 1990, and has continued to fall. The fusion of traditional communications technology and computer technology which has created the e-mail, Internet etc. has revolutionized worldwide communications and virtually eliminated geographical barriers since there is now instantaneous transmission of information throughout the world.

The second principal driving force has been the dominance of free enterprise, market-oriented, liberalized trade policies and development strategy since the early 1980s. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist regimes of Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s has intensified this dominance since it removed the major contending economic strategies. Through the medium of "policy-based lending", the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Western donor countries have ensured that an economic orthodoxy which favours liberalized trade and the free flow of capital, though not of labour, has been embraced by virtually all the developing countries.

What has been called the "triumph of economic liberalism" is one of the driving forces of globalization. This triumph of neoliberal ideas on economic management, as well as the free movement of goods and capital and the relative immobility of labour, has led to a situation in which the influence of organized labour has been considerably weakened. The need to be "internationally competitive" has often meant reducing labour costs and increasing profits so as to enhance "shareholders' value." The desire to attract foreign investment has prompted even centre-left governments to turn a deaf ear to union preferences. Almost all governments now have to institute neoliberal reforms:

"that have only spelled trouble for labour. Tighter fiscal controls prompted governments to downsize public-sector payrolls and pensions. Stabilization policies aimed at reducing inflation and controlling prices in some cases included wage freezes. Liberal trade policies have led to increased competition, which often meant that inefficient industries must shed labour and, in some cases, may be forced out of business entirely. In this climate, unions in many countries have had increasing difficulty delivering tangible results to their members." (Newland, 1999).

In large parts of the developing world, the economic liberalist reform objectives of privatization, deregulation, and open trade and investment have been introduced mainly through structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), supported by the World Bank and the IMF. Since 1983 the government of Ghana has been implementing such a programme of economic reforms aimed at reducing the role of the state in the economy, increasing the role of the private sector and the market, liberalizing the economy and integrating it more fully into the global market. The policies have included pursued have been fiscal and monetary restraint; exchange rate adjustment/devaluation; trade liberalization; divestiture of state-owned enterprises; and private sector promotion.

This paper examines the impact of these reforms on Ghanaian workers and looks at the response of organized labour to the new environment created by the reforms. We begin with some background information on the country and its labour market, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) of Ghana and its relationship to successive governments in Ghana. The next section presents the current structure of organized labour institutions, and the central role played by the Trades Union Congress. The third section reviews some aspects of the economic reforms introduced since 1983, with special attention to measures aimed at integrating Ghana more fully into the global economy. This section also reviews the impact of the reforms on employment and earnings. The fourth section analyses the response of the Trades Union Congress to the challenges posed by the reforms. First

we review the attempts made by the TUC to influence economic policy through a critique of some of the reform measures and also by participating in the implementation of specific policies. The objective of these activities has been to mitigate what the TUC perceives to be the adverse effects of the reform measures on its members. The second part of the fourth section is devoted to attempts by the TUC to shore up its declining membership and improve its capacity to represent and protect the interests of its members.

## 1. Background information

Ghana, formerly a British colony called the Gold Coast, attained independence in 1957. It is a small low-income country in West Africa with a population of about 18 million (1997) and a land area of 228,000 sq.kilometres. It had a Gross National Product (GNP) of \$6.6 billion in 1997 and a per capita GNP of \$370 the same year.

The political history of the country since independence has been dominated by frequent military interventions in government, with successful military coups in 1966, 1972, 1979 and 1981, a palace coup in 1978, and numerous unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the government, whether it was in civilian or military hands. Political instability has been the principal cause of the deteriorating economic fortunes of the country, which was considered a middle-income country at the time of independence, and had a standard of living which was high for an African country. The past two decades have seen a reasonable measure of political stability. The military regime, which took power at the end of 1981, managed to continue in government despite some challenges. After elections in 1992, it transformed itself into a constitutional regime.

Data on the labour market in Ghana has traditionally been characterized by its paucity and unreliability. The Statistics and Research Division of the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare has recently attempted to remedy this situation, and the discussion in this paper is based mainly on its *Key Indicators of the Ghanaian Labour Market*.

Agriculture, forestry and fishing provide about 60 per cent of total employment; retail trade is the second most important source, accounting for 21 per cent of total employment. Manufacturing provides about 5 per cent of total employment; the service industries 10.2 per cent; and construction 2 per cent of total employment. Transport/communications/utilities provide 1.7 per cent of total employment; mining 0.3 per cent; finance /insurance/ real estate 0.3 per cent; and wholesale trade accounts for 0.5 per cent of total employment.

The Trades Union Congress (TUC) of Ghana was formally inaugurated in 1945 when the existing 14 unions registered under the Trades Union Ordinance of 1941 came together under a central coordinating body. Associations of workers for mutual protection had existed in the Gold Coast from about the 1920s, but organized trade union activity is usually dated from 1941 when the Trades Union Ordinance provided for the registration of unions, which could be formed by any five workers. The 1941 Ordinance, however, did not confer bargaining rights on the unions. Employers could agree or refuse to negotiate with their employees.

Four years after the formation of the Trades Union Congress, a militant nationalist party, the Conventions Peoples Party (CPP) was formed. The CPP was devoted to seeking immediate self-government, and the ending of colonial rule in the Gold Coast. The party courted organized labour, many union leaders were active in the party, and there appeared to be some coordination of activities between the party and the unions. Thus although a general strike called by the Congress in 1950 was ostensibly to protest against dismissals in the Meteorological Department, the demands made by the workers included a call for the immediate grant of Dominion Status to the Gold Coast; and a day after the outbreak of the strike, the CPP decided to embark on a "positive action" campaign for immediate self-government.

The collaboration between the Congress and the CPP appeared to pay off when the party led the country to independence in 1957. A year after independence, the CPP-led government introduced the Industrial Relations Act of 1958 (Act 56) designed to strengthen trade unions in Ghana. The 1958 Industrial Relations Act gave legal backing to trade unions for the first time. It gave legal recognition to the Trades Union Congress as a corporate body. It made collective bargaining compulsory, and the provisions of collective bargaining agreements legally binding on employers and workers. It gave legal backing to the check-off system under which trade unions dues were deducted at source. An amendment in 1959 made it impossible for any union to stay outside the TUC's new structure. The CPP government also passed the Civil Service Act and the Civil Service

Interim Regulations of 1960 which had the effect of making trade union membership compulsory for all civil servants. This was intended, among other things, to strengthen the financial standing of the TUC. In 1958 the government provided the TUC with the building which houses its Headquarters as a “tribute to the contribution that Ghana labour has made in our struggle for liberation.”

The Industrial Relations Act of 1958 was replaced by the Industrial Relations Act of 1965 which remains the principal instrument governing industrial relations in Ghana. [A new Labour Code has been prepared but yet to be enacted.] The 1965 Act echoed the 1958 Act, including the provision making the TUC the sole representative of the trade union movement in Ghana. This monopoly status has been criticized as contravening ILO Convention No. 87, and the country’s constitution. The proposed new Code seeks to make changes in this area.

Collaboration between the TUC and the CPP government did not only produce benefits for the labour movement; it also entailed costs in terms of a loss of independence. From about 1959 onwards, the CPP regarded the TUC as a wing of the party and felt free to interfere in union matters in several ways, including making appointments to leadership positions in the TUC. This generated resentment among some unionists, and the difficult economic situation in the mid-1960s turned many rank-and-file workers against the government. When the CPP government was overthrown by the military in 1966, many workers welcomed the change. The arrival of Ghana’s first military regime, however, represented a setback to the TUC in some respects. Some of its leaders were arrested and held in custody for a while, and the new government, the National Liberation Council (NLC), repealed section 24 of the Civil Service Act of 1960, which made trade union membership compulsory for civil servants. This naturally led to a loss of membership. Membership in the Public Services Workers Union fell from 40,000 in January 1967 to 26,000 by June 1968 (Arthiabah and Mbiah, 1995). The NLC also implemented an IMF-supported stabilization programme which involved the retrenchment of an estimated 60,000 workers in state-owned enterprises over the period 1966-67. These developments adversely affected the financial position of the TUC.

The TUC was to suffer an even more serious setback with the return to civilian rule in 1969. The party which won the 1969 elections had been in opposition to the CPP before and after independence. It was not known to be a natural ally of workers and their unions. Indeed the claim was made that many of the party’s leaders had “a class-based disdain for union leaders”. There was soon to be cause for confrontation between the government and the TUC. At the third biennial congress of the TUC held in August 1970, a resolution was passed calling for a 100 per cent increase in the minimum wage (from C 0.75 to C 1.50). The request was turned down by the government as unreasonable and potentially inflationary. Given the initial mutual suspicions, and fearing that a national strike might be called to support the demand for an increase in the minimum wage, the government decided to strike first at the TUC. On 13 September 1971, under a certificate of urgency, Parliament passed the Industrial Relations (Amendment) Act 1971 (Act 383) to replace the Industrial Relations Act 1965 (Act 229). The new Act dissolved the TUC with immediate effect and empowered the government to appoint a board of receivers to dispose of all the properties of the TUC.

The government argued that the TUC as set up by the Industrial Relations Act of 1965 was undemocratic and an infringement on the rights of workers to associate freely. The new Act, therefore, in addition to dissolving the TUC provided that: “Any group of trade unions shall have the right to constitute themselves into any association, federation, confederation or congress of trade unions for the attainment of their common aims.” There can be no doubt that the primary motivation for introducing the Industrial Relations Act of 1971 was to disorganize and weaken the labour movement. However, the government was able to claim that the Act of 1971 was for the “purposes of protecting the rights or freedoms of other persons in terms of the spirit of the constitution”. This claim was justified by the legitimate criticism of the monopoly status conferred on the TUC by the 1965 Act.

The military took power again only four months after Act 383 was passed. The new rulers who came into power in January 1972 promulgated the Industrial Relations (Amendment) Decree of 1972, which repealed the 1971 Act and restored the Industrial Relations Act of 1965 and the TUC.

## **2. Current structure of the trade union movement**



The Industrial Relations Act 1965 (Act 229) recognizes the TUC as the sole representative of the trade union movement in Ghana. Section 3 of Act 229 requires that any union wishing to apply for a collective bargaining certificate from the Registrar of Trade Unions has to apply through the TUC. The TUC has 17 national unions organized along industrial lines. These and their declared membership are:

**Table 1. Trade union membership**

	1985	1998
1) Communication Workers Union (CWU)	7,000	6,026
2) Construction, Building & Material Workers Union (CBMWU)	39,553	36,750
3) Ghana Mine Workers Union (GMWU)	27,018	24,834
4) Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU)	56,138	37,400
5) General Agricultural Workers Union (GAWU)	100,000	86,690
6) General Transport, Petroleum & Chemical Workers Union (GTPCWU)	29,185	15,683
7) Health Services Workers Union (HSWU)	30,000	32,745
8) Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU)	120,000	106,483
9) Local Government Workers Union (LGWU)	35,000	33,126
10) Maritime and Dockworkers Union (MDU)	31,085	29,012
11) National Union of Seamen (NUS)	5,011	1,871
12) Public Services Workers Union (PSWU)	63,000	89,324
13) Public Utility Workers Union (PUWU)	20,000	10,081
14) Railway Enginemen's Union (REU)	898	884
15) Railway Workers Union (RWU)	8,955	5,907
16) Teachers and Educational Workers Union (TEWU)	40,000	31,448
17) Timber and Woodworkers Union (TWU)	18,000	24,334
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>630,843</b>	<b>572,598</b>

*Source:* 1985 figures are from Arthiabah and Mbiah, 1995, and 1998 figures are from the Secretary-General's Report on Activities of the TUC (Ghana) for the Third and Fourth Quarters of 1998, presented to the Executive Board, Dec. 1998.

In September 1993, a new union, the Textile, Garment and Leather Employees' Union (TGLEU), whose members were formerly with the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) of the TUC, was registered by the Registrar of Trade Unions under the Trade Unions Ordinance of 1941. As required by the Industrial Relations Act of 1965, the new union, though not affiliated to the TUC, applied through the TUC for a collective bargaining certificate, which was duly granted by the Registrar in October 1993. Thus since 1993, there has been an eighteenth trade union operating under the Industrial Relations Act of 1965, but not affiliated to the TUC. (The new Labour Code is expected to regularize the situation.) In addition, there are a number of workers' associations representing public sector employees, which are not certified to operate under the Industrial Relations Act of 1965. These are the Civil Servants Association of Ghana, the Ghana National Association of Teachers, the Ghana Registered Nurses Association, and the Judicial Service Staff Association of Ghana.

Since December 1992 these associations have had a form of negotiating power with their employer (the government) under the Public Services (Negotiating Committee) Law. Strictly, however, only unions which hold a collective bargaining certificate can call a legal strike, as only they fulfil the conditions laid down by Act 229 to make a strike legal.

These associations and the TUC came together in August 1985 to establish a National Consultative Forum of Ghana Labour (NCFGL). The Forum does not negotiate on behalf of its constituent members, but creates a cordial atmosphere for negotiations. The public sector workers' associations have constituted a Joint Consultative Forum. These associations are represented on the National Advisory Committee on Labour, which advises the Ministry of Labour. At the Tripartite Committee on Salaries and Wage Guidelines, they participate under the umbrella of the TUC.

In 1998, a new labour centre, the Ghana Federation of Labour, was established by the Ghana National Association of Teachers, the Ghana Registered Nurses Association, the Textiles, Garment and Leather Employees Union, the Lotto Receivers Union, the Cooperative Transport Association, and the Tailors and Dressmakers Association. The latter three associations/unions are made up of self-employed operators in the informal sector. Subsequently, the Civil Servants Association and the Ghana National Association of Teachers withdrew from the new labour centre.

### **3. Economic reforms and their impact on Ghanaian workers**

Since April 1983, Ghana has been carrying out a number of macroeconomic and structural reforms aimed at reviving the economy. The reforms have covered a broad front, including exchange reforms; fiscal reforms; removal of price controls; privatization; restructuring of the public sector; and reforms in agriculture, manufacturing, health and education.

The fuller integration of Ghana into the global economy has been a fundamental objective of the reforms, and a number of policy measures have aimed at achieving this. Of particular mention are the exchange reforms and import liberalization. The previously fixed and highly over-valued exchange rate has been replaced by a flexible, market-determined one. In the process the local currency, the cedi, has undergone massive depreciation, from C2.75=\$1.00 when the reforms started, to the April 2000 rate of C4,000=\$1.00. The measures taken to liberalize imports have included the abolition in January 1989 of the import licensing system established in 1961, a reduction in tariffs, and the lifting of restrictions on access to foreign exchange.

Considerable success has been achieved in increasing Ghana's integration into the world economy. Exports grew from about \$450 million in 1983 to about \$2,090 million in 1998, while imports increased from about \$500 million in 1983 to about \$2,900 million in 1998. The trade intensity index (the sum of exports and imports as a share of GDP) increased from 20 per cent in 1984 to 59 per cent in 1997. In line with most of sub-Saharan Africa, Ghana has not been able to attract large volumes of foreign investment despite vigorous efforts to promote the country as an attractive location for such investment. Some progress has, however, been achieved in recent years.

What has been the impact of these reforms and increased integration into the world economy? Real GDP has grown at an average annual rate of about 5 per cent since 1984. This contrasts with an average annual rate of -2.4 per cent over the pre-reform years of 1978-1983. An evaluation of the impact on employment is more difficult because figures on "recorded employment" from the Ghana Statistical Service terminate in 1991. The recorded figures, based on a survey of establishments, show that employment rose steadily from 280,000 in 1982 to 464,000 in 1985, and then began to fall, dropping to 186,000 in 1991. The decline occurred in both the private and public sectors.

The initial increase in recorded employment was largely due to the greater availability of imported raw materials brought about by the easing of foreign exchange constraints, and the lifting of restrictions on imports. The subsequent decline in employment was due to two main factors. The first was increased competition from imported goods, and the inability of some manufacturers to face this competition. Electrical equipment, textiles, clothing and leather goods were particularly hard hit by the very strong competition from imports. The second factor was the retrenchment of labour in the public sector. An estimated 73,000 workers were retrenched from 1987 onwards under the Civil Service Reform Programme. Another 100,000 workers are estimated to have been retrenched from the Ghana Cocoa Board from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s. The layoffs caused insecurity among workers about their future employment prospects. With respect to incomes, it is a fact that wage restraint has been a constant feature of the reform programme. In the early part of the programme, wage restraint was deemed necessary as an anti-inflation measure. It was also necessary to ensure that the incentive effects of the exchange rate depreciation for the export sector were not eroded by wage increases. Later, the emphasis was on the effects of public sector wage increases on the budget deficit. Currently, it is also emphasized that "prudent wage policies" are necessary to "enhance Ghana's competitiveness and attract foreign investment". Hard data on incomes are as difficult to obtain as employment figures. The Ghana Statistical Service's survey of establishments, which produced the "recorded employment" figures also produced data on "average monthly earnings per employee". These figures, of course, also terminate in 1991. Analysis of the figures shows that "real monthly incomes in 1989 were about double their level in 1980 but declined by more than ten percentage points between 1989 and 1991" (Boateng, 1998).

There are indications that real wages have declined since 1991. A survey of manufacturing firms over the period 1992-94 under the Regional Programme on Enterprise Development (RPED) showed that, for the enterprises surveyed, real wages had declined by 9 per cent over the period of the survey. The survey also revealed a widening gap between low-paid and higher-paid jobs. Thus, for instance, while the real wages of management personnel had increased by 30 per cent and the real wages of sales personnel had increased by 46 per cent, the real wages of production workers and apprentices had declined by 13 per cent and 56 per cent respectively. This widening in the wage differential is a result of policy, as well as demand and supply factors. For the public sector, for instance, the government's medium-term programme calls for measures "to reorganize the functions of the Civil Service and subvented organisations, reduce staffing levels, rationalise hiring practices, and raise relative pay in favour of managerial staff".

It can be said that the changes brought about by the reforms have not been particularly friendly to the workers represented by the TUC. In a speech delivered at the launching of the TUC/ICFTU "New Approach to Structural Adjustment in Africa" in Accra on 9 July 1998, the Secretary General of the TUC declared: "(The) standard of living of the average worker and for that matter the average Ghanaian has fallen during the last fifteen years of adjustment. Unemployment has been high, real incomes have reduced drastically....". The perception of the leaders of organized labour as to the impact of the reforms on their members is important because, irrespective of the evaluation of outside (non-union) analysts, informed or otherwise, the response of the labour movement to the changing economic environment will be determined by what the trade unions perceive it is doing to their members.

#### **4. Trade union responses**

The reaction of the TUC to what it perceives as an unfavourable environment has taken many forms, but can be classified into two main sets of responses. First, the TUC has attempted to influence the (policy) environment and make it less unfriendly; secondly, it has attempted to adjust to the changed environment as far as possible. This has also involved shifts in organizational focus and action. The TUC is trying to adjust to a new environment which itself is still evolving. Therefore some of the responses are only in the form of proposals at this stage.

##### **4.1 Attempting to influence policy**

The TUC has been aware from the start of the reform process that the changes taking place have serious implications for its members. It has therefore sought in various ways to influence the direction of policy through memoranda, conference resolutions, seminars and workshops, and through representation on bodies dealing with the implementation of specific policies and measures. In 1993, in the tenth year of the economic reforms, the TUC and the ICFTU organized a *Conference on the Social Dimensions of the Structural Adjustment Programme*.

This meeting deliberated extensively on the performance of ERP/SAP in Ghana, and made observations and recommendations on privatization, trade liberalization, external debt, agriculture, small businesses and the informal sector, consultation and participation.

The TUC has made its views known on government policies, highlighting what it perceives as the negative effects on workers and society generally, and proposing remedial measures. In May 1986, the TUC issued a statement setting out its views on economic, social and political affairs. Reference was made to a comprehensive position paper on the national situation presented to the government in February 1985, as well as other memoranda on economic and social issues submitted in the previous two years. Expressing regret that these representations to the government and its agencies "have hardly even received acknowledgement", the statement expressed in forthright terms the dissatisfaction of the TUC with the prevailing economic conditions:

"The situation that we face today is one in which harsh sacrifices are exacted from the mass of the working people in the name of economic recovery at the same time that their interests are overlooked. In the name of the efficient utilisation of resources, the basic health, education,

and housing needs of the people, as well as access to utility services like water and electricity are all continually undermined through increasing fees and prices. In the meantime, self-reliance and genuine mobilisation of the resources of the nation in which the people play a central role has been abandoned for reliance on foreign aid and loans". (TUC Ghana, 1986).

The TUC thus took the position quite early that the opening of the economy to foreign capital, and reliance on development strategies imposed from outside were related to the situation in which the interests of the working people were overlooked. This theme was taken up again at the quadrennial congress of the TUC held in March 1988, which addressed among other issues the national economy. The congress came to the conclusion that "the current worsening economic situation in the country, the brunt of which is being borne by the working people, is attributable in the main to the conditionalities imposed on the economy by the multilateral lending agencies, namely the IMF and the World Bank." The congress called for condemnation of the strict adherence by the government to the IMF/ World Bank conditions.

The quadrennial congress thus launched a fundamental and frontal attack on the whole reform programme. It requested the government to "discontinue forthwith" the major elements of the liberal reform agenda: currency devaluation, import liberalization, privatization, expansion of exports, decontrol of prices, etc. All these were denounced as not favourable to the working people of the country. The congress, of course, also noted the increasing burden of external debt servicing payments.

The 1988 Christmas and New Year message of the Secretary-General of the TUC continued this trenchant criticism of the reforms and the prevailing economic situation, detailing the negative effects of the reforms on organized labour:

"The year 1988 has been a difficult year for the working people in the country. Workers have had to put in a lot to survive the intolerable hardship. It is five years now since the inception of the nation's Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), but although the policies of the ERP affect the various social classes one can say without equivocation that as workers we have felt the brunt of the policies despite the great sacrifices made by us under the programme. The year 1988 has not been different from the four previous years of the ERP. As workers we have had to work under severe constraints with the hope that things would get better for us to enjoy the fruits of our sweat and toil, but after five years we are yet to see the light of hope at the end of the tunnel. Rather, things are getting worse from all indications.

Employment in the public sector has ceased to grow. In fact, it has declined due to the retrenchment exercise going on. Workers are becoming redundant because several local industries, which have been subjected to unfair competition from outside under the trade liberalization programme, has folded up. The army of the unemployed is now being urged to seek refuge in the so-called informal sector and this has brought about a massive increase in casual work. Men, women, young people and even children are driven to seek insecure, inadequate, and even dangerous jobs on the fringes of society just to survive.

Those of the working population in gainful employment have also been hard hit by the effects of ERP/SAP and they are having to fight to protect their jobs because they are the first victims of the retrenchment exercises."

During the 1990s the TUC continued to comment on government policies and the national economic situation, but the criticisms were muted. With the SAP firmly entrenched, and the prospects for reversal virtually non-existent, recommendations to the government to discontinue the entrenched policies "forthwith" would probably be futile. In addition, the collapse of the worldwide socialist alternative has meant that people everywhere have had to accommodate themselves to what appears to be the only viable development path. The TUC has concentrated its attention in more recent years on ensuring that the process of policy formulation and implementation is as inclusive as possible in the hope that this will raise the quality of policies and improve the prospects of their being implemented efficiently and with fairness.

In this connection, the TUC was one of the institutions that pressed for the National Economic Forum which took place in September 1997 with the theme *Achieving a National Consensus on Policy Measures for Accelerated Growth within the Framework of Ghana- Vision 2020*. The TUC took an active part in planning the forum as well as in its deliberations. The Secretary-General of the TUC chaired the syndicate group, which discussed the theme *Increasing Employment Opportunities and Promoting Human Development*.

The TUC has also accepted, and indeed sought, representation on bodies charged with policy implementation because it believes it can better protect the interests of workers in this way. Thus, although the TUC was critical of the divestiture programme, it nevertheless agreed to serve on the Divestiture Implementation Committee (DIC). This made it possible for the TUC to fight for compensation for workers laid off in the process of divestiture. The TUC is also represented on other implementation bodies such as the Export Processing Zone Board and the Public Utilities Regulatory Commission, which is responsible for approving the tariffs charged by public utilities.

There has been some debate about the wisdom of the TUC participating in such bodies. Some hold that the small number of TUC representatives are unlikely to influence the decisions taken, while TUC participation will reduce its moral right to criticize the decisions if they are unfavourable to workers. The dominant view in the TUC, however, is that it is better to ensure that the concerns and interests of labour are taken onto account when the decisions are being taken, because very little can be done later. The TUC reserves the right to criticize decisions taken by bodies on which it has representation.

The return to constitutional rule in early 1993 meant that the attempt to influence policy requires not only memoranda and comments on executive actions or participating in policy implementation. It also requires lobbying Parliament to ensure that legislation takes account of the interests of workers. In 1994, the TUC appointed a parliamentary liaison officer as a means of establishing a formal and continuous relationship between the labour movement and Parliament. The officer has been formally introduced to Parliament and recognized by the House. The officer, who has exhibited dedication to the job, briefs TUC leaders on developments in the House and impending legislation. When a Bill is published it is examined for provisions concerning workers, the TUC is alerted, and if it decides to make representations to Parliament, the necessary contacts and arrangements are made.

A labour caucus has been established, comprising members of both the majority and minority parties, and meetings are organized with the TUC to discuss issues and impending legislation of particular interest to workers. Among the major achievements of the TUC's lobbying efforts are the changes effected in legislation on the export processing zones (EPZs). The TUC was able to ensure that the rights of workers to organize within the zones were not compromised, and it also secured representation for the TUC on the EPZ Board.

## **4.2 *Adjusting to a changed environment***

### **4.2.1 *Attracting new members***

Union membership has traditionally been derived principally from junior employees in the formal economy, mainly from relatively large establishments in both the private and public sectors. To counter the erosion in membership, there has been an intensification of the effort to organize self-employed workers and others in the informal sector. Increased efforts are also being made to unionize senior staff and professional workers.

TUC initiatives to establish links with operators in the informal sector are not new. Indeed, one of the 17 affiliated unions, the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU) ranked fifth in terms of membership, consists very substantially of self-employed transport operators. However, there has been a definite intensification of efforts to "organize the unorganized" as a means of shoring up declining membership. The organization department of the TUC and almost all the national unions are devoting time and energy to meetings with micro and small-scale operators with a view to affiliating them with to one of the national unions.

The task of organizing the unorganized appears to be easiest with respect to operators who already belong to some form of association. Thus the Ghana Hairdressers and Beauticians Association has been affiliated to the ICU, and constitutes the most organized informal sector group within the unions. Other groups of self-employed operators such as butchers (LGWU), carpenters and charcoal burners (TWU), and small-scale miners have been organized. GAWU has also organized groups of self-employed rural workers. In the capital city, efforts are being made to organize the large numbers of street hawkers, roadside traders and newspaper vendors.

Unions provide various services to their informal sector members or affiliates. In some cases, as with GAWU's farmer organizations, there is provision of limited credit and help with access to other forms of institutional credit. Many unions provide educational and skill development services.

They also provide channels for collective bargaining with public authorities on matters of interest to the operators. In some cases, legal support is provided for members.

Based on experience so far, K. Adu-Amankwah (1999) has summarized the main obstacles which have faced union organization in the informal sector. These are the low financial returns from the sector in relation to the cost of organization, the absence of a ready package of benefits to attract informal sector operators, and lack of previous experience in union organization. The financial constraint is likely to be the most serious, for if increased membership only worsens the financial plight of the unions, the sustainability of the membership drive will be jeopardized and the capacity to offer benefits to attract informal sector operators will be weakened.

Given the number of redundant workers, some attention has been given to retaining links with retrenched former members of unions. It has been proposed for, instance, that life membership of unions may be granted in some cases. Another approach is to encourage the formation of associations of pensioners and retrenched workers. These may be assisted with training to function as self-employed operators. One such association of mainly retrenched workers is the Self-Employed Women's Union (SEWU), affiliated to the ICU. This is an association of about 300 women engaged in micro and small-scale manufacturing and craft industries. The TUC has helped with their organization and has arranged a number of workshops on entrepreneurship and small business development for them.

The unionization of senior staff and professional personnel is going to be crucial for the continued vitality of the TUC and its unions. Globalization and technological developments are reducing the demand for unskilled labour while increasing the demand for highly skilled and professional personnel. Unions which continue to recruit only blue-collar workers are likely to suffer a diminution in numbers. In addition, senior staff generally earn higher salaries and their financial contribution through union dues can be particularly valuable.

Many unions have mounted aggressive membership drives with respect to senior staff and professional employees. Other factors are also working in favour of the unionisation of senior staff. Retrenchment in the public sector, downsizing in the private sector, and the notion that wages and other labour costs have to be restrained to make Ghana attractive for foreign investment have made many senior and professional personnel feel as vulnerable as junior staff to possible redundancy and erosion of income. Many senior staff have also realized that being covered by a legally-binding collective bargaining agreement puts them on a firmer basis for negotiating for improved service conditions than the informal arrangements that their staff associations have had with employers.

The intensified drive by unions to attract senior staff has provoked a counter-offensive from the employers. The Ghana Employers Association (GEA) has issued public statements, organized conferences and published articles opposing the unionization of senior staff. The GEA's stated reasons for its opposition are many and varied. There is first the genuine problem of deciding which employees are representatives of employers or shareholders, and therefore to be excluded from union membership. On this, the ILO Committee on Freedom of Association (1963 and 1966) has advised as follows:

“it is important that the scope for managerial staff and the like should not be defined so widely as to weaken (worker) organizations by depriving them of a substantial proportion of their present or potential membership.”

The GEA has tended to define “shareholder's representative” rather widely. In the view of the Executive Director of the GEA, a shareholder's representative is “anybody selected by the shareholder as his representative or any staff whose functions entail taking important decisions which have serious repercussions on the shareholder's business, assets or liabilities.”

The employers cite among their reasons for opposing the unionization of senior staff, possible divided loyalty and misuse of confidential information by unionized senior staff/ management personnel. The employers also argue that it would be distasteful for managers to belong to the same trade union as their subordinates, or even worse, for union leaders who may be junior staff to direct the affairs of a union in which their superiors are members. The employers believe this would tend to undermine or erode the authority of the senior officers concerned.

It seems that the employers are particularly concerned about what they believe would be the negative effect of senior staff unionization on foreign investment. On this issue, the Executive Director of the GEA has written as follows:

“The government is invited to take a position on the issue with a view to discouraging the unionisation of management staff. The GEA is of the view that government's efforts at attracting foreign investment may be seriously undermined if senior and management staff of companies is allowed to unionise, knowing the history of trade unions in the country. Foreign investors in particular may feel insecure in the sense that they cannot have loyal senior and management staff they can rely on to ensure increased profitability and reasonable profit, which is the driving force behind any investment” (K. Amoasi- Andoh, 1998).

The country's constitution and laws guarantee freedom of association and the government has declined the invitation from the employers to intervene. In a statement issued in October 1997, the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare declared as follows:

“The Ministry recognises the fact that every Ghanaian is guaranteed freedom of association including the freedom to form or join a trade union of his choice. Senior staff members in any enterprise are therefore at liberty to form or join trade unions. However, since the levels of management responsibility vary from one organization to the other the Ministry's position is that Employees and Management should look at their organizational structures and determine which categories of employees should be unionised.”

Both sides in the debate accept the prescription in principle, the problem is where to draw the line.

The unions have been reasonably successful in unionizing senior staff. The two largest, the ICU and the PSWU, have strong senior staff representation in their unions. The ICU has about 4,000 senior and management staff from 29 companies among its members, and the companies include most of the major private sector establishments in the country. According to the PSWU senior officers have numbered among their ranks from the inception of the union. The unions have not had things all their own way. The three biggest unions have all had instances in which management resisted the unionisation of senior officers, and cases of unionized senior officers renouncing their union membership.

#### **4.2.2 Training union officers and activists**

Within the limits imposed by the prevailing environment, the task of mobilizing members and obtaining improved conditions for them depends to a considerable extent on the skills of trade union officers and activists in the areas of organization and negotiation. The Ghana TUC has recognized this and made the education of its members one of its priority concerns. The preamble to the TUC's educational policy affirms that:

“Trade union education has clearly established itself as one of the most important services that trade unions can provide for their members. Properly designed and implemented, trade union education plays an indispensable role in raising awareness among union members and providing them with skills to meet the challenges that confront the unions.”

The institutional arrangements for giving effect to the educational policy centre mainly on the Education Committee and the Labour College. The Education Committee, consisting of seven members of the Executive Board, is responsible for implementing all aspects of the TUC's educational policy, and is required to promote the full participation of national unions in seeking to achieve the objectives of the policy.

The Labour College, which is regarded as the focal point for developing and managing the educational programmes, has the following specific functions:

- i) Develop study material and provide the technical and administrative support for executing education and training programmes;
- ii) Train trainers and develop a pool of educators to handle trade union education and compile a list of trainers for the national unions and regions;
- iii) Implement a comprehensive education and training programme for the trade union movement;
- iv) Liaise with institutions of higher learning for support in programmes;
- v) Promote learning and studying in the labour movement by organizing seminars, outreach programmes, academic and non-academic courses and discussions.

The Labour College will certainly need additional resources, material and human, to discharge the above functions, but there is already vigorous activity. Training programmes are being organized for various categories of members and officers such as shop stewards, local/branch officers, union staff/field officers, national officers/ members of the Executive Board, and women/youth activists. Training at the Labour College covers three broad areas; trade union education (collective bargaining, grievance handling, organizational skills, health and safety, conduct of meetings and labour laws); trade union history (in Ghana and generally, but with special reference to European trade union history); and special programmes, covering topical issues of interest both at home and worldwide. Basic accounting is offered for some levels of officers, and there is said to be a general request for more emphasis on management training.

There are some acknowledged problems in the field of education. The first is that there is not enough of it. Financial limitations mean that not as many people as desired are currently being catered for. Another problem is that there is no clear division of labour between the unions and the Labour College as to the courses offered, leading in some cases to avoidable duplication of effort, which is particularly regrettable in view of the resource constraints. Another problem mentioned is insufficient attention to participant selection, leading to persons of widely different backgrounds being enrolled in the same course. This tends to reduce the utility of the course, the level being too low for some participants and too high for others.

The educational programmes of the TUC depend quite substantially on external funding. The courses at the Labour College receive funding from the Netherlands Trade Union Federation, the Commonwealth Trade Union Council and the ICFTU Afro among others.

#### **4.2.3 Negotiating for improved wages and working conditions**

Wage restraint has been a constant element of public policy throughout the reforms, and the current emphasis is on wage restraint as a means of attracting foreign investment. This preoccupation with making Ghana attractive for foreign investors has produced an alliance between government and private business in opposition to demands for wage increases by organized labour. At the Tripartite Committee, the TUC has had to face the combined strength of the employers and government, who have coordinated their position on the minimum wage, for instance. This government-private employer collaboration is motivated by more than the fact that the government is also an employer. It appears that the government considers it part of its economic management responsibilities to ensure that the division of the national value-added between wages and profits is biased in favour of profits as an incentive to private investment.

The government and employers have succeeded in installing the capacity to pay of employers as virtually the only factor to be taken into account in wage determination. At the same time, deregulation and privatization of the utilities and other vital services have produced steep increases in the prices of these services. This is justified by what is said to be the economic cost of providing the services.

There are clear indications that the real value of wages declined in the 1990s. To a large extent, trends in the minimum wage can be used to approximate what is happening to wages generally since the minimum wage serves as a benchmark for incomes, especially in the low and middle ranks. The real value of the daily minimum wage (April 2000) is about half its value in 1991. This is roughly in line with the change in the dollar equivalent of the minimum wage over the same period. In July 1991, when allowances were first consolidated into wages, the daily minimum wage was equivalent to \$1.25, while it is now equivalent to about \$0.60.

The serious erosion in the income of large numbers of workers is generating considerable soul-searching on the part of organized labour and pressure on wage negotiations.

#### **4.2.4 Participating in job creation**

In the face of dwindling formal sector employment opportunities, the TUC has been mobilizing resources from its members to invest in productive enterprises as a means of creating employment as well as strengthening the financial base of the unions. In pursuit of this objective the TUC has established a Labour Enterprise Trust (LET) which holds members' contributions and invests the money either by itself or in collaboration with others.



The decision to institute what has been called an enterprise ownership policy was taken at the quadrennial congress in 1996, and was presented as an “important initiative to meet the challenge of job creation and employment security and the need for organized labour to establish itself as an obviously equal and constructive partner in the national development of Ghana.”

The broad objectives of the enterprise ownership policy were stated as:

- i) to create and secure employment;
- ii) to promote the national development of Ghana through appropriate investments;
- iii) to secure a fair return for workers as shareholders;
- iv) to strengthen the economic base of trade unions in Ghana; and
- v) to create the conditions for promoting workers’ participation as an integral aspect of labour relations in Ghana.

At the inception of the trust, it was expected that all the estimated 500,000 unionized workers would purchase a minimum of 100 shares at 50,000 cedis each. The collection of subscriptions was to be spread over 20 months, and by the end of 1998, a total initial capital of 25 billion cedis (equivalent to about \$10 million at that time) was expected to be realized. Actual contributions fell far short of the projected sum, however, and at the end of the subscription period only a little over 90,000 had been contributed, yielding about 20 per cent of the expected initial capital.

So far the LET has made three major investments. It has purchased a 20 per cent share in a \$5 million car park project located in the commercial centre of the capital city of Accra. It is also the majority shareholder in an insurance company and it has invested in four tankers to provide water at competitive rates to residents in Accra.

The LET Board has had to ensure a balance between safe investments and number of jobs created. Only the insurance company, designed to employ 27 full-time staff and 200 full-time agents, can be said to provide a reasonably large number of jobs but the LET has made an initial modest contribution to job creation. Upcoming projects include the establishment of a commercial bank, a security service, service stations, and radio taxi services. These will make further modest contributions to job creation.

#### **4.2.5 Women and unions**

Women are under represented in the unions with an estimated share of 9-10 per cent in total membership. This is substantially below women’s share of formal sector employment, which is about 25 per cent. The Ghana TUC has a long-standing commitment to mobilize women for the national unions, to encourage them to take leadership positions so that the concerns of female members can be effectively articulated, and also to ensure that the policies of the TUC take account of women’s concerns. In accordance with this commitment, a women’s section was established in the TUC in 1969, and in the same year women organizers were appointed for the regional offices at Kumasi and Cape Coast.

The Ghana TUC has formally adopted a gender policy based on the conviction that “the integration of women and achievement of gender equality are matters of human rights and a condition for social justice which should not be seen in isolation as a women’s issue.” The TUC believes that a gender policy is needed because, owing to the marginalization that women have generally suffered, they need to be treated differently by means of affirmative action in order to achieve greater social justice for all members. The broad objectives of the TUC’s gender policy are stated as:

- i) to create gender awareness within the movement;
- ii) to secure proportionate representation within the union structures;
- iii) to promote the integration of gender considerations in collective bargaining agreements;
- iv) to strengthen the legal rights of women in society and at the workplace;
- v) to formulate strategies for the protection of workers in the EPZs and in the informal sector.

Considerable emphasis has been placed on increasing the involvement of women in decision making in all the structures of the labour movement. In addition to the women’s desk at the TUC, seven national unions have set up women’s wings and committees at national as well as regional levels.

Some unions have also appointed women organizers and coordinators, and there is an increasing trend towards assigning negotiating responsibilities to women. Four unions – PSWU, TWU, ICU,

and PUWU – have women on their joint negotiating committees. The idea is growing that the inclusion of women in the negotiating committees will ensure that the peculiar problems of female employees are taken into account in negotiations. It is expected that the practice of including women in negotiating teams will be embraced by all the national unions. Various training programmes have been arranged for women organizers as well as rank-and-file members.

The TUC is convinced that grooming female members to assume leadership positions will help raise its image and will strengthen the TUC and the national unions. It is also true, however, that there has been some pressure from the international trade secretariats (ITS), to which some of the unions are affiliated, for unions to include women in decision-making positions. Some ITS are said to have made this a condition for their unions to benefit from programmes which they sponsor. The activities of the women's desk of the TUC have also benefitted from considerable financial contributions from international organizations and NGOs. This pressure or encouragement from outside has been useful for there are still substantial problems militating against women's active involvement in union work. Some of the problems identified include; lack of knowledge about unions on the part of women; difficulty in combining union work with family responsibilities; lack of confidence and unwillingness to compete against men in elections; and preference for men during elections to union offices. On the last issue, there has recently been a welcome development from an unlikely source. The local union of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, which makes up about 40 per cent of the total membership of the Ghana Mine Workers Union, has elected as its secretary a female union member. In the elections, this lady unionist polled about 90 per cent of the votes.

The TUC and its women's section, in collaboration with other women's organizations, have been making efforts to improve the economic and social status of women. A large part of this drive has centred on encouraging the education of women at all levels and countering the social attitudes that tend to give priority to the education of boys. The TUC emphasizes the importance of educating girls. The TUC has also participated in campaigns to promote the welfare of women in the workplace and in society generally. The women's desk has played a leading role in raising awareness about the problem of sexual harassment at the workplace, and in emphasizing the need for adequate paid maternity leave. The TUC has also been very vocal in condemning violence against women and in calling for stiffer punishment for such crimes as rape.

#### **4.2.6 Collective action and social alliances**

It has been pointed out (Newland, 1999) that trade unions tend to benefit when they take an expansive view of their role, seeking to represent not only the concerns of their members but those of broad-based political parties. In Southern Africa, trade unions such as COSATU have participated actively in popular political and social struggle, and such activities, it is claimed, can enhance the labour movement's popular esteem and boost membership.

An extraordinary congress of the TUC in 1969, when a national election was due, decided that the TUC would not align itself with any political party, and that national union leaders should be debarred from party politics. This non-political party stance was reversed by the second quadrennial congress of the TUC held in September 1978, which endorsed:

“the Executive Board's decision to enter into alliance with other progressive organizations and collaborate with such other persons or groups of persons that might share the aspirations of the working people for the purpose of fulfilling the *labour movement's initiative to create a political force for the defence and protection of the interest of the broad masses of the Ghanaian people*” (my emphasis).

The TUC accordingly sponsored a political party, the Social Democratic Front, to contest the general elections held in 1979. This party was spectacularly unsuccessful in the elections, winning only 3 out of 140 parliamentary seats, and performing badly also in the presidential elections. Suitably chastened by this experience, the TUC subsequently effected an amendment in its constitution, which reaffirmed its neutrality in party politics.

The TUC has forged alliances with other workers' organizations and other elements of civil society in pursuit of common objectives. Within the labour movement, the TUC has established an alliance with bodies such as the Civil Servants Association, the Ghana National Association of Teachers, the Ghana Registered Nurses Association, and the Judicial Service Staff Association.

These other workers' organizations and the TUC are united in a Workers' Forum, which deliberates on issues related to the salaries and conditions of service of workers and puts up a common front when appropriate. The TUC as the most representative workers' body often takes a leadership role. In consultations on the minimum wage and other issues determined at the National Tripartite Committee, it is the TUC which represents workers, but the TUC consults extensively with these other organizations and includes their representatives in its delegation.

Outside the labour movement, the TUC has often made common cause with civil society organizations such as the Ghana Bar Association, the National Union of Ghana Students and the Ghana Journalists Association in support of national objectives such as ensuring free and fair elections; promoting freedom of expression; encouraging the independence of the judiciary; and promoting economic development and stability. Freedom of expression has received particular attention in the TUC's endeavours, no doubt because it is so central to the achievement of the other political and economic goals. The TUC has persistently called for the media, especially the state-owned media, to be freed from government control. The TUC is currently represented on the National Media Commission, the body charged by the national constitution with responsibility for ensuring the independence of the media and for insulating the state-owned media from governmental control.

In Ghana, as in many African countries, distinctions of ethnicity, gender, income and wealth, and sometimes religion constitute potent divisive forces making for civil strife and social disintegration. There is often a need for conscious attempts at social integration based on a policy of inclusion under which all sections of the population have a say in national decision-making. The rich and the powerful always have their say, the TUC provides an avenue through which the underprivileged can ensure that the interests of ordinary people are taken into account. Poverty is often a source of social alienation, and the TUC's struggles for an improvement in the living standards of working people, and the achievement of social justice generally, make important contributions to social cohesion.

#### **4.2.7 Regional and global coordination**

The work of the TUC is greatly aided, especially in the area of capacity building, by the collaborative interactions it undertakes with international and external trade union bodies in Africa and in the rest of the world. The Ghana TUC is affiliated to the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) and to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Some of the national unions are also affiliated to their corresponding international trade secretariats. The Ghana TUC also has fruitful bilateral collaboration with many national trade union centres, particularly in Europe. The Netherlands Trade Union Confederation and its Swedish counterpart appear to be the most active bilateral collaborators of the Ghana TUC. As the most representative labour organization in the country, the TUC participates in ILO meetings and programmes on behalf of the labour movement in Ghana.

These international connections have proved very beneficial to the TUC in many respects. Through reports, commentaries and other publications of the leading international trade union organizations and the ILO, the Ghana TUC is brought up to date on developments in the international economy and their impact on the labour movement globally as well as locally. But perhaps the greatest contribution of these international bodies is the organization both locally and overseas of a large number of conferences, workshops, seminars, and training programmes on issues of importance to the work of trade unions.

The establishment of an African Office for the ICFTU has been particularly important in terms of generating programmes of support targeted at African trade unions. The main programmes that ICFTU-Afro has brought to the Ghana TUC include the 1993 *Conference on the Social Dimensions of Structural Adjustment Programmes*, a workshop on export processing zones, and the recently launched *New Project Approach to Structural Adjustment*.

The Organization of African Trade Union Unity has also been active in marshalling trade unions to confront the challenges posed by the structural adjustment programmes in African countries. Its activities are, however, hampered by inadequate funds. Financial difficulties also led to the demise of the Organization of Trade Unions of West Africa (OTUWA), although efforts are being made to resurrect it.

It is now acknowledged by trade unions in the developed as well developing countries that the challenge of global capital can only be met by unions which have international connections, and

that the forging of strategic links between organized labour groups in different countries is an imperative in an era of globalization. Developing country trade unions, in particular, stand to benefit from the alliances being forged at international level between trade unions, environmental associations and human rights groups to ensure that the rights of workers everywhere are respected, and that globalization produces not only profits for capital but also improved conditions for workers and their families.

## **5. Summary**

Globalization has altered the balance of power between capital and labour decisively to the disadvantage of labour. The free movement of capital across national boundaries and the intense competition between countries for foreign investment have meant that investors'/shareholders' interests are given priority over workers' interests. Supporters of free capital mobility argue that increased inflow of capital produces productivity gains that generate competitive jobs and higher wages. In sub-Saharan Africa, efforts to attract foreign investment have not achieved much success due, in part, to non-economic factors such as civil strife in some countries. This lack of success compels some countries to try even harder at such policies as wage restraint, further trade liberalization, labour retrenchment, privatization etc., policies which, for the time being at least, appear to disadvantage workers.

We have reviewed the policies and actions that the TUC of Ghana has taken to meet the challenges posed by this unfavourable environment. These have included criticizing policies deemed not to be in the interest of workers, advocating and lobbying for more labour-friendly policies, extending the coverage of unions to previously unorganized workers, building alliances, and intensifying the education of officers and activists. Some of these initiatives have been modestly successful. But the labour movement still faces formidable obstacles in its endeavour to achieve improved wages and conditions for workers in the country.

Substantial support is emerging within the labour movement for more radical and robust approaches to defend the interests of workers. This is in accord with developments in other parts of the world where a radical mass "movement for social justice" has emerged to counter what are perceived to be the growing inequalities generated by globalization.

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## **Acronyms and initials**

AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labour - Congress of Industrial Organizations
CPP	Conventions Peoples Party
DFI	Direct Foreign Investment
DIC	Divestiture Implementation Committee
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
GAWU	General Agricultural Workers Union
GEA	Ghana Employers Association
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GPRTU	Ghana Private Road Transport Union
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITS	International Trade Secretariat
LET	Labour Enterprise Trust
LGWU	Local Government Workers Union
NCFGL	National Consultative Forum of Ghana Labour
NLC	National Liberation Council
OATUU	Organization of African Trade Union Unity
OTUWA	Organization of Trade Unions of West Africa
PSWU	Public Services Workers Union
PUWU	Public Utilities Workers Union
RPED	Regional Programme on Enterprise Development
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SEWU	Self-Employed Women's Union
TGLEU	Textile, Garments and Leather Employees Union
TUC	Trades Union Congress
TWU	Timber and Woodworkers Union
UK	United Kingdom
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
WIR	World Investment Report
WTO	World Trade Organization