

Line Eldring

# **Child Labour in the Tea Sector in Malawi**

## **A Pilot Study**





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## **Preface**

Malawi Congress of Trade Unions (MCTU) and the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO), who also funded the project, initiated this pilot study on child labour in the tea sector in Malawi. The study would not have been possible without the invaluable contributions from representatives of MCTU and the Plantation and Agricultural Workers' Union (PAWU) in setting up meetings with a variety of organisations and institutions in Lilongwe and Blantyre, as well as organising the field trips. I also want to thank all the people who shared their knowledge and experience in interviews and meetings during my stay in Malawi, as well as others who have assisted with information.

However, the conclusions in the report, as well as any shortcomings in the text, are my own only.

Line Eldring  
Fafo

# Introduction

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) has estimated that 211 million children - one of every five child between 5 to 14 years - are engaged in economic activities worldwide. 48 million of those children live in Sub-Saharan Africa and most of them are working in the agricultural sector.<sup>1</sup> In recent years, Malawi has been seen to be one of the worst countries on the continent when it comes to child labour practices, and attention has especially been directed at the tobacco-growing sector.<sup>2</sup> Less is known about the situation in other commercial agricultural sectors, as the tea sector, which is another major export sector in the Malawian economy. Malawi Congress of Trade Unions (MCTU) has received various reports on serious incidents of child labour also in tea growing, but there is a lack of systematic knowledge on the situation. On this background, MCTU and the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) decided to conduct a pilot study on child labour in the tea sector, in cooperation with Fafo Institute for Applied Social Science (Fafo).

## Objectives and project design

The objectives of the project were to:

- Get an overview of existing information and research on child labour in the tea sector in Malawi
- Explore the needs and possibilities for further research on child labour in the tea sector

I spent a week in Malawi in October/November 2002, conducting interviews with key informants and searching for relevant documentation.<sup>3</sup> All activities were done together with representatives from MCTU and their child labour committee, and we also went on two field trips. This report presents the findings of the pilot study.

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<sup>1</sup> ILO (2002)

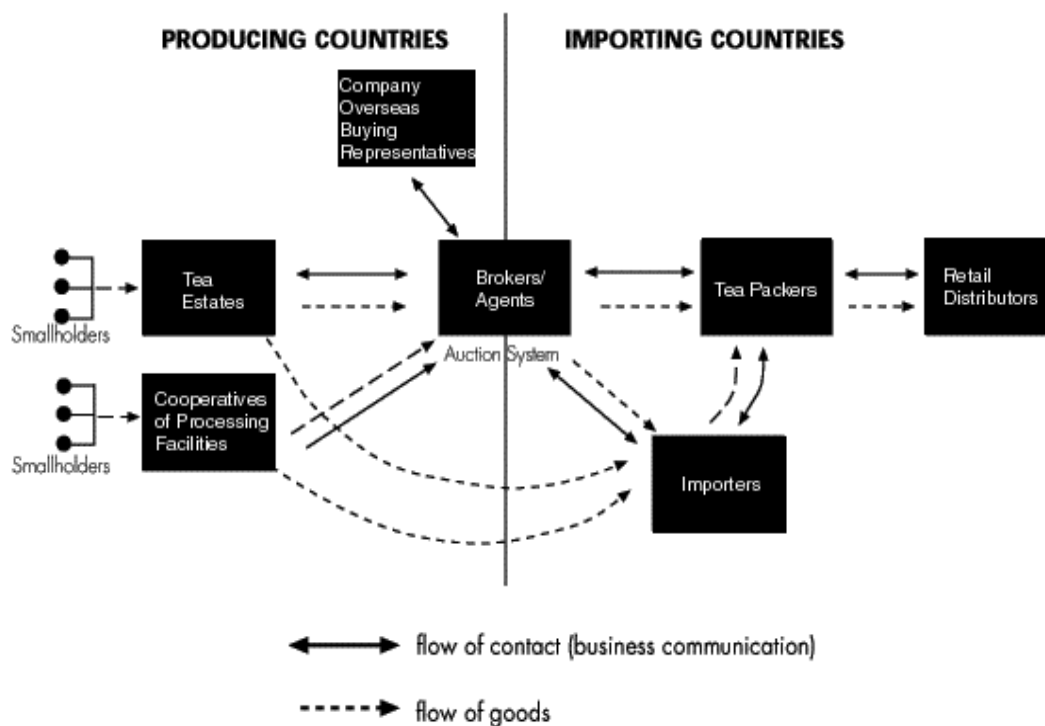
<sup>2</sup> Tórres (2000), Eldring et al (2000)

<sup>3</sup> See Annex 1 for a list of interviews and meetings

## The tea sector in Malawi

Tea is one of the major cash crops of the world. The tea producing countries are largely found in the southern hemisphere, while tea consuming takes place all over the planet. Like in the tobacco sector, the chain of production and distribution of the tea is very global, starting in the fields in Malawi, ending up in retail stores far away from the producers, as portrayed in the chart below.

Figure 1 The Tea Chain of Production and Distribution



Source: <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/media/reports/iclp/sweat4/tea.htm>

Table 1 gives an overview of the tea production in the world, in Africa and in various African countries. Malawi is the second largest tea producer in Africa after Kenya, and produces approximately 10 percent of African tea. Malawi was the first country in Africa to grow tea on a commercial scale and tea has been produced in Malawi for over 100 years.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> TAML (1991)



Table 1 Tea Production in Africa 2000-2002 (Metric Tons)

Tea Production	2000	2001	2002
World	2,939,493	3,043,716	3,058,454
Africa	411,299	414,164	415,137
Burundi	8,24	8,84	8,84
Cameroon	4,5	4,5	4,5
Congo, Dem Republic of	1,879	1,615	1,388
Ethiopia	600	600	600
Kenya	236,286	240,000	240,000
Madagascar	380	380	380
Malawi	<b>44,678</b>	<b>36,800</b>	<b>38,000</b>
Mali	60	50	50
Mauritius	1,313	1,4	1,4
Mozambique	10,466	10,5	10,5
Rwanda	14,481	15	15
Réunion	370	370	370
Seychelles	246	231	231
South Africa	12,514	12,671	12,671
Tanzania, United Rep of	23,6	25,5	25,5
Uganda	29,236	32,857	32,857
Zambia	450	450	450
Zimbabwe	22	22,4	22

Source: FAO 2002

Large commercial estates dominate the Malawi tea industry. The production is predominantly undertaken by the estates, and the smallholding sector is relatively small, with approximately 6 500 smallholders.<sup>5</sup> Looking at table 2, we see that 93 percent of the tea production is coming from the estates, and mostly from the districts of Mulanje and Thyolo. The smallholding sector is accounting for 15 percent of the land under tea, and only 7 percent of the production.

Table 2 Hectares, production and average yields by district and type of producer, Yearend June 2001

District	Hectares under tea		Average yield (kgs/ha)	Production	
	Hectares	%		(m.kgs)	%
Mulanje	6,249	34	2,939	18.37	44
Thyolo	8,864	48	2,041	18.09	43
Nkhata Bay	652	3	3,669	2.39	6
Sub-total estates	15,765	85	2,465	38.86	93
Smallholders all districts	1,862	15	1,049	3.00	7
Total all producers	18,627	100	1,247	41.86	100

Source: Tea Association of Malawi, In: Integrated Framework (2002)

The tea gets to the market through the Limbe Auction, the only tea auction in Malawi, or through direct sales. In 2001, 35 percent of the tea was sold through the auction, whi-

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<sup>5</sup> Kitching (2002)

le 65 percent was sold directly. There are between five and eight active tea buyers in Malawi, representing major international tea companies, such as Unilever and Lyons Tetley. Tea brokers make connection between buyers and sellers, and also help the estates to sell through auctions. Presently there are two brokering firms operating in Malawi; Tea Brokers Central Africa Ltd and Tea and Commodity Brokers Ltd, both have international owners.<sup>6</sup>

Tea used to be the first foreign exchange earner in Malawi, but is now second after tobacco.<sup>7</sup> The sector is vulnerable to international price fluctuations, and the international markets for tea (as well as for tobacco, Malawi's main cash crop) have fallen consistently since the country's independence.<sup>8</sup> The table below indicates the main export destination of Malawi tea.

Table 3 Main export destinations of Malawi tea, 2001

Country	Volume of tea	
	Metric Tons	%
United Kingdom	17,613	46
South Africa	8,666	23
Kenya	2,726	7
USA	2,476	6
Pakistan	1,664	4
Total exports	38,363	100

\*All other destinations take less than 1,000 tons per year

Source: Tea Association of Malawi, In: Integrated Framework (2002)

United Kingdom and South Africa are the most important destinations for Malawi tea, with 69 percent of the export going to those two countries.

## Ownership

The ownership of the Malawi tea estates is extremely concentrated, according to the Tea Association of Malawi Limited (TAML), 11 companies own all the tea estates in the country.

Table 4 gives an overview of tea estates in Malawi, also indicating location and ownership. The list is based on various sources, and most estates should be included. However, since it is difficult to get updated and accurate information on this, some might be missing, have changed names etc. Likewise, information on ownership is in some instances patchy. Furthermore, we do not have data on production or employment per company for each estate, and can therefore not estimate the relative size of those 11

<sup>6</sup> Integrated Framework (2002)

<sup>7</sup> Interview with representatives of Tea Association of Malawi Limited (TAML)

<sup>8</sup> NORAD (2002)

owners or companies that according to TAML control the sector. However, taking into consideration that Eastern Produce Malawi (EPM) owns 21 of the 44 estates listed in table 4, it is obviously an extremely dominant owner in the Malawi tea sector. Since all estates are members of TAML, and TAML only have 11 members, some of the companies not listed together will probably have the same owner. A striking observation is the lack of Malawian ownership.<sup>9</sup> Those who are listed as Malawian owners are with one exception of European decent. Looking at Malawi's colonial past, this is of significance and indicates that redistribution of land and resources to the African population of Malawi has not taken place in the tea sector.

Table 4 Tea estates in Malawi 2002

Estate/company	Location	Includes factory	Owner	Owner or company's country of origin*
Bandanga Ltd	Thyolo	Yes		Foreign
Bloomfield	Mulanje	Yes	Lujeri	UK
British African Tea Estates Ltd	Thyolo	Yes	Eastern Produce	Multinational
Central Africa Company Ltd		Yes		Foreign
Chisambo Tea Estate Ltd	Mulanje	Yes	Eastern Produce	Multinational
Chisunga	Thyolo		?	?
Chitakali	Mulanje		Government of Malawi	Malawi
Conforzi (T&T) Ltd	Thyolo	Yes	Mr. Conforzi In receivership	Malawi (Italy)
Eldorado	Mulanje		Eastern Produce	Multinational
Esperanza	Mulanje		Eastern Produce	Multinational
Glenorchy	Mulanje		Eastern Produce	Multinational
Gotha Tea Estate Ltd	Thyolo	Yes	Eastern Produce	Multinational
Kasembereka	Thyolo		Eastern Produce	Multinational
Koalazi Estate	Nkhata Bay		Sable Group	?
Kumadzi Tea Estate Ltd	Thyolo	No	Eastern Produce	Multinational
Kwalazi Estate Company Ltd	Mzuru	Yes	Nkhara Bay?	Foreign
Lauderdale	Mulanje		Eastern Produce	Multinational
Likanga	Mulanje		Eastern Produce	Multinational
Likhubula	Mulanje		?	?
Limboli	Mulanje		Eastern Produce	Multinational
Lujenda Tea Estates	Thyolo	No	Jere?	Malawi (UK?)
Lujeri Tea Estates Ltd	Mulanje	Yes	Lujeri	UK
Mafisi Tea Estates Ltd	Thyolo	Yes	Mr. C. Barrow	Malawi (UK)
Makwasa (Thyolo Highlands Tea Estates Ltd)	Thyolo	Yes	Eastern Produce	Multinational

<sup>9</sup> For a few estates we do not have information on the owners' country of origin.

Makandi Estate	Thyolo		African Produce Commodities /Africa Plantations	South African? Multinational?
Mandala Ltd	Blantyre	Yes	?	Malawi (UK)
Mapingo (Part of Makwasa Estate)	Thyolo		Eastern Produce	Multinational
Masawa			Eastern Produce	Multinational
Mboma	Thyolo		?	?
Mianga	Thyolo		Eastern Produce	Multinational
Mindali	Thyolo		?	?
Mini-Mini	Mulanje		Eastern Produce	Multinational
Mpeni estate	Thyolo		?	?
Namingomba Tea Estates Ltd	Thyolo	Yes	Mr. C. Barrow	Malawi (UK)
Nasonia Tea Estates Ltd	Thyolo	No	Eastern Produce	Multinational
Nchima Tea & Tung Estates Ltd	Thyolo	Yes	Lujeri	UK
Nsuwadzi	Mulanje		?	?
Phwasi	Mulanje		Eastern Produce	Multinational
Rosehaugh (Africa) Ltd (Part of Thornwood Estate)	Mulanje	No	Eastern Produce	Multinational
Ruo Estates Ltd	Mulanje	Yes	Eastern Produce	Multinational
Sambankhanga Tea Estates	Thyolo	No	Mr. Kay	Malawi (UK)
Satemwa Tea Estates Ltd	Thyolo	Yes	Mr. Kay	Malawi (UK)
Sayama Tea Estates Ltd	Mulanje	Yes	?	Foreign
Thornwood	Mulanje		Eastern Produce	Multinational
Zoa Tea Estates Ltd	Sandama	Yes	Family owned	Malawi (UK)

Sources: Malawi Tea Association, MCTU, PAWU, [www.easternproduce.co.ke.epm.page.htm](http://www.easternproduce.co.ke.epm.page.htm), Eastern Produce Malawi Ltd, Integrated Framework (2002), own observations

\*In instances where the owners are naturalised Malawians, country of origin is indicated in brackets

EPMs major shareholder is John Ingham & Sons Limited, a company in the Linton Park Plc group of companies. Linton Park's head quarter is in Kenya, and they are also involved in agriculture (predominantly tea and macadamia) in Kenya and South Africa<sup>10</sup>. Another shareholder of EPM is the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) of South Africa that owns 26.8 percent of the shares.<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, the IDC is a South African national development finance institution whose primary objective is to; *"contribute to the generation of balanced, sustainable economic growth in Africa and to further the economic empowerment of the South African population, thereby promoting the economic prosperity of all citizens."* And; *"The vision of the Industrial Development Corporation is to be the primary driving force of commercially sustainable industrial development and innovation to the benefit of South Africa and*

<sup>10</sup> Information provided by Managing Director of EPM, Rick Tilley ([r.tilleykwacibi@africa-online.net](mailto:r.tilleykwacibi@africa-online.net)), via e-mail in January 2003.

<sup>11</sup> Source: [http://www.mbendi.co.za/idc/pubs/files/idc\\_ar2002\\_20to55\\_operational.pdf](http://www.mbendi.co.za/idc/pubs/files/idc_ar2002_20to55_operational.pdf)

*Southern Africa.*” Among the predominantly black board of directors, we also find at least one prominent South African trade unionist.<sup>12</sup>

EPM<sup>13</sup> produces about 14 000 tons of tea in Malawi, through 10 factories. In 2001, EPM had a turnover of USD 14.9 Million in tea, USD 327 Thousand in coffee and USD 1.9 Million in macadamia nuts. According to table 1, the total tea production in Malawi in 2001 was 36 800 tonnes, which implies that close to 40 percent of the total tea production originated from the EPM estates.

## Employment

Statistical data on Malawi are in general poor, and there is no single authoritative source on employment in the various agricultural sub-sectors. Looking at the total working population, the overall majority is engaged in subsistence farming, especially women. 21.2 percent of the men are employed, and only 4.8 percent of the women.

Table 5 Working population by activity, aged 10 years and over, 1998. Percent (N=1,843,873)

	Malawi			Urban			Rural		
	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female
<b>Subsistence farmer (Mlimi)</b>	78.6	66.8	90.2	15.1	8.9	30.4	85.9	76.8	94.0
<b>Employee</b>	12.9	21.2	4.8	55.9	61.8	41.5	8.0	14.2	2.5
<b>Family business worker</b>	2.5	2.8	2.1	7.9	6.5	11.2	1.9	2.2	1.6
<b>Self-employed</b>	5.8	8.8	2.8	20.7	22.3	16.6	4.1	6.5	1.9
<b>Employer</b>	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.0

Source: NSO (2002)

The estimates on employment in the tea sector are ranging from 100-150 000 (MCTU) to 40-50 000 (TAML). According to Kitching (2002) the tea industry has a total labour force of 42 000 people<sup>14</sup>, making it the largest organised employer of direct labour in the private sector. Due to the seasonal nature of the work, we could expect big fluctuations in the employment throughout the seasons. In addition, smallholder farms also employ casual or permanent labour. In Malawi 80 percent of contracted tea growers employ labour.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Source: <http://www.mbendi.co.za/idc/overview/overview.htm>

<sup>13</sup> The following information on EPM has been provided on request via e-mails by Ken Tarplee of Linton Park ([k.tarplee@lintonpark.co.ke](mailto:k.tarplee@lintonpark.co.ke)) and Rick Tilley of EPM.

<sup>14</sup> Kitching does not indicate the source for this estimate.

<sup>15</sup> DFID (2002)

According to EPM, they employ 10 800 workers in low season, and 17 300 workers in high season. If we presuppose that their share of the total production (40 percent) should match their share of the total employment in the sector, it seems likely that the total labour force in the “formal” tea sector consists of about 40-45 000 people. Again, it is difficult to check the accuracy of those numbers.

There exists no general demographic information on the tea workers, but EPM indicates that about 17 percent of the EPM employees are women. The average age of the workforce is said to be about 30 years, and the average education standard would be completion of primary school for the field workers.

## **Child labour in Malawi**

Section 23 of the Constitution of Malawi outlines the rights of the children. It states that children are entitled to be protected from economic exploitation or any treatment, work or punishment that is likely to be hazardous, interfere with their education, or harmful to their physical, mental, spiritual or social development. The Employment Act No. 6 of 2000, section 21, prohibits employment of children under the age of 14 in any public or private agricultural, industrial or non-industrial undertaking except for work done in homes that do not attract a wage, vocational technical, institution or other training institutions which is supervised by public authority. Section 22 prohibits the employment of children between the age from 14 to 18 years in any occupation or activity that is likely to be harmful to the health, safety, education, morals or development of the child or prejudicial to his attendance at school or any other vocational or training program. Section 23 demands that every employer keeps a register of any employee under the age of eighteen years for purposes of inspection by labour inspectors. The revised Employment Act provides that those employing children at the age of 14 or less be fined 100 000 kwacha or sentenced to 5 years imprisonment. The Children Act aims to protect children from all forms of abuse, and is administered by the Ministry of Gender, Youths and Community Services. Malawi is signatory to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and ILO Convention No 138 and No 182. There is a draft for a Tenancy Labour Act, which aims to give protection to tenants in agriculture, and the draft prohibits children from being engaged as tenants.<sup>16</sup>

The legal framework is clear; it is prohibited to employ or engage children in economic activities. Over the last few years, a lot of attention has been given to the problem of child labour in Malawi, especially in the tobacco sector. Moving around in Malawi, talking with people about child labour, you register that very many people are aware of the illegality of using child labour. Hopefully this has contributed to a reduction in the number of child workers. There are unfortunately also signs of other effects; less trans-

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<sup>16</sup> Sources: Eldring et al (2000), ICFTU/IUF (2002)

parency and openness surrounding the issue of child labour - which obviously makes it more difficult to get an overview of the situation. *“Even parents hide child labour”*, one informant said. Some general statistics do exist, however, and they give evidence of the seriousness of the child labour problem in Malawi.

Table 6 Children aged 5-14 who are currently working, by type of work and background characteristics, 2000. Percent (N=17 894)

	Currently working <sup>17</sup>	Working for non-relatives		Currently doing work on family farm or family business	Currently doing domestic work for:	
		Paid	Unpaid		Less than 4 hours per day	4 or more hours per day
<b>Total</b>	27.0	3.1	5.7	61.9	3.9	18.6
<b>Age 5-9</b>	13.8	1.3	4.2	49.2	1.7	8.1
<b>Age 10-14</b>	42.1	5.1	7.3	76.6	6.3	30.6
<b>Male</b>	27.6	3.2	4.4	53.8	2.6	21.1
<b>Female</b>	26.4	3.0	6.8	69.7	5.1	16.1
<b>Urban</b>	17.7	1.6	3.7	63.2	4.4	10.6
<b>Rural</b>	28.4	3.3	6.0	61.8	3.8	19.8
<b>Northern region</b>	31.8	2.2	12.9	70.8	4.0	20.2
<b>Central region</b>	25.4	3.7	5.3	61.6	3.8	16.8
<b>Southern Region</b>	27.2	2.8	2.8	60.0	3.9	19.9

Source: NSO and ORC Macro (2001)

According to table 6, 27 percent of all children are working, the majority of which are engaged in work on the family farm or family business. Only a few are working for non-relatives, which in principle would be the case if they work on the tea estates. However, many would probably define work at the estates as helping their parents or other relatives, rather than it being work for non-relatives. Table 7 shows a somewhat different picture, indicating that 14 percent of children between 10 and 14 years are working.

Table 7 Participation rate<sup>18</sup> for working population aged 10-19 years by sex and region, 1998. Percent

Age group	Malawi			Northern region			Central region			Southern region		
	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female
<b>10-14 years</b>	14.2	14.6	13.8	4.8	5	4.7	15.1	16	14.1	16.1	16.1	16.1
<b>15-19 years</b>	36.3	29	43.1	25.6	16.4	34.2	38	32.3	43.5	37.7	29.6	45.3

Source: NSO (2002)

The differences could be down to varying definitions and research methodology, and they probably reflect the problems connected to investigation of such a sensitive area.

<sup>17</sup> Working is here defined as doing paid or unpaid work or doing domestic work for four or more hours a day

<sup>18</sup> The age specific participation rate is defined as the percentage working of total population in a specific age group, but it is not indicated how many hours they work.

Sector specific information is very scarce, and we have found no statistical information on the prevalence of child labour in the tea sector.

## Child labour in tea?

The general opinion seems to be that child labour is rampant also in the tea sector in Malawi, especially during the peak season. The interviews with representatives from government and various organisations produced a series of statements pointing in that direction. The findings can be shortly summarised as below:

Table 8 Informant's views on whether there is a problem with child labour in the tea sector

	Child labour in tea?
Trade unions	Yes
Ministry of Labour	Yes
District Labour Office	Yes
Various aid organisations	Yes
Tea Association of Malawi	No
Eastern Produce Malawi	No
Tobacco Association of Malawi	Yes
ECAM <sup>19</sup>	Yes

Actually, TAML and EPM remain alone stating strongly that there is no problem with child labour in the tea production. Rick Tilley, the Managing Director of EPM says that; *"an employee signs a Contract of Employment and in the contract it stipulates that he/she "being aware of the Company's policy on child labour, hereby confirms that they are over 18 years of age." Supervisors on the various divisions within an estate check the employee's details for compliance, and Management audits this on a regular basis. I confirm that EP Malawi do not employ child labour on any of their Estates or factories. We also monitor the situation through our weekly pay rolls and the individuals master file."*<sup>20</sup>

When we asked TAML how they would explain that the tea industry is so amazingly successful in eliminating child labour compared to other sectors in Malawi, they said that there might be a single incident from time to time, but that this is really exceptional. The other informants based their views partly on own observations, partly on reports from the field. It was often claimed the tea estates are so strong and well organised and

<sup>19</sup> See ICFTU/IUF (2002)

<sup>20</sup> E-mail January 2003



have “clever” management that easily hide the use of children – unlike in the tobacco sector. Furthermore that they alert each other if inspection is on the way, and access to the estates is also limited.

As mentioned, not much research has been done on child labour in the tea sector. One possible source of information is a new survey on child labour, conducted by the National Statistical Office, commissioned by the Ministry of Labour. It covers all sectors, including tea. The survey included a sample in the tea sector in Mulanje, but according to the Ministry of Labour “*the data collection did not function so well*” in this district. The survey was also stopped at some point last year due to logistical problems, but we don’t have information on the current status of the survey. In other words, it is uncertain whether this survey will produce reliable documentation on the child labour situation in tea. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to see the findings, both for Malawi in general and in particular for the tea sector if they succeed in producing sector specific information.

ILO-IPEC has recently been conducting a baseline survey on child labour in 4 districts (360 respondents in each district), in cooperation with the Centre for Social Research. The focus of the survey is however on the tobacco sector.

UNICEF has a major programme on child labour, but do not have concrete plans regarding research on child labour. They want to utilise the already existing information, but also recognise a possible need for more documentation on child labour in the tea sector.<sup>21</sup>

The organisation “Eye of the Child” organised in 2001/2002 a 3-day workshop on child labour in Thyolo, including a few representatives from the estates, the business community, the traditional authorities and the District Labour Office. The conclusion of the workshop was that there is child labour in the sector, most often with children being involved in weeding – although they were unable to quantify the problem.<sup>22</sup>

Thyolo District Labour Office reported on having seen several incidents of child labour in the district. However, due to problems with transport, they are not able to conduct efficient controls. They also mentioned the problem of determining the age of the children, as some of the working children will be instructed to conceal their age. We did not visit the District Labour Office of Mulanje, but according to ICFTU/IUF (2002) the labour officer in Mulanje denied the existence of child labour in the tea plantations.

The International Confederation of Trade Unions (ICFTU) and International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF) went on a mission to Malawi in March 2002 to explore the child labour si-

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<sup>21</sup> Interview with representative of the Royal Norwegian Embassy

<sup>22</sup> Interview with representatives of the District Labour Office in Thyolo

tuation in the tea sector.<sup>23</sup> The mission had meetings with government, employers, trade unions and international agencies and they also made field trips. In their report they conclude that although they were not able to see any young children working in the estates, they are convinced that child labour is widely spread also in the tea sector.

The MCTU and the Plantation and Agricultural Workers' Union (PAWU) give unison reports on child labour in the tea sector, and say that very many children help their parents in the fields. They emphasise the difficulties of documenting the situation, and suspect that the employers were warned of the ICFTU/IUF mission, thus removing children from the fields before they arrived.

According to a report from the Mulanje district one sees devastating effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, with orphans in the area being increasingly dependent on labour on the estates, thus adding to the number of underaged workers in the tea sector.<sup>24</sup>

A report on the Malawi tea sector from the "Integrated Framework", an institution established by several multilateral institutions (among them World Bank, IMF, UNDP), gives a somewhat different picture than most other sources; saying that; *"There is sensitivity in the industry around the subject of employment practices because there is a powerful "Developed Country" lobby that is raising questions about employment practices in developed countries generally (though not Malawi or its tea estates specifically at this point in time), particularly child labour. This makes it difficult to gather data to determine whether this is a live issue or not. However, it is recognized in the industry that employment practices need to be fair and not exploitative. The evidence available suggests substantive compliance with the published guidelines [from ILO] on child labour and substantial packages of social welfare benefits being provided to employees."*<sup>25</sup> However, the report does not display this evidence, thus not making it available for evaluation.

Most of our informants regretted the lack of documentation but emphasised that they are aware of the problems anyway. Ironically, all the informants with the exception of the tea employer's representatives seemed very much concerned. Understandably, the TAML representatives disliked being confronted with questions on child labour, it must be difficult to deal with what they seem to regard as unjustified accusations of child labour practices in their industry. Thus, better documentation is urgent for all parties; with such differences in the perceptions of the problem one can hardly foresee any co-operation aimed at resolving it taking place in the near future.

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<sup>23</sup> ICFTU/IUF (2002)

<sup>24</sup> Engel (2001)

<sup>25</sup> Integrated Framework 2002:9-10

## Looking for children

We<sup>26</sup> conducted two field visits in the Thyolo district. It is not possible to generalise on the basis of the findings on these trips, but it is reasonable to say that any observation of child workers at least indicates that the problem exist (since that is actually being denied from the employer's side). The first day we stopped and talked to a group of workers who had their lunch break. One of the workers looks very young, but he claimed to be 18. The rest of the team was convinced that he was not older than 15-16 years. He was plucking tea like the rest of the group, and after the break he demonstrated the plucking technique:



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<sup>26</sup> The field team consisted of members of MCTU's Committee on Child Labour; Sophie M. Chitenje, Joseph.L. Kankhwangwa, General Secretary of PAWU Stanford J.B. Mgowa and myself.

The group of workers consisted of men only. According to the foreman, the women were working elsewhere. When asked where the children would be, if they were working, he said they would be with the women. The workers expressed deep frustration on their situation; “*we have nothing*”, they said – and pointed to their ragged clothing.





We passed by several estates, but in general there was very little activity in the fields, this being low season. We visited one rather remote village close to an estate, and engaged in lengthy discussions with the villagers. They told of the burdens of smallholders, the lack of capital and the very low prices they get on their produce – *"the prices are just being dictated"*. Some of them were also working on the estates, and they said that children sometimes work after school time, and that children above 12 years of age were employed as labour on the estates. The living conditions in the village were obviously very poor.



The second day we were joined by two labour officers from the Thyolo District Labour Office. They welcomed the opportunity of going out in the field, as they normally don't have access to transport. We drove to an estate south in the region, and spotted some very young workers along the road. Not far from the estate head quarter, we talked with a group of workers engaged in spraying the tea plants with chemicals. A 14-year-old girl was mixing the chemicals – which was said to be a mixture of copper and zinc. The workers said the chemicals were not dangerous, but that they could not rule out possible

negative health effects. Earlier they used masks, but not any longer. Both the men and the girl were working from 6.30 in the morning to 4.00 in the afternoon. The girl told us that she is an orphan, and that she started working at the estate one year ago.

While we were talking to the workers, a white manager came riding on a motorbike. He was angry, criticising us for talking to the workers without permission. He was asking us to leave, or go to the management building, referring to the access agreement from 1961<sup>27</sup>; *“When a union organiser or officials wishes to visit an estate for whatever reason, he will write or telephone to the management of that estate and ask for permission in advance, not less than 7 days beforehand. If the request is by telephone, it must be confirmed in writing. In cases of emergency, the management, at its discretion, may accept a shorter notice period. The place and time for these meetings shall be specified on a written permit from the management concerned.”*



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<sup>27</sup> See Annex 3

After a while we drove on to find the management, but found no one present. Finally the owner showed up, being quite dissatisfied with our presence, asking us to leave, again with reference to the access agreement.

Shortly summarised; we did observe working children, but not very many. However, there was in general a low level of activities in the fields. We did access some estates, and our only encounter with management and owners was not a very pleasant one.

## **General working conditions in the tea sector**

The unions describe the general work conditions as “not good”, both when it comes to health and safety, job security and wages. They claim that the minimum wage “*is being imposed by the Tea Association*”. In 2002 the minimum wage was 55.20 Malawi Kwacha per day.<sup>28</sup> This is the basic pay for the first 44 kg plucked tea, and additional kg are being rewarded at an agreed price. If the worker does not manage to harvest 44 kg, a corresponding amount is subtracted from the basic salary (a practice that clearly produces incentives for making children assist their relatives). Working time was said to be from 5 a.m. to 6 p.m., with a 30 minutes tea break, and 30-60 minutes lunch break. If you get sick, you will get sick leave if a medical doctor certifies it. However, some doctors refuse to certify, due to company management, and some estates don’t issue sick leave at all.

During the last year there has been a sharp increase in complaints to the Industrial Court, and according to the Registrar, tea estates workers from Thyolo and Mulanje top the list with allegations of low wages against long working hours.<sup>29</sup> This development supports the picture given by PAWU as well as MCTU regarding the conditions for labour in the sector.

Again, we do not have much “hard data” on working conditions in the tea sector. The overall impression is that conditions are very harsh, and that workers are suffering. As in other sectors, where you find child labour, you will most often find very poor conditions also for adult workers.

The earlier mentioned report from “Integrated Framework” addresses the lack of documentation on working conditions in stating; “*The industry needs to consider how it can secure continued access to developed country markets by ‘certifying’ that it meets required labour and ethical standards.*” (2002:18) And furthermore; “*A number of initiatives relating to ‘fair’ and ‘ethical’ trading have emerged in the UK, which is still Malawi’s main export destination, and in Europe. Whatever the actual employment practices on the estates, there will be need to verifiably ‘prove’ that they*

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<sup>28</sup> In November 2002, 100 Malawi Kwacha was equal to less than 1 USD.

<sup>29</sup> Interview with Registrar of the Industrial Court, Wafwile Musukwa, in Malawi News, November 2-8, 2002

*comply to the emerging standards in export destination markets, particularly the UK.” (2002:21)* Needless to say, documentation that does not take into account “the actual employment practices”, is rather worthless.

## Industrial relations

There exist memoranda of recognition and access agreements between the Agricultural Employers’ Association and The Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union, but industrial relations in the sector can be described as hardly non-existing. The agreements were signed in 1960 and 1961, thus dating from the pre-independence period. Content wise the documents are “stone age”, and contains paragraphs that already at the time must have been far from what one would call “decent” industrial relations. As showed earlier, the employer’s are still using the agreement to prevent access for unions to the estates.

While the employers in the tea sector are well organised, with all estate owners being members of TAML, PAWU is still struggling to get a foothold within the sector. The union is weak, and has few resources to engage in organising new members. Membership is said to be 6000 at 6 estates, but only very few of them pay union dues.<sup>30</sup> At some estates tea workers have organised themselves in so-called Joint Consultative Committees, in some instances encouraged by estate management.<sup>31</sup>

Our meeting with TAML illustrated indeed the total lack of social dialogue in the sector. The TAML representative demonstrated almost disrespect of the union, in sharp contrast to their statement of having “*very warm and cordial relations with the union*” – adding – “*they have problems, but we don’t want to interfere with their business.*” Further on they made it clear that they would like to sit down and talk with the union, but it seemed clear that PAWU does not qualify in their eyes. The ICFTU/IUF mission had similar experiences, reporting that “*the meeting (with TAML) was held in an unfavourable mood.*”

The situation in the tea-producing sector is very different from that in the tobacco sector, where the unions and the employers (TAMA) have engaged in a longstanding cooperation to combat child labour. Although they most probably also disagree on certain issues, the relationship seems to have reached a level of joint respect and cooperation.

PAWU has written several letters to TAML, trying to set up meetings to start negotiations on the recognition agreement and other issues. So far, the Tea Association has ignored the PAWU initiatives.

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<sup>30</sup> ICFTU/IUF (2002). See the report for a broader outline of the situation of PAWU.

<sup>31</sup> Engel (2002)



When asked about their relations to the unions, the EPM responded that there are unions on some estates, but only a minority of the workforce is believed to be members. They referred us then to TAML for further information, *“as they have a Labour Relations Officer who handles such matters for the Association Members.”* When questioned about whether any initiatives had been taken to renew the existing recognition agreement between the employer's association and the union, the EPM management response was; *“The Employers Association from year to year updates Labour practices, but to our knowledge, the agreement with Unions has not been update since inception. You would have to confirm this with TAML.”*<sup>32</sup>

Clearly, industrial relations in the Malawi tea sector can only get better, as it can hardly reach a lower level than that at which it finds itself at present time. If the companies in the sector seriously want to interact with the unions, they need to take a critical look at TAML's way of handling the unions today. From the union's side, it might be wiser to direct future efforts directly at the companies themselves, rather than via TAML. As we have seen, Eastern Produce is a very dominant actor in the industry, and therefore sticks out as a target for a renewed social dialogue in the sector, for instance on issues related to child labour. Its international ownership might constitute a potential positive force, especially the minority shareholder IDC of South Africa.

## Conclusions

The main objectives of the pilot study were to get an overview of existing information and research on child labour in the tea sector in Malawi and to explore the needs and possibilities for further research on child labour. The findings and conclusions of the study can be summarised as follows:

- *Strong opinions, few facts*

From most informants the message is very clear; yes, there is child labour in the tea sector. However, the Tea Association (TAML) as well as the most dominant owner (EPM) in the sector maintain the opposite position, denying that child labour exist within their industry and companies. Convincing reports, as well as our own observations, provide enough evidence to suggest that they are wrong. We just don't know *how* wrong. One can easily understand why companies don't want to be exposed as exploiters of child labour. The implications may be serious, not the least for the international market position of the Malawi tea industry. So they have a potentially strong interest in concealing the problem. Then, if we turn the table around, one may ask, is there any reason to believe that some have a vested interest in exaggerating the problem? The child labour issue in Malawi is “hot”, and a lot of attention has been given to and financial funding poured into child labour measures in the tobacco industry over the last few years. To

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<sup>32</sup> E-mail from Rick Tilley, January 2003

some extent there has been a competition between organisations over the ownership of the child labour issue, projects – and money. Making child labour a serious problem in another export-based agricultural sector is, in this perspective, also to establish a new “market”. However, looking at our sources of information, this diagnosis seems far-fetched – both when it comes to the government, unions and other organisations like ILO–IPEC and UNICEF. It should also be emphasised that “competition” between the anti-child labour organisations in tobacco, only started long time after the problem was identified and recognised both among researchers, the social partners and politicians. *Without more knowledge and facts on the situation of child labour in the tea industry, it is unlikely that much improvement will take place.* The employers’ have so far shown little interest in establishing a factual basis for further discussions with the government and the unions. However, if the situation is as good as they claim, they might be interested in documenting it, to put an end to what they obviously regard as false accusations.

- *Child labour is not the only problem*

The problem of child labour should not be isolated from the general problems facing workers in the tea industry. The impression is that conditions are very poor - although we also here lack systematic information. Any research on child labour in the sector must also include the broader picture. The situation for the adult workers will probably determine the situation for the children and we need facts and understanding on both issues.

- *Research as a basis for action*

In the case of the Malawi tea sector, there is a need to establish the facts around child labour. However, we also need to know more about the mechanisms causing it, its forms and variations, to be able to implement efficient measures. The research process can in itself create a basis for action, if it involves the trade unions, possibly also the employers, local authorities and local expertise as for instance the local labour offices. If further research projects are designed, they should from day one ensure a broad local commitment and participation.

- *New strategy for social dialogue?*

Eastern Produce Malawi owns close to half of the tea estates in Malawi. The company was willing to give out information to this study, which at least is indicating that they are not totally estranged towards the idea of cooperation and dialogue. The Tea Association of Malawi has for years demonstrated its ignorance and hostility towards the Plantation and Agricultural Workers’ Union (although they agreed to a meeting in connection with this study). PAWU and MCTU should consider taking a direct initiative towards EPM, maybe also to discuss possible projects or activities targeting child labour. Apart from that, the recognition and access agreements from the early 1960ies are totally outdated and should urgently be renegotiated with TAML.

- *Tea in the global context*

The distance between the tea workers in the fields and local factories to the consumers is extremely long – not only geographically. For the tea consumers in the Northern hemisphere, little or nothing is known about the situation of the tea workers in Malawi – and probably a few of them might experience a bitter aftertaste when sipping to their afternoon tea if more facts were made available. We got indications that employers and owners worry about scandalous media releases that might cause great harm to the industry. An important point to be made is that the workers and the employers have a joint interest in upholding the market position of Malawi tea. The sooner this joint interest could materialise into concrete actions and plans, the less vulnerable the industry will be towards what they might regard as hostile attacks from outside.

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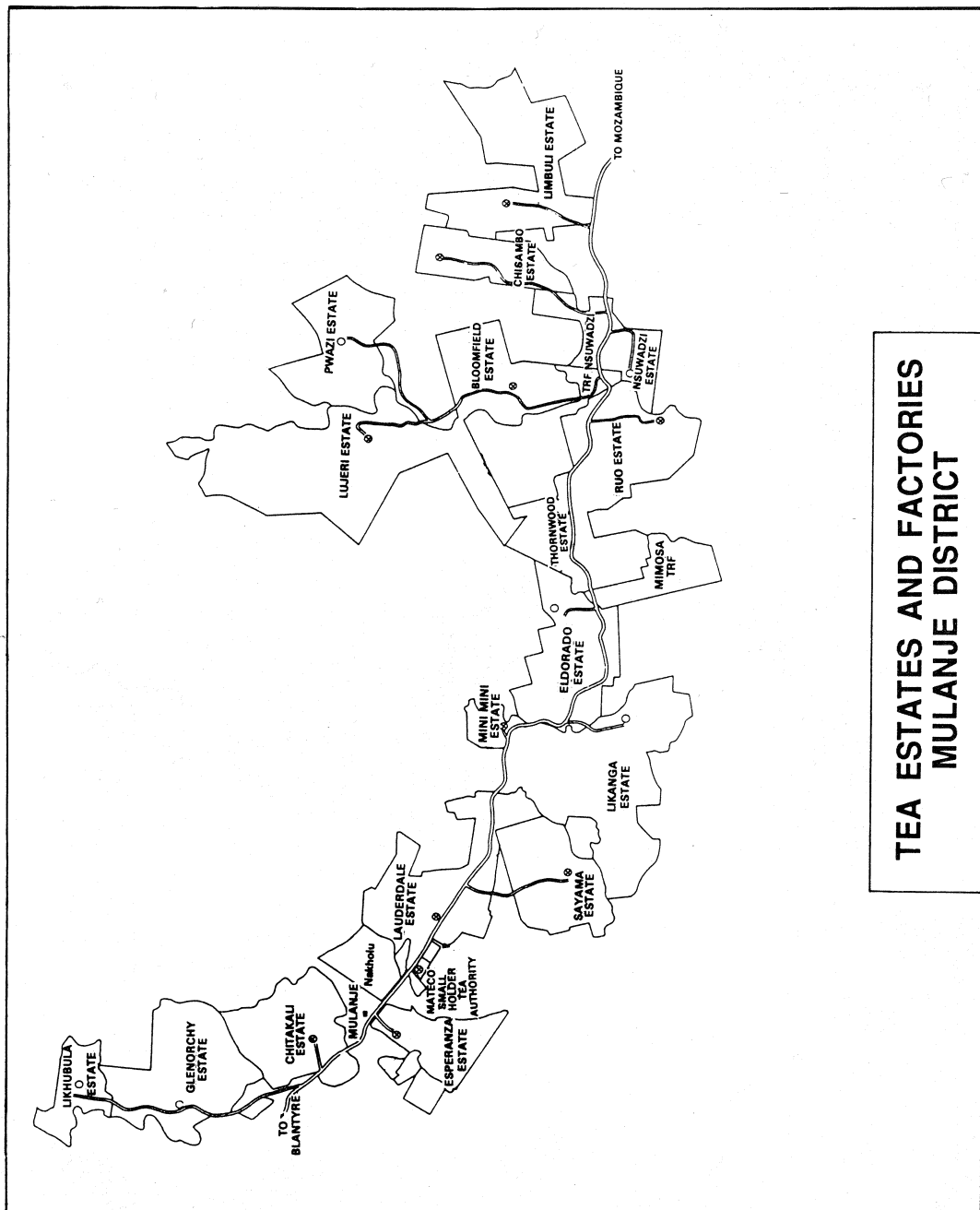
## Annex 1: List of interviews and meetings

Interviews and meetings in Malawi 27.10 - 01.11.2002 (excluding field visits)

Date	Name	Organisation	Address
27.10 -31.10.02	Francis Antonio, General Secretary	Malawi Congress of Trade Unions (MCTU)	Lilongwe Tel/fax: 01 755 614 Cell: 09 944 324 <a href="mailto:mctu@malawi.net">mctu@malawi.net</a>
27.10 -28.10.02	Jimmy Kasuzurima, National Organiser	MCTU	Lilongwe Tel/fax: 01 755 614 Cell: 09 203 526 <a href="mailto:mctu@malawi.net">mctu@malawi.net</a>
28.10.02	S.Y.L. Chirambo, Executive Secretary Mr Meke Et al	The Tobacco Association of Malawi (TAMA)	P.O. Box 31360 Capital City Lilongwe 3 Tel: 01 773 099/276/356 Fax: 01 773 493 <a href="mailto:tama@eomw.net">tama@eomw.net</a>
28.10.02	Jinny Nyirenda	Association of Elimination of Child Labour (AECL)	P.O. Box 30791 Capital City Lilongwe 3 Tel: 01 795 345/08 839 313
28.10.02	Zebron M.K. Kambuto, Labour Commissioner	Ministry of Labour & Vocational Training	P/Bag 344 Capital City Lilongwe Tel: 01 773 277/570 Fax: 01 773 805 Cell: 09 865 307 <a href="mailto:labour@malawi.net">labour@malawi.net</a>
28.10.02	Giva Hendrina	Royal Norwegian Embassy	Arwa House, City Centre P/Bag B 323 Lilongwe 3 Tel: 01 774 211 Fax: 01 772 845
28.10.02	Michael Wasikakata, Country Coordinator	ILO/IPEC Commercial Agriculture	Tel: 01 757 740/39 Fax: 01 757 705 <a href="mailto:mwais-kakata@iloipcmw.org">mwais-kakata@iloipcmw.org</a>
29.10.02	Bobby Maynard, Executive Director Limbani Kakhoma, Project Manager	Together Ensuring Children's Security (T.E.C.S.) (Previous Tobacco Exporters Children Services)	Tel: 01 770 546/856 Fax: 01 772 007 Cell: 08 844 245 <a href="mailto:bmaynard@eomw.net">bmaynard@eomw.net</a>
30.10.-01.11.02	Ken W. Mhango, President	MCTU	P.O. Box 5094 Limbe Tel: 01 635 961 Fax: 01 620 716/755 614
	Joseph.L. Kankhwangwa, General Secretary Chairman MCTU Child Labour Committee	Commercial, Industrial & Allied Workers Union	P.O. Box 5094 Limbe Tel: 01 635 961 Fax: 01 620 716/755 614 Cell: 09 943 883

	Stanford J.B. Mgowa, General Secretary	Plantation and Agriculture Workers' Union (PAWU)	P.O. Box 2 Thyolo Tel: 01 473 300 Fax: 01 473 316 Cell: 09 924 382
	Sophie M. Chitenje, Member MCTU Child Labour Committee	MCTU	P.O. Box 5094 Limbe Tel: 01 635 961 Fax: 01 620 716/755 614
	Davis Chimombo, Member MCTU Child Labour Committee	MCTU	P.O. Box 5094 Limbe Tel: 01 635 961 Fax: 01 620 716/755 614 Cell: 09 943 883
30.10.02	L.W.M. Jere, District Labour Commissioner Mr. Taipi, Ass. Labour Officer Mr. Adini, Ass. Labour Officer	District Labour Office Thyolo	Thyolo
01.11.02	G.T. Banda, Executive Director G.B. Chirwa P.C. Nindi, Executive Secretary	Tea Association of Malawi Limited	Kidney Crescent P.O. Box 930 Blantyre Tel: 01 671 182/355 Fax: 01 671 427
01.11.02	Meeting cancelled	The Employers' Consultative Association of Malawi	Kidney Crescent Road P.O. Box 2134 Blantyre Tel: 01 670 007 Fax: 01 671 337

## Annex 2: Maps of tea estates and factories in Mulanje and Thyolo districts







## **Annex 3: Recognition and access agreements**

**THE AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION**

**MEMORANDA OF RECOGNITION**

**AND**

**ACCESS AGREEMENTS**

**BETWEEN**

**THE ASSOCIATION**

**AND**

**THE PLANTATION AND AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNION**

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MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

between

THE AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION OF MALAWI

and

THE NATIONAL UNION OF PLANTATION AND AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

(Recognition)

The Parties to this Agreement, the Agricultural Employers' Association (hereinafter called "the Association") and the National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers (hereinafter called "the Union"), meeting together in free and voluntary association to regulate the relations between them in the interests of mutual understanding and co-operation, have agreed as follows:-

1. The Association accords full recognition to the Union as a properly constituted and representative body and the sole organisation representing the interests of the Union members throughout the Planting and Agricultural Industries of Malawi in all matters concerning wages and conditions of employment.
2. The Association will make every endeavour to ensure that its members shall likewise accord full recognition to such properly constituted Branches of the Union as may be set up.
3. The Union undertakes to advise the Association without delay regarding the names and designations of all its Branch Officials, and likewise the Association undertakes to make available to the Union the names and designations of its Office Bearers. The Association also undertakes not to enter into negotiation with individuals purporting to represent the Union other than its accredited representatives.
4. No Member of the Association shall impede the proper recruitment of employees by the Union. The Association and the Union agree to ensure that all their Members are acquainted with the law relating to intimidation.
5. Members of the Association reserve the absolute right to engage any employee, and nothing in this Agreement shall prevent any employee from having direct access to the Management of the undertaking on which he is employed on any matter which may concern him in connection with his employment.
6. The Association and the Union jointly recognise their mutual interest in attaining and maintaining the highest standard workmanship and endeavour in the Planting and Agricultural Industries of Malawi and agree to co-operate to this end, and the Union also recognise the absolute right of Employers in the said industries to terminate the services of any of their Employees, provided that the Union shall not be precluded from taking up any such cases with the management.

Cancelled  
See amending  
Agreement  
attached

7. The Association and the Union jointly agree that they will not affiliate with, nor provide funds for any political party, organisations or politician at any time or for any reason. The Association and the Union further agree that at no time will they participate in any political activity.
8. (a) The Association and the Union jointly agree that no lock-out or withdrawal of labour will take place unless and until all available machinery for voluntary mutual negotiation has been resorted to by the parties.
9. The Association and the Union may take up jointly any matters of mutual interest with the Government of Malawi or any other appropriate authority.
10. While this Agreement remains in force the observance thereof is a condition of the continuous recognition of the Union by the Association. The Union undertakes to take all possible steps to prevent or to bring to an end as speedily as possible any action taken by any of its Members which is at variance with the provisions and spirit of this Agreement, or the Laws of Malawi.
11. No amendment of this Agreement shall negotiated unless the party wishing to effect the amendment has given the other party a copy of the suggested amendment and three calendar months' notice in writing, provided that the terms of the Agreement and consent between the parties.
12. This Agreement shall come into force and take effect as from 6th October, Nineteen hundred and sixty, and shall remain unaltered, subject to the provisions of Paragraph II, for a period of at least 12 months from that date.

Signed on behalf of  
The Agricultural Employers'  
Association

I.U. ALEXANDER  
.....  
Secretary/Executive Officer

Signed on behalf of  
The National Union of  
Plantation & Agricultural  
Workers

S. NKHOLAKOSA  
.....  
General Secretary

Date: 6th October, 1960

AMENDING AGREEMENT

TO

RECOGNITION AGREEMENT

It is hereby agreed between the Association and the Trade Union that the following Amendments be made to this Recognition Agreement, that the existing clause 7 be deleted and replaced by :-

- CLAUSE 7    "(a)    The Association and the Trade Union jointly agree that if either party associates itself with any political party, organisation or politician, such action shall not be of such a nature as shall threaten the fundamental principles embodied in this Recognition Agreement.
- (b)    As this Recognition Agreement is based on the constitutions of both parties as at October 6th 1960, it is agreed that both parties give each other not less than 21 days' notice of notification of any proposed amendment to its constitution and give details of any final amendment."

and that Clause 8 have the following sub-clause added:-

CLAUSE 8

"(b) The Association and the Trade Union jointly agree that there will be no victimization of any of the officials or members of either party who are acting bona-fide on instruction from their respective organisations."

The Association and the Trade Union jointly agree that the Amendments in this Amending Agreement shall come into force 14 days after the signing of this Agreement.

Signed on behalf of the  
Nyasaland Planting & Agricultural  
Employers' Association

.....E.A.N.....  
SECRETARY

Signed on behalf of the  
National Union of Plantation &  
Agricultural Workers

.....D.S.N.....  
GENERAL SECRETARY

Date: ..September..28..1961

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

Between

THE AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION OF MALAWI

and

THE NATIONAL UNION OF PLANTATION AND AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

(Access)

The Parties to this Agreement, the Agricultural Employers' Association (hereinafter called "the Association") and the National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers (hereinafter called "the Union"), have agreed as follows, it being understood that "estate" throughout this Agreement shall be deemed to include the Management, manager, employee or agent of the estate, the Company or the Association :-

1. The Union will advise the Secretary of the Association, as soon as possible after their election or nomination as the case may be, of the names and addresses of all its Branch Officials and will notify the Association immediately regarding any change in these appointments.
2. In order to enable the Union representatives to contact the workers on any estate in any orderly manner and to educate them in Trade Union procedure, the Association will recommend to its members:-
  - (a) To allow open meetings to be held on estate property during the hours of daylight, but not during working hours, provided that these are conducted in an orderly and responsible manner. When a Union organiser or official wishes to visit an estate for whatever reason, he will write or telephone to the management of that estate and ask for permission in advance, not less than 7 days beforehand. If the request is by telephone, it must be confirmed in writing. In cases of emergency, the management, at its discretion, may accept a shorter notice period. The place and time of these meetings shall be specified on a written permit from the management concerned.
  - (b) To allow the Union to make arrangements for the Collection of Trade Union subscriptions on one day per week at the absolute discretion of the management, provided that in the course of these activities there is no interference with the payment of the workers on the estate, and provided also that the collection of Trade Union dues, if on pay-days, is made at a reasonable distance from the pay-table after consultation with the Manager of the estate.

Alternatively, at the absolute discretion of the Manager of the estate, and on application by the workers concerned, Trade Union subscriptions may be collected through the pay-roll at regular intervals.



3. On its part the Union agrees that:-

- (a) Trade Union meetings on any estate will be conducted in an orderly and responsible manner and will be confined to employees of the estate in question.
- (b) The number of Union organisers or officials present at any meeting shall be limited to those whose names have been notified to the Manager of the estate and specified on the permit as set out in 2 (a) above, and shall normally not exceed two.
- (c) Ordinarily not more than one open meeting per month shall be held on any estate.
- (d) Duly elected organisers and officials of the Union and their accredited representatives will be supplied with proper identification cards, each containing a photograph of and signed by the organiser, official or representative concerned, these cards to be produced on demand by any member of the management.
- (e) The business of all meetings conducted by the Union will be confined to those matters provided for in the Union's Constitution.
- (f) There will be no intimidation at time of workers who do not wish to join the Union, attend meetings, or pay Union subscriptions, or for any other reason. Similarly, there will be no intimidation of Union members on the part of the management.
- (g) No estate shall be held responsible in any way whatsoever, nor will liability be impugned or implied directly or indirectly in any way to any estate, for any claim by the Union or any members or any representatives which might arise at any time whilst such Union member or representative is on any estate property and which claim arises out of any dereliction or fault of such Union member or any representative, and the Union will indemnify estates against any such claim.

Cancelled  
See amending  
agreement  
attached.

4. Notwithstanding anything agreed upon above, the Association retains the right to withdraw any or all of the aforesaid facilities granted to the Union or its representatives, should it be found that any Union meetings are being held or monies collected for purposes other than bona-fide Trade Union purposes.
5. It is accepted by both parties to this Agreement that estates will have the right to be represented at all Union meetings held on estate property by a responsible person who will report to the management regarding the manner in which the said meetings were conducted and the speeches which were made thereat, and that there will be no objection to the proceeding being tape-recorded by either the Union or the management.

6. This Agreement is to be read in conjunction with the Recognition Agreement dated 6th October, 1960 and ratified by the Union on 13th January, 1961.

For THE AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION ..I U A.....

Date : 14th February, 1961

For THE NATIONAL UNION OF PLANTATION  
& AGRICULTURAL WORKERS: ..S D N.....

Date : 14th February, 1961



# Child Labour in the Tea Sector in Malawi

Child labour is rampant in Malawi, and attention has especially been directed at the tobacco-growing sector. Less is known about the situation in other commercial agricultural sectors, as the tea sector, which is another major export sector in the Malawian economy. The objective of this pilot study has been to get an overview of existing information and knowledge on child labour in the tea sector in Malawi and to explore the needs for further research.



**Fafo**

P.O.Box 2947 Tøyen  
N-0608 Oslo  
<http://www.fafo.no/english/>

**Fafo South Africa**  
P.O. Box 412 766  
Craighall Park, 2024  
Johannesburg

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