



Dissertation

By

ABORISADE ALBERT FEMI

**UNIVERSITY OF
IBADAN, IBADAN**

**Labour Under Sap: A Study Of Industrial Relations
In The University's subsector**

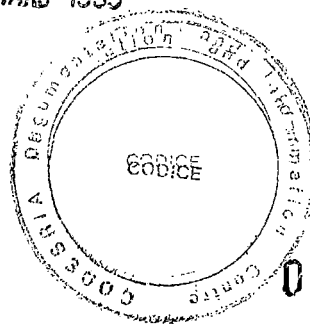
JULY, 1994

14 MARS 1995

13.06.00

ABO

7937



01 FEB. 1995

**LABOUR UNDER SAP:
A STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
IN THE UNIVERSITY SUBSECTOR**

BY

**ABORISADE ALBERT FEMI
(68349)**

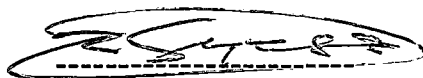
**ADISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
FACULTY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER IN INDUSTRIAL
AND LABOUR RELATIONS, MILR, UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN, IBADAN**

JULY, 1994

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this study was carried out by ABORISADE, ALBERT FEMI (68349) of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, under my supervision.

29/2/94
Date



(Supervisor)
Dr. Femi Omololu
Dept. of Sociology
University of Ibadan

CODESRIA-LIBRARY

ABSTRACT

The concern of this project is to assess the industrial relations situation in the Nigerian University subsector between 1986 (when Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was introduced) and 1993. The exercise was carried out by assessing the impact of SAP on living and working conditions and the reaction of trade unions within the sector.

The research problematic was hinged on a realisation that although the Nigerian university system was never entirely crisis free, industrial crisis in the past was more or less an exception. But today, the university subsector is enveloped in an unprecedented industrial crisis which has become the norm. Considering the role of education and universities in particular in the continuous reproduction of societal intellectual capacity and skills, it is of immense value to assess work relations in the subsector with a view to identifying how to eliminate antagonistic conflicts and attain a more harmonious industrial relations, from the point of view of the employees in the subsector.

An extensive review of existing literature was done on the origin and purpose of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, the theoretical assumptions behind SAP, the implementation of SAP and the social and political impacts of SAP. A theoretical framework for the study was also established by considering five early theories of trade unions and five contemporary theories of industrial relations. On basis of the literature review and theoretical framework, conclusions on the value and meaning of the findings of the study were drawn.

A survey research method was adopted because of its capacity to study large population that cannot be directly observed. A sample size of 350 (three hundred and fifty) was selected out of an estimated study population of about 69000 (sixty-nine thousand) employees making up the three unions in the subsector- Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU); Senior Staff Association of University and Teaching Hospitals, Research Institutions and Associate Institutions (SSAUTHRIAI); and the Non-Academic Staff Union of Educational and Associated Institutions, (NASU).

Stratified sampling technique was employed to ensure that respondents cut across the three unions. To pick the final respondents, purposive and double sampling techniques were adopted. On the whole, 249 questionnaires (representing 71% return rate) were received from 21 universities out of about 30 universities in Nigeria.

Three research instruments - questionnaire, content analysis and interview - were used to gather data. The data obtained were analysed using simple percentages, proportions, price indices, measures of central tendency, regression and correlation analysis.

From the analysis of the data from all the research instruments used, the following findings were arrived at:

1. Adjusting basic salaries for inflation and converting basic salaries in the national currency (the naira) to their dollar (\$) equivalents, living standards of all categories of employees in the university subsector degenerated under SAP.
2. There was a trend of a decline in the funding of the universities when the recurrent and capital budgetary allocations to Federal universities were converted into their dollar (\$) equivalents or adjusted for inflation, the practical effect of which was gross, inadequate and dilapidated facilities producing depressing working environment.
3. The effect of the SAP policies of devaluation of the national currency (the naira) and cuts in funding of education led to declaration of strike actions by all categories of unions (in the university subsector) among other industrial behaviours.
4. The strikes that were called were in demand of improvements in wages and non-wage wider political issues, including increase in wages, improvement in physical working conditions, adequate funding of the universities, university autonomy and democratisation of the administration of the universities, among others.
5. Instead of labour overcoming the competition in the labour market in its reaction to the effects of SAP, labour in the subsector actually took on the competitive character of the labour market environment as reflected in the divisive struggles for and against parity or unified conditions of service.
6. By and large, SAP did not promote an environment in which the existence of unions could be tolerated by university authorities and government.
7. There was higher concentration of (national) strike activities between 1986 and 1993 (the SAP years) than previously in the university subsector.
8. That although there was a relationship between the health of the economy and (strike) behaviour of the workers, the state of the health of the economy was not the only determinant for strike actions.
9. The main underlying causes of industrial crisis in the university subsector included non-implementation of collective agreements and absence of a democratic bargaining structure that could command the confidence and loyalty of all parties.
10. A more harmonious industrial relations could be attained in the university subsector on a programme of egalitarian society, unity of all the unions, establishment of a democratic bargaining machinery, improved funding of universities and democratisation of university administration, among others.

DEDICATION

To the new buds
Springing up in me
Wumi and Leon
Whose pleasant memory tickles me
To new generations of class fighters
Who renew hope
To all those
In spite of the deprivations
who remain committed to humane social change
I dedicate this study

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My experience in the process of carrying out this study proved to me that a research study is a social activity. Even though a single person may claim to be the 'author' of a work, in reality, every work of substance is a product of co-operation of a number of people who play different roles that are co-ordinated by the 'author'.

I am highly indebted to so many people without whose support I might not have been able to successfully complete this study within the time-span it had to be completed.

First and foremost, I count myself lucky to have had Dr. Femi Omololu as my supervisor. He is one of those very few individuals who have made an indelible impact on me in my life. The rigorous training he gave me in the process of preparing the proposal for this research made me feel confident that I have a good grasp of the fundamentals of research as a scientific activity. Thanks to his intellectual capacity, ability to explain and patience to clarify issues to students, the research proposal for this study met international standards and was favourably considered for a research grant by the reputable **Council for the Development of Social Science Research In Africa (CODESRIA)**. Dr. Omololu was ever ready to warmly listen to my problems in the course of preparing the project. For the qualities in him which he extended to me, I thank him immensely.

I also have to express profound gratitude to the CODESRIA for initiating the "Small Grants Programme For Thesis Writing". The scope of this study (and by extension the quality it may attain) was made possible with the knowledge and expectation of the Research Grant awarded by CODESRIA.

For their support in various ways, in connection with this study, I must mention my teachers and age-long friends and comrades: Dr. Funmi Adewumi and Dr. Jimi Adesina of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan.

For their invaluable contributions and assistance ranging from moral and material support, technical services, administration of questionnaires, facilitating accessibility to documents and data to analysis of data, I thank Messrs Rotimi Williams, Lateef Lamina, Ayodele Akele, Seri Opaleye (Mrs), Mr. Bola Bolawole, Dr. Abubakar Momoh, Messrs Biodun Olamosu, Ranti, Esan, Nkem Okeke, Richard Mammah, Dr. Wale Babawale, Messrs Oguntegbe A.A., Femi Adesiyun, Olukayode Adekola, Taiye Akinlami, Adebayo N.A., Dr. Lai Olurode and the Computer Secretaries, Miss Bukola Olowosaga and Mr. Abiodun Obajimi, just to mention a few.

For material support, I have to remember my friends, Messrs Abimbola Daniyan, Akanni Iromini, Bola Jaiyeola; my uncles Messrs. Nathaniel Owode, Gbenga Famoriyo, Col. Albert Elujoba, and my brother, Dr. Bayo Aborisade.

The last but not the least, Chief Gani Fawehinmi who has been showing tremendous concern and support for my insatiable thirst and hunger for knowledge. I am short of words to express the depth of my gratitude to this rare being who has demonstrated preparedness to lose all he has, including his life, so that others may enjoy this life that we experience only but once.

To all of you and those I have left out unconsciously, I thank you sincerely from the depth of my heart.

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	TITLE	PAGE
1a.	Economic Indicators, 1980-1993	28
1b.	Breakdown of Sample Size By Unions	33
2.	Distribution of Respondents by Unions and Sex	34
3.	Distribution of Respondents by Age	35
4.	Respondents by Marital Status	35
5.	Composition of Respondents by Number of Children	35
6.	Distribution by Educational Qualification	36
7.	Respondents by Date of Employment	36
8.	Distribution of Respondents by University of Employment	37
9.	Respondents by Salary, Including Allowances	38
10.	Living Standards Under SAP	38
11.	Adequacy of Salary	39
12.	Present Salary As Percentage of Actual Need	39
13.	Combining Other Jobs to Maintain Family	40
14.	Effect of Increase In Salary On Living Standards	40
15.	Respondents' Solution to the Problem of Inflation	41
16.	Respondents Confidence in Statutory Provisions for Settlement of Trade Disputes	41
17.	Tolerance of University Authorities to the Unions before SAP	42
18.	Tolerance of University Authorities to the Unions Under SAP	42
19.	Assessment of Government Attitudes to the Unions before and after SAP	43
20.	Respondents Opinion About Parity/Separate Salary Structure	43
21.	Likely Underlying Causes of Industrial Conflicts In the University Subsector	44
22.	Capital & Recurrent Allocation to Federal Universities and Dollar (\$) equivalents	45
23.	Total Budgetary Allocation to Federal Universities, Equivalent in Dollar(\$), Allocation per Student	46
24.	Salary Structure (USS, EUSS, UASS) and Dollar(\$) Equivalents	47
25.	Deflated Salary Structures, (USS, EUSS, UASS), 1981-1992	48
26a.	Mean, Mode & Median Pay For Academics In Nigerian Universities	50
26B.	Academic Staff Statistic As At 8TH April, Lagos State University	52
27.	Capital Allocations to Universities Deflated	52
28.	Capital Goods Index, 1986-1993	53
29.	Nigerian Universities National Strike Chart By Unions, 1980-1993	55
30.	Nigerian Universities National Strike Records, All Unions, 1980-1993	56
31.	Relationship Between Economic Indicators and Strike Activity.	58

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Certification	(i)
Abstract	(ii)
Dedication	(iv)
Acknowledgements	(v)
List of Tables	(vi)
Table of Contents	(vii)
 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	
1.1. Background to the study	1
1.2. Statement of the problem	1
1.3. Research Questions	2
1.4. Research Objectives	3
1.5. Significance of the Study	3
1.6. Delimitation	4
1.7. Limitations	4
1.8. Definition of Terms	5
 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	
2.1. Introduction	7
2.2. Historical Background of the IMF/World Bank and Their Borrowing Guidelines	7
2.3. Basis For A Recourse to the IMF	8
2.4. Theoretical Assumption of SAP	9
2.5. Critical Critique of the Theoretical Assumptions	9
2.6. Implementation of SAP	11
2.7. Social Consequences	12
2.8. Attempt to Give SAP a human face	13
2.9. Political Impact	14
2.10. Theoretical Framework	14
2.10.1. The Early Theories of Trade Unionism	14
2.10.1.1. Moral And Ethical Theories of Trade Unionism	14
2.10.1.2. The Revolutionary Tradition	16
2.10.1.3. Unionism As A Psychological or Defensive Reaction to the Early Conditions of Industrialism	18
2.10.1.4. Economic Foundations of Trade Unions	19
2.10.1.5. Democratic And Political Aspects of Unions	20
2.10.2. Theories In Industrial Relations	21
2.10.2.1. The System Theory	21
2.10.2.2. The Unitary Theory	22
2.10.2.3. The Pluralist Theory	23
2.10.2.4. Social Action Theory	25
2.10.2.5. The Marxist Theory	26

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. The Study Population	29
3.2. Sample Size	29
3.3. Sampling Procedure	29
3.4. Description of Instruments	30
3.5. Method of Data Collection	31
3.6. Method of Data Analysis	31
3.7. Validity and Reliability	32

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS

4.1. Presentation of Data From Questionnaire	34
4.2. Presentation of Findings From Interview and Content Analysis	44

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS 59

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Summary	70
6.2. Summary of Findings	71
6.3. Conclusions	73

BIBLIOGRAPHY 78

APPENDIX I 82

APPENDIX II 83

APPENDIX III 88

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In the past, in the era of economic prosperity, the university sector in Nigeria was regarded as a privileged section of the society, immuned to the crisis of the larger society. The university subsector was so removed from the crisis of the larger society to the extent that when the university teachers first embarked on a strike in May 1973, one of them, Professor Sam Aluko was reported to have commented that:

If teachers on salaries between 2,700 to (sic) 6,000 naira per annum could be described as poor, I really feel that the educated elite in Nigeria have to make up their minds whether they want to join the bandwagon of the exploiters

(Aluko: 1973)

Today however, the story is different. Industrial crisis is no longer strange to the university subsector. Infact, without exaggeration, the subsector may be considered as one of the leading sectors, if not the leading sector in the strike race. Thanks to the world-wide economic recession, the sector has become noted for its multi-dimensional crisis, part of which is the crisis in labour- management relations.

In recognition of the economic crisis which has also caused profound crisis for education, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have produced a framework of policy reforms called SAP to deal with **both** the crisis of the economy and the crisis in education in the debt - distressed 'developing' nations like Nigeria.

The implementation of these adjustment policies "guides the World Bank's lending and technical assistance to sub-saharan African Education over the next several years (and) serves to provide a common ground for other donors as well....." (World Bank: 1988).

Given the importance of education (particularly at the tertiary level in the reproduction of the intellectual capacity and skills which ultimately determines the quality of life in any country, an examination of the work relations under SAP in the education sector is of paramount relevance.

With the foregoing background, this study took a close look at the industrial relations situation in the university subsector of the Nigerian educational sector since 1986 when Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was introduced. The exercise was accomplished by examining the impact of SAP and the response of trade unions within the sector.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Nigerian industrial relations atmosphere has never been entirely crisis-free. But the dimension of the crisis since the introduction of Structural Adjustment

Programme (SAP) is monumentally unprecedented. This is particularly so in the university subsector.

The union of the university teachers, the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) was disaffiliated from the country's central labour organisation, the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) in 1986 because of its alleged radicalising influence on the latter. Twice, between 1988 and 1992, the ASUU was banned for calling out its members on strike. For the first time in the history of Nigerian universities, all the three trade unions in the subsector embarked on series of strikes in the years 1992 and 1993. For this reason, a new decree which could not be formally enforced was promulgated which classified education as "essential service" with the effect that any employee in the educational sector who engaged in any form of industrial action extending beyond one week stood to lose his/her job. In short, turbulence characterised labour relations in the subsector.

It would appear that the IMF and the World Bank assumed that labour would be contained successfully in the process of implementation of Structural Adjustment Policies "recommended" to debt-trapped Sub-Sahara African (SSA) countries like Nigeria. The World Bank and IMF recognised that the adjustment policies would be "painful" for labour but that they are "absolutely necessary ... inescapable and must be squarely faced" (World Bank, 1988:96)

However, real life experience has proved the implicit assumption of regarding labour as a passive entity wrong. Reality has proved that labour is not always there to be commandeered at will by the employer. In other words, the problem of CONTROL always exists for the employing class. The reaction of labour may be more successful or forceful in one place than another, but resistance is always registered in one form or the other.

Our concern in this project is therefore to assess the reaction of labour under the impact of adjustment policies as they affect work relations in the university subsector in Nigeria.

To guide the study towards clear goals, the research questions below were adopted.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research attempted to provide answers to the following questions which also provided direction for the study:

1. How have the SAP policies of devaluation of Nigeria's national currency (the naira) and cuts in public expenditure on social services affected the working and living conditions of the employees in the university subsector?
2. How have the employees in the subsector reacted to the effects of the SAP policies stated in (1) above?
3. Have more strikes actually occurred under SAP than previously in Nigeria's university subsector?

4. What is the difference in the frequency of strikes, striker size and strike duration under SAP compared to previous years in Nigeria's university subsector?
5. What is the relationship or association (including the strength of the relationship) between economic indicators (such as changes in the rate of inflation, exchange rates and budgetary allocations to universities) and intensity of strike activity (i.e. strike incidence, striker size and strike duration) in Nigeria's university subsector?
6. What are the underlying causes of industrial unrest in Nigeria's university subsector?
7. How can we bring about a more harmonious industrial relations?

1.4. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. To examine the impact of SAP on industrial relations in the university subsector of the educational sector in Nigeria.
2. To identify the issues in conflict (between the university employees and the Management and Government) which are related to SAP policies such as devaluation of Nigeria's national currency (the naira) and cuts in public expenditure on social services in particular.
3. To assess the reaction of various labour unions in the subsector to the effects of the interrelated SAP policies stated in (2) above.
4. To offer suggestions on how to eliminate antagonistic conflicts and ensure a more harmonious labour - management and government relations in the subsector.

1.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Significance of a study has to do with the benefits that may be derived from the study and the likely beneficiaries. To this extent, this study is invaluable.

First, this study has implications for policy makers. The justification of this study lies primarily in drawing attention to the need for alternative policy options or amendment of existing policies if it is established that SAP produces strained work relations or worsens industrial relations which may in fact undermine the achievement of its stated or intended goals in the educational sector. The findings show a need for alternative policy options to SAP.

Second, still for policy makers who are genuinely interested in finding or providing lasting solutions to the problems involved in labour - management relations

in the subsector. The study contains the underlying cause(s) of industrial crisis and the solutions to them from the view-point of the employees in the subsector instead of elitist solutions proffered by people who are far removed from the terrain of crisis.

Third, the study is of value to the workers and trade unions in the subsector in the sense of containing ideas (from the viewpoint of participants in the sector) as to how to bring about (trade union) inter-organisational smooth relations which can enhance unity and solidarity in the pursuit of struggles to improve their working and living standards rather than being engaged in divisive politics.

Fourth, this study also has theoretical significance in many respects as the conclusions (Chapter Six) show. For example, whereas many theories of trade unions had assumed that deprivations suffered by all categories of workers caused by the structural factors compel large numbers of workers to unite in the interest of breaking the common chains of poverty, the reality of strained inter-union relations under SAP which set the unions apart instead of bringing them together definitely pose implications for consciousness in terms of commitment and capacity to establish a new social order by the working class which may interest scholars to further research into. Also of key theoretical value is the discovery (which also has implications for consciousness) that a majority of the employees in the subsector combined other jobs (other than wage-employment) to survive instead of sole reliance on wage-employment according to the classical Marxian definition of a worker. This may have implications for the distinction between "worker consciousness" and "petty-bourgeois consciousness" and raises the need for further research into these concepts in the light of today's realities.

1.6. DELIMITATION

This study was concerned mainly with labour and management relations under the impact of SAP in the university subsector between the period 1986 and 1993. It was not concerned with the general multi-dimensional crisis which engulfed the university subsector. Even though students are usually affected by the industrial actions of the trade unions just as the trade unions are equally liable to be affected by the protestations of the students, the study was not concerned with general conflict and conflict management in the university subsector.

The respondents for this study were delimited to about 21 universities out of about 30 universities in Nigeria. 350 questionnaires were administered out of which 249 questionnaires were completed and returned. It is hoped that a survey of 249 respondents is representative of the study population given the nature of the research problem and objectives.

1.7. LIMITATIONS

Some problems were confronted in the process of gathering data from both primary and secondary sources.

One of the Research Assistants who was recruited to administer the questionnaire in Lagos and in the South East gave the researcher no small headache. After collecting all initial fees and allowances, he did not perform! Another research assistant therefore had to be employed. However, some time had been lost in the process. This explains why the South East universities were, relatively speaking, poorly represented. Future occurrence of such bitter experience may be averted by daily check on Field Researchers.

Also, some of the national officers of the unions were not prepared to give maximum co-operation in terms of making available necessary data. But due to persistent pressure, wide contacts and stubborn, iron determination to make a success of the study, the initial problems were overcome and the researcher came across cooperative officials.

Another problem had to do with the fact that the NASU members in some institutions originally slated for survey were on strike about the time the research work started and plans had to be made to cover other areas. This explains the relative small numbers of questionnaires recorded for universities of Ibadan and Lagos.

However, these limitations in coverage do not affect the validity and reliability of the findings because: all the universities sampled are cosmopolitan in staff composition. Appointments into universities are not based on ethnic consideration but on merit. As such, personnel from different parts of the country are found in any particular university. It must also be mentioned that the sample surveyed is more widespread than earlier anticipated in the Research Proposal. Respondents were selected from 21 universities instead of nine (9) due to the opportunity offered by ASUU's national conference on **State of the Nation** which was attended by employees (mainly ASUU members) from different universities across the length and breadth of Nigeria.

Another limitation of the study lies in the paucity of reliable statistical data in Nigeria. On one hand, the Nigerian public is very sceptical of official statistical figures for inflation and other economic indicators in the sense of grossly under-estimating the reality of life. On the other hand, up to date official data (even with the air of unreliability that they carry) are not readily available. In this respect, figures for 1992 and 1993 in respect of some of the economic indicators are not provided. But in some areas, this study contains some data for 1992 and 1993 which are being published for the first time. To this category for instance fall budgetary allocations to Federal Universities for the years 1992 and 1993 which were obtained raw from the files of the National Universities Commission (NUC). It is also important to point out that for uniformity purposes and documentary evidence, official exchange rates (\$/N) instead of the black market rates were used in measuring the value of the national currency.

Regardless of all the shortcomings of the official data however, the trend is clear and unmistakable, and assures us that our findings and conclusions are still reliable.

On the whole, the limitations pointed out above cannot significantly affect the validity and reliability of the study considering a combination of three research

instruments used: Questionnaire, interviews and content analysis.

1.8. DEFINITION OF TERMS

The definitions of the following key concepts reflect the meanings attached to them as used in this study:

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

“Industrial relations” is understood as the processes of control over work relations, which includes relations between individuals (e.g. between a worker and his boss); between a group of workers and an individual superior, between groups of workers in different bargaining units, between groups of workers and the management representing the employers of the institution where they work. It therefore encompasses personal and informal relations on one hand and collective relations on the other, with or without institutionalised collective bargaining. However, the processes of control over collective worker organisation and action are of particular concern (Stephenson and Brotherton, 1979:12; and Hyman, 1981:12)

SOCIAL JUSTICE

The concept of social justice is understood to mean practical and theoretical commitment to a goal of having a social arrangement of society in which all social primary goods - liberty and opportunity, income and wealth and the basis of human dignity are distributed to all equally.

CONSCIOUSNESS

For a definition of consciousness, we adopt the definition offered by Miliband with some modification:

Firstly and most obviously, class consciousness may be taken as denoting a fairly accurate **perception of class membership** on the part of a particular individual. This is the basic elementary meaning of class consciousness. Secondly, class consciousness may denote a certain **perception of the immediate interests of the class** of which one is conscious of being a member. The two perceptions may be but not necessarily linked. Thirdly, even when these two levels of class consciousness exist, they may not lead to a third level of such consciousness which involves **a will to advance the interest of the class....**Fourthly and most difficult of all consciousness may be understood to mean not only a consciousness of class membership and of its interests, and not only the will to advance these interests but a **particular perception of what their advancement requires** not simply in immediate but in more general global terms.....(Miliband, 1971:22).

The modification that should be made to the above definition is that class membership and perception of class interests do not mean sectional membership of trade union or the sectional interest of a particular trade union but membership of and identification of the collective interests of all oppressed strata (on the whole) as a class. To this extent, being conscious will require an ASUU member not to politically separate his/her own sectional trade union demands and interests from those of SSAUTHRIAI and NASU, and vice versa.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The review of existing literature which is undertaken in this Chapter begins with the historical background of the IMF/World Bank and their general lending guidelines so as to put those financial institutions in proper historical perspective and context. Next, we examine the nature of the economic crisis of Nigeria and other industrially backward countries which propels them to resort to borrowing from the IMF/World Bank. We then put forward the theoretical assumptions of SAP which offer an explanation of the nature of Nigeria's economic crisis from the viewpoint of the IMF/World Bank. Consequently, a critical assessment of the theoretical assumptions of SAP is undertaken. To test the strength of our theoretical critique of the theoretical assumptions of SAP, we examine the outcome of the implementation of SAP. This is followed by an examination of the concrete social consequences of SAP. A critical assessment of the attempts to redress the negative social consequences of SAP by the World Bank is then carried out. The implications of SAP for the polity, political democracy, progress and stability are also identified. Finally, the theoretical framework is established by a discussion of relevant literature on trade unions and industrial relations.

2.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE IMF/WORLD BANK AND THEIR BORROWING GUIDELINES

Onimode (1989) has pointed out that the concern to prevent another world war in the image of the 1st and 2nd World Wars (which were caused by uncontrolled economic competition and militarism) gave birth to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) through the meeting of the industrialised capitalist states at Bretton Woods, New Jersey in 1944. The objective was to establish financial institutions which could pull resources together with which to support distressed

economies with a view to preventing an economic slump which could provoke mass movements and threaten the system. The World Bank group comprises the World Bank, International Development Association (IDA) and the International Finance Corporation (IFC).

There are different types of drawings that could be made from the IMF: Drawings from the First Tranche and the Second Tranche. Drawing from the First Tranche means drawing from a country's own contribution to the Fund which does not attract tough conditions. However, drawings from the second Tranche attracts tough conditionalities. It is important to note that the tough preconditions were either not in existence or were not enforced before 1978 when the major sponsors of the IMF (the advanced capitalist

countries) were the major borrowers!

2.3. BASIS FOR A RECOURSE TO THE IMF

The economic crisis facing a country like Nigeria is the propelling reason for approaching the IMF for credit lines.

The root of this economic crisis lies in the position and role which is assigned to industrially underdeveloped countries like Nigeria (within the World market) which depend primarily on the export of raw materials - agricultural and mineral - in exchange for imported manufactured goods and machineries. Hence, countries like Nigeria suffer unequal terms of trade determined by the division of labour assigned to them in the world economy.

Onimode (1989) explains that primary raw materials from our part of the world face dwindling demand and fortunes for a number of reasons: the development and use of synthetic substitutes, the imposition of low prices through cartels and restrictive trade practices of the industrially advanced countries in America and Europe. To those factors must be added the world-wide economic crisis which objectively reduces the quantity of resources - energy and others - that may be required for full industrial capacity utilisation.

The implication of the combination of factors discussed above is a tumbling colossal collapse of the foreign exchange earnings derivable from oil and non-oil exports. This is to the effect that huge foreign debts have to be incurred to finance imports and other projects (See Table 1A). This is the background to the implementation of SAP in Nigeria.

To guarantee additional credit lines, reschedulement of debts by the foreign creditors and repayment of debts (by Nigeria), the IMF/World Bank imposed a "conceptual economic and political framework within which governments have been encouraged to undertake a number of policy reforms" (Asante: 1991) called Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) consisting mainly of devaluation of the national currency (the naira), privatisation/commercialisation of public enterprises, trade liberalisation, cuts in public expenditures, etc.

Within the educational sector in particular, the following policies among others have been advocated: reduction of academic and non-academic staff, charging or increasing charges for basic amenities for staff, lengthening working hours for (academic) staff, introduction of tuition fees, closure of courses, departments and faculties, etc. (World Bank: 1987 and 1988).

On wages and jobs, the SAP document presented by Nigeria on June 12, 1986 to the London Club of Commercial Banks in New York (for negotiation purposes) says that: "Constraints on the growth of the public wage bill" (as a policy will continue and that) "over the last year, there has been significant retrenchment in the public sector as well as cuts in net wages and benefits. In the next few years, the emphasis will be to hold down the level of public sector employment..... Wage increases will be

allowed during the programme period but at less than the rate of inflation until the financial situation improves” (African Business: 1986).

The 1987 Federal Budget for example also warned labour “not to make excessive demands”. And as Ode Ojowu has posited, “what constitutes excessive demands was left undefined. Is it wage demands that aim to prevent real wages from falling? The government labour policy thus fails to come to grips with the basic industrial relations problem, and offers no concrete proposals for ensuring that real wages in Nigeria are restored to their previous levels or at least prevented from further collapse.” (Ode Ojowu:1987).

The nature of the economic crisis is therefore at the background of various governmental public policies dictated or influenced by the IMF/World Bank. But what theoretical assumptions inform SAP policies? This is the object of the next subsection.

2.4. THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS OF SAP

Okogu (1989) has succinctly encapsulated the theoretical assumptions that inform SAP policies: they are rooted in monetarist doctrines, the doctrines that advocate cuts in living standards.

The monetarist explanation of economic crisis is that the aggregate national income is more than the domestic production (of goods and services) even when industries operate at full capacity. Consequently, this creates a situation of high dependency on imports leading ultimately to external indebtedness. What should be done from the monetarist point of view is not to raise production but to cut wages and reduce living standards in order for the country to live within its means and thereby reduce the magnitude of external indebtedness.

The monetarist conception is what informs the conditionalities attached to IMF loans: cuts in public expenditure, removal of food, education and other types of subsidies, liberalisation of trade, devaluation of local currency, reduction in the real wage rate of workers so as to increase the share of profit in the overall national income,

privatisation of state enterprises, especially those that are not self-sustaining and rationalisation of the labour force.

2.5. CRITICAL CRITIQUE OF THE THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

In another work, Onimode summed up the meaning of the theoretical assumptions of SAP:

even though unstated, the objective of SAP is that African countries should change their resource allocation in order first to repay unjust foreign debts. In other words, to squeeze us into servicing our debts, the consequence of which is a net transfer of resources from our poor countries to the capitalists in the North (Onimode, 1991: 68)

Okogu (1989) provides some explanation as to why the stated theoretical objectives of SAP could not be achieved:

Devaluation for instance, from the point of view of SAP was to have the effect of making the country's goods more competitive on the international market while reducing imports and thus improving the balance of payments position. Along this line, farm and other domestic products which held no attraction for local producers because of cheap imports of competing goods would be favoured by a devaluation that raises cash crop prices in local currency.

On the ground however, while on one hand local producers of cash crops were initially encouraged to produce, later they were worst off because they saw the other side of devaluation which raised the prices of imported manufactured goods. The case of the cocoa farmers is a good example. On the other hand, rather than local farmers being encouraged to produce, the policy of liberalisation was a disincentive: The mass importation of better quality and relatively cheaper rice into the country for example easily put the local producers at disadvantage. They could not just stand the competition!

One of the major explanations for liberalisation is that it will encourage the inflow of foreign investments through the relaxation or deregulation of trade and exchange restrictions. However, in reality, liberalisation has merely facilitated the export of goods by the multinational companies to Nigeria without the previous difficulties posed by import licence and profit repatriation regulations rather than investing within the country and setting up new factories which could employ local labour! Thus, liberalisation policy in practice loosens the constraint on the outflow of capital without encouraging the inflow of capital and consequently having no positive improvement on the balance of trade account. This had been the trend more or less over the years, only that the SAP years have compounded the problem. For example, there was a net export of capital of over \$2.7bn from Nigeria alone in the period 1970-1980 by the Multinational Corporations (MNC). It therefore confirms that SAP is meant to squeeze our economy to repay debts rather than to inject investments to help revamp the economy.

One of the major explanations why the multinationals prefer to export to us rather than invest in our country is simply for lack of confidence in the ability of the government to contain the rising wave of protests in reaction to the negative impacts of SAP.

Now, the question of the SAP policy of reduction of the real wage rate of workers. The main objective of this policy is to provide a more profitable atmosphere for investors based on cheap labour. However, the reason why the industrialised countries capture our internal market in addition to the external markets is the advanced technology used in production. There is no way for us competing with them on basis of cheap labour.

The combination of the policies of rationalisation of the labour force, reduction of the real wage rates of workers, cuts in public expenditure, removal of food and other types of subsidies are all meant **primarily** to ensure availability of resources to service and repay debts. But more importantly, they cannot lead to revamping the economy for the following reasons.

Kay (1979: 10-11) explains that to sustain a particular level of production (and perhaps increase it), a precondition is that consumption must take place. Therefore,

the consuming capacity of the populace has to be enhanced not undermined. This can happen only if the real wage of the labour force increases substantially so as to ensure **necessary consumption** which is made up of both **personal consumption** of the "living producers" (the working class) and the **depreciation** of the instruments of production so that worn out machineries can be replaced. The level of personal consumption, it should be noted, is also determined by the level of income of the mass of buyers of goods and services - the teeming masses of the people. Where the level of **necessary consumption** is too low to guarantee profitable operation, manufacturers will recoil from production with dire consequences for jobs. This explanation is at the background of steady decline in the industrial capacity utilisation. (See Table 1A).

Another SAP component is privatisation. Privatisation of state enterprises has been recognised as just another word for cheaply passing state wealth accumulated in those enterprises over the years into private hands. But more importantly, it may lay a basis for a recolonisation of Nigeria considering the debt equity swap policy which allows foreign creditors to use their credit to buy equity shares in the enterprises previously owned by the state.

2.6. IMPLEMENTATION OF SAP

The implementation of SAP has had devastating effect on the economy, living standards, education and ultimately volatile industrial relations in the larger society as well as in the university subsector.

Yearly assessment of the Federal Budget since 1986 up till 1993 revealed that about 50% of the total budget went to pay and service debt obligations.

The former Honourable Minister of Finance, Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji (1992) has also shown that while student enrolment in the nation's universities in 1992 was more than double that of 1987, the overall **statutory** allocation to the universities in 1992 was lower than that of 1987: 1.45% and 2.26% respectively were allocated.

The economic indicators (See Table 1A) present us a graphic picture of what the situation was before and after the introduction of SAP. In spite of SAP (and perhaps more appropriately, precisely on basis of SAP) the economic situation has metamorphosed from bad to worse. Although manipulated in various ways to reduce the gravity of the situation and therefore has remained unacceptable to the public, the official inflationary rate remains at two digits as against 4 digits calculated by the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and accepted by ASUU; the growth rate of 4.3% in 1991 should be assessed at the background of a growth rate of - 0.6% in 1987 (i.e. a decline) and the SAP target of 6.8% yearly; officially, manufacturing capacity utilisation which was at 70% in 1980 dropped to 39.4% in 1991. In fact, it is believed to be much lower; Debts continue to rise. External debt burden rose from \$18bn in 1986 to \$26bn in 1988 and to \$36bn in 1992. It fell to about \$26.7bn at about the end of 1992 only on basis of reschedulement mainly. As at the tail end of 1992, debt-equity formula reduced Nigeria's stock of debt by only \$716.48m. (**Daily Times** 12 November,

1992). Consequently, debt service ratio rose from 6.2% in 1980 to 68.9% in 1991.

The most crushing aspect of SAP is the devaluation of the national currency: from N0.5469 to the dollar (\$) in 1980, it is now over N50.00 to the dollar (\$) in the black market.

The problems which the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) noted in 1989 remain till today: high domestic inflation, rising interest rates, domestic supply shortages, limited employment opportunities, inadequate foreign exchange resources and a large external debt burden (**Business Champion** 1992:20).

Professor Sam Aluko summed it up all: No nation that devalues its national currency as done by Nigeria can survive. (Aluko,1992:18)

The United Nations Human Development Report for 1993 has placed Nigeria in the 142nd position out of the World's 173 countries!

The implications of the implementation of SAP in Nigeria and other African Countries has also made the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) to conclude that "no Structural Adjustment Programme which marginalises people, which shows little regard for the plight of the poor and the vulnerable members of society and which behaves as if growth and development were intrinsically predicated on the prosperity of a few and the misery of many, will ever succeed" (Asante, 1991). In place of SAP therefore, the ECA advanced its African Alternative Framework - Structural Adjustment Programme (AAF - SAP) in July 1989 which essentially advocates SAP with a human face. In reality, AAF-SAP is also based on "market forces playing an increasing role as an engine of growth and development....." (Asante 1991:184).

2.7. SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Expectedly, labour (both academic and non-academic) has been reacting to the conditions of work and living standards under SAP. The reaction has been in various

forms, including labour turnover (braindrain) and strikes: There was the semi-general strike by the NLC in 1988 over increases in price of oil. Again in the first week of June 1989, a year after SAP was to be officially terminated, there was a massive political strike in the country which started as an economic strike but ended on the note of "IBB Must Go" - General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida being the President and Head of State then.

The 1989 Anti-SAP protests compelled the regime to combine Keynesianism with monetarism: an extra-budgetary relief package amounting to N494.9m was released to cushion the effects of SAP. Consequently, there was a fiscal deficit (as % of GDP) of 7.9% in 1989 (**Business Champion**, 1992:18). Similar expenditures, among other factors, (e.g. corruption of state functionaries), have resulted in yearly fiscal deficits as contained in Table 1A. In other words, the struggles of the masses have compelled the regime to deviate somewhat from its original intentions (monetarism) reflecting the capacity of the civil society to influence official decision making. This is an aspect

of dynamic interaction between social structure and consciousness: how SAP (the ruling class goals, ideas and beliefs) has influenced the working class and how the ideas, goals and actions of the working class have mediated those of the ruling class in an interconnected contradictory process.

The appraisal of the behaviour or reaction of labour under different economic situations tends to divide labour scholars into two tendencies: those that argue that more strikes occur in periods of economic upswing and less strikes in the period of economic recession and those who argue that more strikes occur during economic recession than during economic prosperity.

Works of Damachi (1984), Tokunboh (1985) and Fashoyin (1990) argue that there was severe strike proness in the early 1980s while there has been a decline in strike incidence since the mid-1980s due to economic crisis.

Adesina (1992) has shown that even based on official data, the idea of a withering away of strikes between 1983 and 1985 cannot be sustained. More than that, he concluded that strike incidence is not just dependent on economic prosperity or recession but on a combination of other factors, political and organisational (including leadership question) conditions of the trade unions. This study hopes to refute or confirm any of these theoretical postulations based on objective and empirical study of verifiable facts as far as labour in the university subsector is concerned.

2.8. ATTEMPT TO GIVE SAP A HUMAN FACE

Perhaps, partly in reaction to ECA's criticisms of SAP and mainly in reaction to popular revolts against SAP, the World Bank has established the Social Dimensions of Adjustment (SDA) among other ventures. Under the SDA, donor countries contribute funds which are administered by the World Bank to redress the negative social consequences of SAP. But there are problems with SDA, the major one being that, as

Onimode puts it, "there has been no systematic attempts to integrate them into ongoing SAPs. So SDAs have remained afterthoughts, footnotes that have been grafted on. It is like providing ambulances without making systematic efforts to stop the carnage for which the ambulances are required" (Onimode, 1991).

Asante also draws out the shortcoming of the SDA from another perspective: "One wonders whether this desperate late response by the Bank to the social consequences of adjustment can effectively repair the human and social costs which have often been seen as being out of proportion with the intended or real benefits of Structural Adjustment Programmes" (Asante, 1991) For instance, what is the significance of granting a money wage increase which lags behind current inflationary rate only to increase prices of essential services immediately after money-wage increases?.

The major problem has been identified by the Nigerian reknowned economist, Prof. Sam Aluko: "..... the problem started for many developing countries when social projects such as education, health and environment were classified as economic

projects by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, (IMF)". (Aluko, 1993:3)

2.9. POLITICAL IMPACT

Onimode (1991) contends that the political impact of SAP has not been given sufficient attention. He recognises that given the unpopularity of the effects of SAP, it usually requires authoritarian regimes to implement them "successfully". This is why implementation of SAP has tended to either coincide with or provoke the militarisation (and growing authoritarianism) of politics. We find that under the SAPs, the sponsors from the Bretton Woods institutions who "promote democracy in their own countries, support dictatorship and undermine democratic procedures when they get to Africa..... That is wrong and it undermines not only the sovereignty of African Countries but the legitimate aspirations of our people for popular participation" (Onimode, 1991:69-70).

2.10. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this subsection, we examine five early and classical theories of trade unions and five contemporary theories of industrial relations.

The purpose of undertaking such a wide-span survey of early and contemporary theories is because they are not mutually exclusive. Each one of them may have its shortcomings, but they also have their strengths in different respects. The "snapshots" of various dimensions which each of them "prints" put us in a better position to have a wider and more comprehensive outlook of industrial relations.

2.10.1 THE EARLY THEORIES OF TRADE UNIONISM

The five early theories of trade unionism are: Moral and Ethical Theories of Trade Unionism, Trade Unions as revolutionary movements, unions as economic organisations, Unionism as a psychological or defensive reaction to the early conditions of industrialism and Trade Unions as democratic and political organisations.

Correspondingly, Poole (1981) recognised five major social movements or academic disciplines which permeate the various perspectives, namely, Protestant Christian Socialist and the Roman Catholic Christian Social Movements, the Marxian Social Movements, the neo-classical economics discipline, the environmental psychology discipline and the legal history or jurisprudential history discipline.

2.10.1.1 MORAL AND ETHICAL THEORIES OF TRADE UNIONISM

This perspective which tries to explain the growth and character of trade unions sees unions as a product or offspring of the growth in the culture of general concern for the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people who were subjected to

“patent injustices and poverty” which were prevalent in the nineteenth century Europe.

From the point of view of this perspective, the emergence of trade unions, the idea that binds unionists together, the tonic that keeps the union going and sustains it, the rationality and justification for the existence of the union is the extent to which it is committed to upholding and defending certain societal ethics and morals which make the welfare of the disadvantaged the focus of its activity.

For those who see the union from this perspective, the trade unions (and particularly the British trade unions and Labour Party at the time) owed more to Christianity than to Marxism.

The Christian socialists for instance expounded a belief in the “brotherhood of man and the consequent development of mutual obligations” (Poole, 1981:8)

As G.K. Chesterton pointed out, both Christian and Socialist collectivism “arose from compassion, compassion for the unfortunate and from the belief that evil in society emanates from incessant accumulation of riches and interpersonal competition” (Poole, 1981:8).

However, it should be noted as Flanders pointed out in **Management and Unions** that unlike Marxism, Christian Socialism is “a set of ideals, as a moral dynamic not as a blueprint for an economic and social system” (Poole, 1981:9).

Although the influence of religious beliefs has waned in explaining the character of trade unions in our time, it has only given room for the concern for “justice”. As Flanders pointed out, the capacity of the trade unions to survive the hostility of the state and sustain the loyalty of union membership is hinged on commitment to justice:

The trade union movement deepened its grip on public life in its aspect as a sword of Justice (researcher’s emphasis).

When it is no longer seen to be this, when it can no longer count on anything but its own power to withstand assault, it becomes extremely vulnerable. The more so since it is as a sword of justice rather than a vested interest that it generates loyalties and induces sacrifices among its own members and these are important foundations of its strength and vitality” (Poole, 1981:9).

Emil Durkheim too in his **The Division of Labour in Society** echoed the concern for justice as a norm which the society held sacred:

the central task of advanced industrial societies is a work of justice because the ideal of modern society is to involve our social relationships with even greater equity in order to ensure the free development of all socially useful potentialities (Poole, 1981:9).

The definition of ‘justice’ as used in this context should however consider the caution given by Flanders in explaining the concept of Christian Socialism as opposed to Marxism. From an idealist interpretation, as Rawls noted in **A Theory of Justice**, justice means that: all social primary goods - liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all these goods is to the advantage of the least favored (Poole,

1981:9)

It is therefore apparent that this perspective of trade unions is rooted in one-sided, ethical, religious and idealist world outlook without considering the wider structural constraints (such as business cycles of upswings and downswings, booms and boomlets, the technological condition, the enterprise size and of course, the exercise of political power) which impinge on the realisation or non-realisation of the world of subjective ideals.

Given the limitations of this theory in explaining trade union action and behaviour, other theories had to be advanced.

2.10.1.2 THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION

The revolutionary tradition of trade unions is associated with Marxism.

Although there are many variants of Marxism, scholars generally recognise as Poole, (1981:12) noted that “the germs of an explanatory theory can be readily isolated in Marxist scholarship” in that in terms of explanations for union growth and development, it sufficiently encompasses two major variables - Structural and subjective factors: At the structural level, the industrial revolution, the development of large-scale private enterprise (which is associated with general unstable structural ups and down movements in the economy) facilitates the concentration in one place, of a large number of workers who depend on wages for their livelihood. This in other words means the recognition of two economic categories - workers and employers - based on the new factory production system.

At the subjective level, (i.e. on questions of attitudes and beliefs) the necessity to maintain wages and protect jobs, (particularly under conditions of unstable vicious circle which the economy passes through) compels workers to unite in opposition to the employer. Therefore, it is the structural basis which promotes unionism, influences attitudes and beliefs.

On basis of the implications of the subjective factor, scholars have delineated what they term the “optimistic” phase and the “pessimistic” phase of the Marxist perspective.

The optimistic tradition is based on the view (as expressed by Hyman in *Marxism and the Sociology of Trade Unions*) that:

The evolution of industrial capitalism provides the preconditions of collective organisation by throwing workers together in large numbers and creates the deprivations which spur them to combination. This unity, by transcending competition in the labour market, in itself threatens the stability of capitalism: it also develops workers' class consciousness and trains them in methods of struggle. The limited economic achievements of their unions lead workers to adopt political forms of action, and ultimately to challenge directly the whole structure of class domination . (Poole, 1981:12).

The “pessimistic” phase of Marxism is derived from certain aspects of the writings of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Marx once observed in his *Value, Price and Profit* that unions worked well only

as “centres of resistance against the encroachment of capital but were not so effective as spearheads of a new economic and political system” (Poole, 1981:13).

Lenin also had to remark that Social - Democratic (meaning revolutionary) consciousness could not occur amongst workers left on their own but would have to be brought to them from without:

“The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade - union consciousness, i.e the conviction that it is necessary to combine in unions, fight the employers, and strive to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc. The theory of socialism however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and the economic theories elaborated by educated representatives of the propertied classes, by intellectuals. By their social status, the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia” (Lenin, 1970:375)

However, it should be noted that so far, scholars have demonstrated that they are either unaware of or have deliberately overlooked the area where Lenin explained himself that he deliberately selected the blunt formula in order to compel the Economists to a realisation of the political tasks of revolutionaries which consisted in going “among all classes of the population” rather than the economic conception, “to go among the workers”:

Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from

without, that is only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers. The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships of all classes and strata to the state and the government, the sphere of the interrelations between all classes (Lenin, 1970:422)

Therefore, rather than Lenin being “pessimistic” about the revolutionary potential of the trade unions, he merely made a cold analysis of the objective facts based on an appraisal of the trade unions whose limitations and capacities are determined by objective circumstances of the evolutionary process. Trade unions like any other organism are not finished products. Lenin’s appraisal of trade unions was based on the level of consciousness at the stage of infancy. Nothing confines trade unions to that stage and hence, the formation of the British Labour Party by British Trade Unions themselves rather than by intellectuals.

Lenin’s concern is that for those who want to fight for social justice and change society on a just basis, it is necessary not just to assist the trade unions in their economic struggles but it is imperative to be the “tribune of the people, (one) who is able to react to every molestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what situation or class of people it affects” (Lenin, 1970:423).

Lenin’s message therefore is that the character of the leadership determines the character of any trade union. No law says trade unions cannot play effective role in the revolutionary transformation of society. This is why Lenin stated that a necessary

condition was to remove the trade union bureaucracy from the leadership of the workers' movement and replace reformist - minded leaders by revolutionary workers "in proletarian organisations of absolutely every type - not only political, but also trade union, co-operative, educational etc" (Koval, 1970:21).

2.10.1.3 UNIONISM AS A 'PSYCHOLOGICAL' OR DEFENSIVE REACTION TO THE EARLY CONDITIONS OF INDUSTRIALISM

This perspective introduces a historical dimension to the attempts to explain union growth and behaviour. Scholars who share this perspective include Hoxie, Parker, Tannenbaum, Brentano and Howell (Poole, 1981:15).

The perspective focuses on the motivation for the formation of unions at the early period when the newly recruited workers found themselves in a completely new production environment.

The early workers found that they had been "deskilled" without any special skill they could sell wholly to the public independently on their own, given the division of labour under industrial production. Not only this, they had no control over their work. It was the machine rather than the worker that dictated the pace and speed of work. Not only were they controlled by the machine, they lost the freedom which they previously enjoyed as craftsmen to their employer. As individuals, they could not guarantee

security of jobs or maintenance of a living wage, etc: Under this new "shocking" experience, it occurred to the workers that they had to combine on basis of their common interest.

Trade unionism as 'psychological' or defensive reaction to the early conditions of industrialism therefore emanates from the environmental psychology discipline. It sees unions as being concerned only with the striving for job security for the individual and concrete freedom on the job.

For those who see unions as a 'psychological or defensive reaction to the early conditions of industrialism', they also conceive that workers not only struggle against all shades of intellectuals ("determinist revolutionaries" who assign a historical mission to the working class; "ethical intellectuals" (the Christian Socialists and Robert Owens of this world and the Fabians) who ascribe concern for wider political tasks to the trade unions in various ways.

In Perlman's view for instance, workers do not nurse any "ambition to control society as a whole" but merely to enforce 'job control' and ensure some control over union members like the early medieval Guilds:

"Trade unionism, which is essentially pragmatic, struggles constantly, not only against the employers for an enlarged opportunity measured in income, security and liberty in the shop and industry, but struggles also, whether consciously or unconsciously, actively or merely passively, against the intellectual who would frame its programs and shape its policies" (Dunlop, 1958:388).

As noted by Poole (1981), the theory that explains trade unions as a 'psychological' or defensive reaction to the early conditions of industrialism is "deficient at the

structural level” and is incapable of explaining developments and workers’ consciousness beyond the immediate period after the industrial revolution.

The perspective does not help us in understanding workers’ consciousness for instance during “economic affluence” or why trade unions in many countries today concern themselves with political issues.

The shortcomings of this perspective may explain why other theories have to be developed to contend with environmental psychologists.

2.10.1.4 ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS AND PURPOSES OF TRADE UNIONS

This perspective offers an explanation for the growth and behaviour of unions on basis of how economic conditions are accountable for the development of trade unions, how fluctuations in the economy influence fluctuations in overall union membership and how the momentum in the change from one business phase to the other affects the consciousness and orientations of rank and file membership.

Sidney and Beatrice Webbs in their study aptly captured the economic basis for the emergence of trade unions as due to the nature of production relations under the then new factory system:

The great bulk of workers had ceased to be independent producers, themselves controlling the processes, and owning the materials and the product of their labour, and had passed into the condition of life - long wage earners, possessing neither the instruments of production nor the commodity in its finished state” (Webbs 1920)

Other scholars have concerned themselves with the role of changes in economic conditions. For example, changes in variables such as retail prices, money wages and unemployment levels, upon level of unionisation and overall aggregate trade union activity or trade union density. Those scholars include Commons, Davis, Dunlop, Bernstein, Shister, Bain and Elsheik, and Bain and Price (Poole, 1981). The contention of these scholars is that the health of the economy has a direct symmetric effect on the numerical strength of the unions and the level of trade unionism generally.

The economic foundations perspective of trade union also provides an improvement on the ‘psychological perspective in the sense of an endeavour to explain and predict the orientation and consciousness of different sections of the working class, particularly in periods of ‘unbroken affluence’, i.e prolonged economic upswing.

Goldthorpe for instance noted that militant unionism, a fighting unionism or to use his words, trade unionism “as a social movement or as an expression of class or occupational solidarity is unlikely to be widespread” amongst affluent workers, i.e. Senior Staff or the Managerial Cadres (Poole, 1981:17) But that as far as the manual workers (low-paid junior staff) are concerned, “aggressive cash - based bargaining)” may be typical of periods of prolonged economic boom at the expense of strivings for worker control.

From the outline of this perspective as given above, it can be noted that it encompasses the influence of both structural and subjective factors on the emergence, growth and character of trade unions. Among other things, its shortcoming consists in, as the name connotes, pure economism. The perspective denies workers or trade unions of political consciousness. It thus fails to see the possibility of political consciousness arising in the process of economic struggles.

2.10.1.5. DEMOCRATIC AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF UNIONS

This perspective explains the growth and character of trade unions from the point of view of the role of power in human relationships. The perspective looks at the union from the role it plays in extending workers' rights to have a say in decisions which affect them both in the industry and in the larger society. Some scholars have in fact noted that this political role which accords 'dignity' to the worker is more important than the economic gains of unionism - from the workers point of view.

Chamberlain for example identified two main 'political activities of trade unions: industrial government and industrial management (Poole, 1981:17)

'Government' in the sense of viewing collective bargaining as a constitution -

making institution which makes rules governing the workers, employers - government relationship in order to prevent one party being taken by surprise.

'Industrial management' in the sense of seeing union representatives participating in the management function of the enterprise in the areas of mutual, rather than competing interests.

Allan Flanders equally argued that the basic social purpose of trade unions was 'job regulation' not only within the confines of the industry but also at the national level in order to influence overall levels of employment, economic planning, etc. The role of 'job regulation' was not to be an end in itself but "as a means for the free development of the individual worker during the course of working life per se" (Poole, 1981:18)

Other scholars who have also shown sensitivity to the political aspirations of trade unions are Ross, Cole, Commons and Adams (Poole, 1981:17-18)

The basic thing which unites these labour theorist against those who identify with the 'revolutionary tradition' of trade unions is that the political conception of the former, unlike the latter, does not give room for the aspirations of the workers to seize political power and re-organise the whole society on a new basis. The former's recognition of political and democratic role of the unions is within the framework of existing production relations and power structure.

The democratic and political aspects of unions' perspective is also deficient in terms of ignoring the economic and technical changes which facilitate union development.

We have analysed above, the five early theories of trade unions. However, there have been some analytical and theoretical developments upon the early theories. A

critical survey of the contemporary theories, which are more or less a deepening of the early theories will enable us to move closer to the truth in terms of a better understanding of the realities of industrial relations in our contemporary world.

2.10.2 THEORIES IN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

The contemporary theories in industrial relations we shall examine fall into five categories, viz: The Systems theory, the Unitary Theory, the Conflict-pluralist Theory, the Social Action Theory and the Marxian Theory.

2.10.2.1 THE SYSTEMS THEORY

Despite the scathing criticisms of people like Hyman as contained in **Work and Inequality Vol. 2**, it is widely held among academic theorists that **Dunlop's Industrial Relations System (1958)** is the first major attempt to provide a theoretical framework for the field of industrial relations.

Dunlop himself assessed the vacuum he was filling: "Facts have outrun ideas. Integrating theory has lagged far behind expanding experience. The many worlds of industrial relations have been changing more rapidly than the ideas to interpret, to explain, and relate them" (Dunlop, 1958:VI).

Dunlop was therefore the first person to introduce the systems approach to the study of industrial relations which according to him "develops a systematic body of ideas for arranging and interpreting the known facts of worker - manager - government interactions; it also provides a set of concepts fitted together that require the collection of new facts, presented in new categories. The rules of the work place and work community become the general focus of inquiry to be explained by theoretical analysis" (Dunlop, 1958:380).

Even though one may not fully agree with Dunlop's conceptualisation of an industrial relations system, the major contribution of Dunlop's Industrial Relations System is that it provides an **analytical** framework for an appraisal of industrial relations: breaks down the discipline into distinct parts or categories (actors, contexts, ideology) and finally shows the product of the interrelationship of the different parts, which according to him, are the rules.

The shortcomings consist of the following:

Given the fact that Dunlop borrowed largely from Talcott Parson's Structural - functionalist analysis of a social system, the concept of industrial relations system is **teleological**. It is concerned with the predetermined goal of how to maintain **order**, how to sustain the *status quo*, the **stability** of the existing structure in terms of the formal positions and roles of the actors. The idea of a common ideology which binds the system together as an identity presupposes that everybody in the system is interested in maintaining the *status quo*. Within such narrow perspective, the concern is with institutionalised processes of containing and controlling conflicts not on the processes by which the conflicts are generated.

Structural-functionalist paradigm also connotes regularity of behaviour. Thus, from the Dunlopian perspective, “the hierarchy of workers and their spokesmen’ (non-managers) as a group of ‘actors’, collaborate with the “hierarchy of managers and their representatives (representing the interest of employers) in the process of job regulation. That managers may occasionally leak information to the workers to assist the latter in Collective Bargaining cannot be explained by the structural functionalist perspective. That managers have to form trade unions (e.g. Senior Staff Associations) and even strike is beyond the limit of the explanatory power of structural functionalism which assumes regular behaviour on the part of managers to always represent the interest of the employers.

An exposition of Dunlop’s ideas now follows:

For Dunlop, “an industrial relations system at any one time in its development is regarded as comprised of certain actors, certain contexts, an ideology which binds the industrial relations system together and a body of rules created to govern the actors at work place and work community”

By ‘actors’, he means (a) hierarchy of managers and their representatives in either the public or private concerns; (b) a hierarchy of workers (non-managers) and any spokesman - official or unofficial organisations, work councils, trade unions and

political parties; (c) specialised governmental and private agencies created by (a) and (b) above.

By ‘contexts’ he means (a) ‘technological characteristics which determine the size of the workforce, concentration or diffusion of workforce, duration of employment, etc; (b) the market or budgetary constraints, forms and degrees of competition, the size of the market and the financial strength of the enterprise; (c) the locus and the distribution of power in the larger society, i.e. the political status of the actors.

Dunlop defines ideology of an industrial relations system as “a body of ideas and beliefs commonly held by the actors that helps to bind or integrate the system together as an entity”.

By rules of an industrial relations system, Dunlop refers to both procedural and substantive rules which are determined by the interplay of actors, contexts and ideology.

2.10.2.2 THE UNITARY THEORY

The essence of the unitary theory of industrial relations is that the work enterprise is like a football team or family with common goal. Just like the head of the family knows what is best for members of the family and supposedly does everything in the interest of the family as a whole, so also the management symbolises the common good of all parties in the enterprise. On this basis, as members of a football team should listen to the coach, or as the troops must obey the command structure in the army, and as the children should not query the authority of their parents, so also the workers should be loyal to the management in the enterprise.

From the unitarist perspective, all the actions of management are legitimate and

rational and all the actions of the workers that conflict with the command of the management are illegitimate and irrational. Trade unions are seen as a product of sectional greed or an imperfect understanding of the common (or national) interest which management (or government) represents. In another context, unions may be looked at as a vehicle for those who want to overthrow the existing order. To a unitarist advocate, trade unions are an aberration and should be suppressed. Where they cannot be suppressed successfully, they serve as a means of effective communication, regulation and compliance. The use of legal regulations backed by coercive sanctions by the management is therefore desirable, legitimate and rational to force the workers in line with managerial prerogatives.

It can therefore be seen that the unitarist ideology is the ideology of conservative ruling class. It is based on the asserted and enforced legal right of the employer (the master) over the worker (the servant) which has found its way into the employment contract.

It can be deduced from the foregoing exposition that unitarism suffers from **ethnocentrism** which considers the non-material aspect of the culture of the employers (their ideas and interests, worldview) to be superior and which must be imposed on the workforce without questioning.

Due to increasing polarisation of the society and the tenacity and stubbornness of the struggles of the oppressed classes, there occurred a change in values. Sections of the society - the ruling class and their academics - began to realise that the unitary ideology was becoming more or less a liability in terms of being incapable of coping with the day to day running of the business enterprise. Hence, the emergence of the pluralist theory.

2.10.2.3 THE PLURALIST THEORY

Just as the name, pluralist, connotes multiple, so also there are many variants of what is called the pluralist theory. Only a generalised picture as presented by Alan Fox (1973:185-231 at 192) will be discussed here.

The pluralist theory is the direct opposite of unitarism. The pluralist theory maintains that the enterprise is not a unitary organisation but a coalition of individuals and groups with sectional interest and distinct perception of the social structure. However, the coalition of groups that make up the enterprise shares the commitment to maintain a structure which allows each group to pursue its aspirations through bargaining.

The pluralist ideology does not claim perfection of the social structure. A certain amount of conflict is expected as an assurance that no group is being suppressed. Hence, there is a recognition that it may be necessary to reform the system in terms of making marginal adjustments in rewards or in work rules. However, where one party coerces the other to accept claims outside the bargained normative consensus, it will be justifiable to apply legal sanctions.

On the above premise, pluralist advocates see unions not as a regrettable historical carry over but a manifestation of one of the values of competitive and democratic societies in which freedom of association, assembly and action is guaranteed within legal limits. Thus, trade unions are welcome to play a role in job regulation, collective bargaining. etc.

Advocates of pluralism seem confident that given patience and skill, mutually agreed and fully legitimised procedure, agreements can always be reached to resolve grievances.

Pluralist perspective asks managers/state functionaries to be tolerant of the unions and realise that from the point of view of the trade unions, the legitimacy of their rule is not automatic but rather the managerial control function should be shared with the unions.

Pluralists will not see transgressors of the general norms as aberrants but as non-conformers whose punishment would be counter-productive. Therefore, what should be done is a re-negotiated reconstruction of those norms - provided they are within the

pluralist framework rather than a separate ideology altogether. Hence, the need for procedural agreements to resolve conflicts before they degenerate.

From the foregoing, the central idea that runs through pluralism is the notion that: traditional rights and liberties are under threat from increasing state authoritarianism and that a reinforcement of the status of intermediate associations is a pre-condition for the protection of individual freedom as well as a guarantee for political democracy and stability.

Pluralism has been critiqued by many writers, including Alan Fox. Central to the criticism of pluralism is the idea that pluralism's major concern is a safeguard of existing production relations and power structure. It is the ideology of those who preach "end of ideology", end of class based politics. That instead of class domination and class antagonism, it is possible to have a neutral sovereign central authority, the state, which can be lobbied by competing pressure groups to satisfy the interests of all classes equally.

Specifically, pluralism can be critiqued on the following grounds:

- (i) **Unequal bargaining parties:** Pluralism assumes equality of the parties in the enterprise. But whereas the employer may do away with one worker and employ another, the worker can only leave one capitalist employer for another; he cannot escape the capitalist class as a whole without renouncing his own existence.
- (ii) **Illusion of Power Balance between the employer and the trade unions:** While it cannot be disputed that the union checks the exploitation of the workers by the employers, there is no such thing as equality of power. The employer has behind it the support of the state apparatus of coercion - the regular police, the secret police, the judiciary, the army, the civil service bureaucracy - which can be used at various times to overtly or covertly bend the workers towards the position required by the employer. "..... capital

can, as it were, fight with one hand behind its back and still achieve in most situations a verdict that it finds tolerable. Only if labour were to challenge an essential prop of the structure would capital need to bring into play anything approaching its full strength, thus destroying at once the illusion of a power balance.....” (Fox, 1973:211).

- (iii) **Collective Bargaining is Based on the Acceptance of The *Status-Quo*:** Collective bargaining concept demands of the workers to accept the system of ‘wage slavery’ and not to oppose it. Processes of negotiation therefore are on principle which do not offset inbuilt inequality. “..... Thus the discussion may be about marginal adjustments in hierarchical rewards but not the principle of hierarchical rewards” (Fox, 1973:219)
- (iv) **The ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class:** The existence of social institutions, mechanisms and cultural beliefs which rationalise and legitimise private ownership of the means of production and class inequalities

conditions the working class to feel it is futile attempting to change the traditional ways in which things are done. For example, it may be unimaginable for some sections of the working class to challenge so called ‘managerial prerogatives’, etc.

Although, academic critics of pluralism like Alan Fox borrow socialist ideas, they do not advocate socialism. Rather, at best, they advocate radical managerial restructuring, i.e. a shift from unitarism to pluralism which ensures workers’ participation in job regulation and promotion of social justice within the enterprise. The appeal is thus elitist and directed at those in control of power and wealth. It is similar to Fabian socialism which appeals to the good nature of those in power to give up some privileges. “It is like attempting to bring out tears from a marble statue” (Taaffe, 1994:39). Yet history has proved time and again that no class gives up what it has won without a struggle between the classes. In spite of the advance it represents over unitarism, pluralism is thus equally deficient in certain respects.

2.10.2.4 THE SOCIAL ACTION THEORY

Social action theory impresses on us the need to understand and explain the actions of people being studied from their own perspective or viewpoints:-

Social action theory is associated with the work of Max Weber. Weber in **Economy and Society** maintains that social actions should be understood in terms of the subjective meanings attached to them by the individual actor not in terms of any observable objective criteria.

Social action according to Weber exists: when and in so far as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to behaviour and is other - oriented, i.e. takes into account the behaviour of others. (Bottomore and Mulkey, 1976:69).

The strength of the social action theory lies in the recognition of the capacity of individuals (workers inclusive) to think and act independently rather than being

incited by some change seeking elements. However, the weakness of social action theory lies in failing to recognise the “structural influences of which the actors themselves may be unconscious” (Farnham and Pimlott, 1990:10). As Marx (1958:247) incisively pointed out: men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered given and transmitted by the past (Hyman, 1981:5)

2.10.2.5. THE MARXIST THEORY

The Marxist theory offers a more comprehensive and convincing methodology of understanding industrial relations. However, there are variants of Marxism. But a general feature can be identified on the fundamental issues involved in the analysis of industrial relations in a capitalist society.

Hyman (1981) correctly posits that an analysis of industrial relations from the Marxist perspective must start by locating industrial relations within the context of production relations, i.e the capitalist context of work relations.

The capitalist context of production relations consists of the following main features:

- ownership and or control of the means of production by a small minority;
- the obligation of most sections of the society to sell their productive abilities on the market as a commodity and thereby surrendering control over their labour;
- the domination of profit as the fundamental determinant/motive of economic activity.

Under the context presented above, the work relations is inherently **conflictual class relations**. The capitalist context of industrial relations is therefore the ultimate source or cause of conflicts which may be expressed in various forms: strikes, bargaining, go-slow, protests, sabotage, absenteeism, labour turn-over, political action etc. Attempts to suppress an index of dissent merely diverts dissent to other forms.

The basis of industrial conflict lies in the exploitation of the working class, the fact that the workers are never paid the full value of their labour. Profit motive being the dominating factor for economic activity, the workers and the employers thus have antagonistic class interests: To the employer, wages paid to labour and the conditions under which they work are a cost. One of the ways by which profit could be maximised is to spend less on providing conducive conditions of work and pay as low a wage rate as possible. To the worker, (who, classically speaking depends on wages alone for livelihood), increasing his wages is the only basis to maintain increased living standards. Thus, ensues struggle between the classes.

Where the workers are engaged in providing services through which surplus value cannot be said to be extracted as in industrial factory production (as is the case in the universities), the economic situation in the “productive” sector determines how much workers are paid and whether or not they keep their jobs.

Given the employee status of the worker in the capitalist context of production, the workers are **alienated** from having a say in what is produced (product or service), how what is produced is produced (i.e the process) and allocation of resources and or profit - surplus value.

Division of labour under capitalist organisation of the enterprise does not therefore just consist of workers specialising in performing distinct tasks but also means that individually and collectively, workers have no right to exercise control over their place of work.

Under the overall overwhelming oppressive conditions in which workers find themselves in the context of capitalist production, the sum of the indices of discontentment, the Marxists argue, is to create “new structures of industrial and social management which reflect the social character of economic activity and replace the often anti-social forms of contemporary economic control” (Hyman, 1981:6).

The development of large scale production and the concentration of large numbers of workers, Marxists contend, provide “a basis for the collective intervention by workers to transform society” on a new social order. (Hyman, 1981:6)

How far the existing reality of industrial relations in the university subsector in Nigeria can validate the Marxist predetermined historical goal for the working class is one of the issues we hope the findings in this project will give a clue.

TABLE 1A:

ECONOMIC INDICATORS, 1980 - 1993¹

Year	CPI 1985 = 100	Average Exchange Rate (\$/N)	Manufacturing Capacity Utilisation (%)	% Change in Inflation	Debt Service (%)	Fiscal Deficit (%) of GDP	Domestic Public Debt Outstanding (N' b)	External Public Debt Outstanding (N' b)	Budget Deficits (N' b)	Crude Oil Production million barrels per day	International Oil Price (\$ per barrel)	FOREIGN EXCHANGE FLOWS (\$' b)		
												Inflow	Outflow	Net
1980	42.3	0.5469	70.1	9.9	6.2	4.0	7.9	1.9	NA	2.082	35.79	26.0	21.6	4.4
1981	51.2	0.6052	73.3	20.8	7.6	6.6	11.4	2.3	NA	1.439	38.00	21.4	26.4	-5.0
1982	55.1	0.6731	63.6	7.7	13.7	10.1	14.8	6.8	NA	1.289	35.50	15.0	17.0	-2.1
1983	67.9	0.7506	49.1	23.2	15.7	5.3	22.2	8.6	NA	1.235	30.00	11.7	12.1	-0.4
1984	94.8	0.7672	42.0	39.6	32.7	3.7	25.7	12.1	NA	1.390	28.00	12.1	11.7	0.5
1985	100.0	0.8924	37.1	5.5	40.8	3.9	28.0	14.0	NA	1.499	27.74	12.4	11.7	0.6
1986	105.4	1.7323	38.9	5.4	54.9	10.4	28.5	31.0	NA	1.468	14.85	7.2	6.5	0.7
1987	116.1	3.9691	40.4	10.2	34.1	5.3	36.8	100.8	NA	1.324	18.52	6.6	5.3	1.3
1988	181.2	4.5367	41.5	38.2	40.9	8.5	47.0	141.1	12.2	1.451	14.98	6.5	6.3	0.2
1989	272.7	7.3651	42.4	50.5	51.2	7.9	57.1	240.4	15.3	1.715	18.42	8.1	6.7	1.4
1990	293.2	8.3469	39.0	7.5	64.4	8.0	84.1	297.9	23.4	1.810	24.14	11.0	9.1	1.9
1991	330.9	9.8702	39.4	13.0	68.9	12.4	116.2	325.4	33.0	1.890	20.14	12.1	12.1	-0.02
1992 ²	464.6	18.4744	NA	46.0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1993 ³	642.6	23.23	NA	55.0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Footnotes:

- Sources:** Computed from various publications of Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN); Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN); Federal Office of Statistics (FOS), Lagos; Yearly Federal Government Budgets; *Business Champion*, Vol. 2 No. 10 Nov. 1992, and *Business International Limited*, (a publication of the *British Economist*) Report No. 2114, 1992.
- Average as at the 2nd quarter of the year.
- Average for the first 5 months.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the procedures for data collection and analysis. A survey research method was adopted because of its ability to study large population that cannot be directly observed.

3.1. THE STUDY POPULATION

The study population consists of the academic and non-academic staff in all Nigerian Universities who belong to the following trade unions: Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU); the Non-Academic Staff Union of Educational and Associated Institutions, (NASU) which organises the junior staff; and the Senior Staff Association of Universities, Teaching Hospitals, Research Institutes and Associate Institutions (SSAUTHRIAI), which organises the senior, non-academic staff.

The study population is estimated to be sixty-nine thousand (69,000) strong, made up of ASUU 8,000+; SSAUTHRIAI, 5,000+ and NASU 56,000+. (See Table 1B). The study sample for this project was drawn from this study population.

3.2. SAMPLE SIZE

A sample size of three hundred and fifty (350) respondents, representing 0.51% of the study population was drawn. Given the nature of the research problem and objectives, it is believed that a sample survey of 350 should reflect the picture of the entire situation.

3.3. SAMPLING PROCEDURE

In choosing respondents for the questionnaire, the stratified sampling procedure was adopted to ensure representation of all the three categories of unions in the study population.

Respondents were therefore stratified according to unions: ASUU, SSAUTHRIAI and NASU. Initially, the respondents were evenly distributed: One hundred (100) questionnaires were administered within each of the unions. But because of relatively low rate of return from NASU, additional fifty questionnaires were administered on NASU members using double sampling method to ensure a representative sample from that stratum and safeguard reliability of outcome of data analysis. (See Table 1B).

The actual respondents were selected through the use of **purposive sampling technique**. Qualification of subjects as respondent was based on being members of any of the trade unions. Given the relatively low level of literacy of many NASU members in particular, the purposive sampling technique allowed selection of respondents who could answer the questions so as to avoid flooding "the data with

ignorance and mediocrity” (Obilade, 1987:58).

Using the purposive sampling technique, respondents were selected mainly from Bayero University, Kano (representing the Northern part of Nigeria); University of Port-Harcourt, Port-Harcourt, (representing the South East); Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, University of Lagos, Lagos and Lagos State University, Lagos all representing the South West.

However, on the whole, respondents were drawn from 21 universities out of about 30 universities in Nigeria. This was made possible by a political national conference on the state of the nation, organised by ASUU which was attended by participants from a cross-section of Nigerian Universities. (See Table 8).

3.4. DESCRIPTION OF INSTRUMENTS

The data for this study were collected through the use of three research instruments, namely content analysis, interview and questionnaire.

1 CONTENT ANALYSIS

Content analysis is the reading, summarisation and interpretation of the content of various communication media such as magazines, newspapers, advertisements, memoranda, agreements, letters, reports of commissions and other historical records to properly classify the contents and structure them to suit the research objectives. The means of carrying out content analysis is termed **qualitative coding**.

To analyse data from secondary sources, the researcher followed the steps outlined by Budd et al (1967:6). First, the research questions were formulated (as contained in Chapter One of this study) and then the contents from communication media were organised as they may fit the research questions.

2. INTERVIEW

The second instrument that was used to collect data was the interview. National Officials of the three unions (both elected and full-time, professional secretaries), branch officers and one past National Secretary (of one of the unions) were interviewed for purpose of clarifications of data and dates and to obtain secondary data - union constitutions, collective agreements, etc. Altogether, ten subjects were interviewed.

The interviews were unstructured even though the researcher was armed with an **interview guide** consisting of 6 questions.

Unstructured interview was deemed to be most appropriate considering the nature of the questions. Besides, unstructured interview allows for flexibility, providing the interviewee the opportunity to discuss freely while the

interviewer guides the discussion within the framework of the interview guide.

3. THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The last of the research instruments used was the questionnaire. This is most appropriate in survey research involving large population that cannot be directly observed.

The research questionnaire consisted of 42 questions divided into eight parts. Part A (Q 1-9) elicited demographic information from the respondents. The remaining parts sought to obtain data that relate to various aspects of the research questions.

The questionnaire consisted of both open-ended and close-ended questions. Some of the open-ended questions were merely to confirm or cross-check the information obtained from secondary sources to strengthen confidence in the data obtained from communication media.

3.5. METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

Firstly, secondary source materials were acquired from trade union activists, national and chapter secretariats of the unions, Federal Office of Statistics (FOS), Lagos, National Universities Commission (NUC), Lagos, Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity, Lagos, Industrial Arbitration Panel (IAP), Lagos, Nigeria Educational Research Council (NERC), Lagos, Headquarters of Media Houses, the Central Bank of Nigeria, (CBN), Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, (MAN) etc, etc.

Next, preliminary qualitative coding of the communication media was carried out which provided the basis for preparing the questionnaire.

The services of two (paid) research assistants were employed in Kano and Lagos to administer the questionnaire. In other places, experienced and highly educated trade union activists assisted to administer the questionnaire.

A total number of three hundred and fifty (350) questionnaires were administered as follows: ASUU = 100; SSAUTHRIAI = 100; NASU = 150.

Out of the three hundred and fifty questionnaires administered, two hundred and forty-nine (249), representing 71% return rate, were fully completed and returned.

A breakdown of the completed questionnaires which were returned by unions shows: ASUU, eighty-six (86) which represents 86%; SSAUTHRIAI, eighty (80) representing 80% and NASU, eighty three (83) representing 55.33%. (See Table 1B).

Lastly, the researcher personally interviewed the ten subjects after the initial contacts and booking of appointments by research assistants in certain cases.

3.6. METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

The responses contained in the questionnaire were coded on a spreadsheet and analysed on frequency basis. Findings were presented in tabular forms where

applicable. In other cases, **proportions** of the survey population that agreed with given opinion statements were estimated.

The contents of secondary source materials and data obtained from interviews were coded in relation to the research questions. Consequently, we obtained rates of pay and price indices; percentage changes in rates of inflation and changes in foreign exchange rates over the years; the aggregate number and distribution of strikes, strike duration, striker size were also statistically calculated to establish the effect of the state of the economy on industrial unrest.

Regression and correlation analysis was carried out to establish if there is any relationship and the strength of the degree of relationship between economic indicators (independent variables) and strike intensity (dependent variables).

Economic indicators (independent variables) referred to percentage changes in inflationary rates, exchange rates and budgetary allocation to universities. Strike intensity (dependent variable) referred to changes in aggregate number and distribution of strikes, striker size and strike duration.

Measures of central tendency such as rate, mean, median and mode of earnings were also calculated to facilitate making useful comparisons and drawing inferences.

Finally, based on the analysis of the overall data obtained from all sources and with a qualitative insight, an extensive discussion of the findings followed.

3.7. VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

For a research to be valid and reliable, it has to conform with scientific standards. To attain these qualities, the following measures were observed:

First, the questionnaire as a research instrument was edited by some experienced researchers within the academic community and later presented to the Thesis Supervisor who made valuable corrections and certified the instrument as comprehensive, clear and suitable.

Second, to ensure uniformity in the administration of the questionnaire, the Research Assistants were given induction course to ensure reliable and prompt results.

Third, pilot survey was carried out through twenty union activists and the results showed that the questionnaire would elicit expected response without ambiguity. All of those measures assured both internal and external validity of the research questionnaire as an instrument.

Fourth, the stratified sampling technique that was adopted ensured that no particular stratum was neglected or over-represented thus ensuring sampled opinions of all categories of university workers in the major geographical sections of Nigeria.

On basis of the above measures, the researcher was confident that the outcome of the study is both valid and reliable and is capable of being replicated by other researchers given the known principles and procedures.

TABLE 1B**BREAKDOWN OF SAMPLE SIZE BY UNIONS****(Percentage In Bracket)**

	MEMBERSHIP STRENGTH (a)	SAMPLE SIZE (b)	% of (b) UPON (a) (c)	COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE RETURNED (d)	% OF UPON (b) (e)
ASUU	8000+ (11.59)	100	(1.25)	86	(86)
SSAUTHRIAL	5000+ (7.25)	100	(2)	80	(80)
NASU	56000+ (81.16)	150	(0.27)	83	(55.33)
TOTAL	69000+ (100)	350	(0.51)	249	(71.00)

Source: National Secretariats and interviews with National Officers. For SSAUTHRIAL's membership, See Olanrewaju, (1993).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

This Chapter is divided into two sections: Section 1(One) presents the analysis of findings from the questionnaires. The second Section is a presentation of the quantitative data from the content analysis and interview. A discussion of these findings in relation to the research questions is undertaken in Chapter five.

Presentation of data analysis in this Chapter is informed and guided by the nature and direction of the research question for the study, viz:

1. How have the SAP policies of devaluation of Nigeria's national currency (the Naira) and cuts in public expenditure on social services affected the working and living conditions of the employees in the University subsector?
2. How have the employees in the subsector reacted to the effects of the SAP policies stated in (1) above?
3. Have more strikes actually occurred under SAP than previously in Nigeria's University subsector?
4. What is the difference in the frequency of strikes, striker size and strike duration under SAP compared to previous years in Nigeria's University subsector?
5. What is the relationship or association (including the strength of the relationship) between economic indicators (such as changes in the rate of inflation, exchange rates and budgetary allocations to Universities) and intensity of strike activity (i.e. strike incidence, striker size and strike duration) in Nigeria's University subsector?
6. What are the underlying causes of industrial unrest in Nigeria's University subsector?
7. How can we bring about a more harmonious industrial relations?

SECTION ONE

4.1. PRESENTATION OF DATA FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The first ten items on the questionnaire provided demographic information for the study. The data are presented in Tables 2 - 9

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY UNION AND SEX
(Percentage in bracket)

UNION	SEX		
	M	F	TOTAL
ASUU	78 (19)	8 (9)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	50 (63)	30 (37)	80 (100)
NASU	66 (80)	17 (20)	83 (100)
TOTAL	194 (78)	55 (22)	249 (100)

The Table above shows that there were more males (78%) than females (22%) in the sample as a whole. The same trend applied in individual union cases.

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE

AGE RANGE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%
Below 21	-	-
22 - 32	65	26
33 - 43	139	56
44 and above	45	18
Total	249	100

Table 3 shows that a majority of the sample, 139 respondents or 56%, fall within the age range of 33 - 43. This is followed by those within the age range of 22 - 32 constituting 26%. on the whole, overwhelming majority are young people while those who are 44 years and above constituted a mere 18%.

TABLE 4: RESPONDENTS BY MARITAL STATUS

MARITAL STATUS	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%
SINGLE	35	14
MARRIED	207	83
DIVORCED	7	3
Total	249	100

The analysis of respondents by marital status shows that an overwhelming majority of the sample, 207 (83%) were married followed by those who were single, 35 (14%) while those who had divorced, 7 (3%) constituted the least.

TABLE 5: COMPOSITION OF RESPONDENTS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN
(Percentage in bracket)

UNION	NUMBER OF CHILDREN				Total
	NIL	1	2 - 4	5 & above	
ASSU	26 (30)	13 (15)	40 (47)	7 (8)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	3 (4)	11 (14)	49 (61)	17 (21)	80 (100)
NASU	19 (23)	9 (11)	38 (46)	17 (20)	83 (100)
Total	48 (19)	33 (13)	127 (51)	41 (16)	249 (100)

The table above indicates that majority of the respondents in the sample (51%) had between 2 and 4 children followed by those who had one child. Only 19% of the sample (i.e. 48) was single.

TABLE 6: DISTRIBUTION BY EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION
(Percentage in bracket)

	Primary	Post Primary	Below First Degree	First Degree	Post Graduate	Total
ASUU	-	-	-	9 (10)	77 (90)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAIA	-	16 (20)	32 (40)	22 (28)	10 (12)	80 (100)
NASU	4 (5)	36 (43)	32 (39)	11 (13)	-	83 (100)
Total	4 (2)	52 (21)	64 (26)	42 (17)	87 (34)	249 (100)

Table 6 shows that the sample contains a significant number of highly enlightened people: 87 subjects or 34% of 249 respondents held Post - Graduate Degrees. Combined with those who held First Degree, 42 subjects or 17%, over 51% of the sample held either First Degree or Post - Graduate Degree. However, while a majority of ASUU members in the sample 77 subjects or 90% held Post-Graduate Degrees, a majority of SSAUTHRIAIA and NASU members in the sample held Below First Degree qualifications and Post Primary Certificates respectively.

TABLE 7: RESPONDENTS BY DATE OF EMPLOYMENT
(Percentage in bracket)

	Before 1986	Between 1986 and 1993	Total
ASUU	48 (56)	38 (44)	86 (35)
SSAUTHRIAIA	62 (78)	18 (22)	80 (32)
NASU	41 (49)	42 (51)	83 (33)
Total	151 (61)	98 (39)	249 (100)

TABLE 8: DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY UNIVERSITY OF EMPLOYMENT

UNIVERSITY	Status of University	Geographical Zone	No. of Respondents	Cumulative Total
Bayero University, Kano (BUK)	Federal	North (N)	63	63
Uthman Dan Fodiyo University, Sokoto	Federal	"	2	65
Federal University of Technology, Minna	Federal	"	3	68
University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri	Federal	"	1	69
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria	Federal	"	5	74
Bauchi University, Bauchi	Federal	"	1	75
University of Jos, Jos	Federal	"	2	77
University of Calabar, Calabar	Federal	South East	6	83
Rivers State University	State	"	4	87
Azikiwe University, Awka	Federal	"	4	91
University of Nigeria, Nzukka	Federal	"	5	96
University of Port-Harcourt	Federal	"	11	107
Sub - Total, South East			30	
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife	Federal	South West	52	159
University of Ibadan, Ibadan	Federal	"	18	177
University of Lagos, Lagos	Federal	"	36	213
Lagos State University, Lagos	State	"	25	238
Ogun State University, Ago-Iwoye	State	"	2	240
Ondo State University, Ado - Ekiti.	State	"	3	243
Federal University of Technology, Akure.	Federal	"	1	244
University of Ilorin, Ilorin	Federal	"	2	246
Bendel State University, Ekpoma	State	"	3	249
Sub - Total South West			142	
GRAND TOTAL				249

Table 8 shows a wide geographical spread of respondents for the study. Two hundred and forty - nine (249) respondents from 21 Universities (Federal and State) out of 30 Universities in Nigeria. Seventy - seven respondents or 31% came from the Northern part of Nigeria, 30 respondents or 12% came from Universities located in the South East of the country; One hundred and forty - two came from Universities located in the South - West. Although the South East was relatively poorly represented, ethnic spread is not the concern of the project. Besides, employment in Universities is based, in the main, on merit rather than ethnic background.

TABLE 9: RESPONDENTS BY SALARY, INCLUDING ALLOWANCES
(Percentage in bracket)

	Below N20,000 p.a	N21,000 to N40,000 p.a	N41,000 to N60,000 p.a	N61,000 to N80,000 p.a	N81,000 and above	Total
ASUU	3 (3)	46 (54)	24 (28)	9 (10)	4 (5)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	25 (31.25)	49 (61.25)	5 (6.25)	1 (1.25)	-	80 (100)
NASU	53 (64)	30 (36)	-	-	-	83 (100)
Total	81 (32)	125 (50)	29 (12)	10 (4)	4 (2)	249 (100)

The table above shows that a majority of ASUU members in the sample, 46 respondents or 54%, and a majority of SSAUTHRIAI members in the sample, 49 respondents or 61.25%, earned between N21,000 and N40,000 per annum while a majority of NASU members in the sample, 53 or 64%, earned below N20,000 per annum. But while 10% and 5% of ASUU members earned between N61,000 and N80,000, and N81,000 and above respectively, only 1.25% of SSAUTHRIAI members fell within the income range of between N61,000 and N80,000 per annum and no one of them claimed to earn N80,000 and above. As for NASU members, the limit of their earnings was the N21,000 to N40,000 range where 36% of the respondents belonged.

Tables 10 - 14 below assess the impact of SAP on living standards.

TABLE 10: LIVING STANDARDS UNDER SAP
(Percentage in bracket)

In Table 10 below, respondent were asked to assess their living standards under SAP. They were specifically asked whether or not their living standards have improved under SAP.

Two hundred and thirty - seven (237) respondents respondend that their living standards had not improved under SAP. This represents 95% of the respondents as against 5% that admitted that their living standard had improved under SAP. In individual union cases too, overwhelming majority maintained that their living standards had not improved under SAP.

HAVE YOUR LIVING STANDARDS IMPROVED UNDER SAP?

	Yes	No	Total
ASUU	5 (6)	87 (94)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	3 (4)	77 (96)	80 (100)
NASU	4 (5)	79 (95)	83 (100)
Total	12 (5)	237 (95)	249 (100)

TABLE 11:

ADEQUANCY OF SALARY
(Percentage in bracket)

	Adequate for Normal Expenses	Inadequate for Normal Expenses	Total
ASUU	4 (5)	82 (95)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	2 (2.5)	78 (97.5)	80 (100)
NASU	3 (4)	80 (96)	83 (100)
Total	9 (4)	240 (96)	249 (100)

In Table 11 above, respondents were asked whether or not their salary was adequate to provide the basic needs of their families such as education, food, health, etc.

More or less consistent with the response in Table 10, 240 respondents or 96% were of the opinion that their salaries were inadequate for normal expenses while a mere 4% held the opinion that their salaries were adequate for normal expenses.

TABLE 12: PRESENT SALARY AS PERCENTAGE OF ACTUAL NEED
(Percentage in bracket)

	Present Salary meets Actual Need	Represents 50% of Actual Need	Represents 25% Actual Need	Other Fractions	Total
ASUU	2 (2)	21 (24)	53 (62)	10 (12)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	5 (6)	36 (45)	29 (36)	10 (13)	80 (100)
NASU	3 (4)	19 (23)	55 (66)	6 (7)	83 (100)
Total	10 (4)	76 (31)	137 (55)	26 (10)	249 (100)

On basis of Table 12 above, a majority of the respondents in the sample, 137 subjects or 55%, would expect to be paid four times what they were earning in order for their actual need to be met. They claimed that their then salary represented 25% of their actual need. On a general note too, 76 subjects of the sample, representing 31% maintained that their salary represented half of their actual need. However, on a union by union basis, a majority of ASUU, 53 respondents (62%), a majority of SSAUTHRIAI, 36 respondents or 45% and a majority of NASU, 55 subjects representing 66% maintained that their salaries represented 25%, 50% and 25% of their actual needs respectively.

TABLE 13: COMBINING OTHER JOBS IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN FAMILY
(Percentage in bracket)

	Yes	No	Total
ASUU	47 (55)	39 (45)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	50 (63)	30 (37)	80 (100)
NASU	54 (65)	29 (35)	83 (100)
Total	151 (61)	98 (39)	249 (100)

Table 13 above contains the analysis of the response of respondents to the question whether or not they combined other jobs to their University employment in order for them to be able to sustain the upkeep of their families. The table reveals that a significant number of respondents, 151 subjects or 61%, combine other jobs to make ends meet. Only 98 or 39% of respondents were not combining other jobs.

TABLE 14: EFFECT OF INCREASE IN SALARY ON LIVING STANDARDS

	Yes	No	Total
ASUU	4 (5)	82 (95)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	6 (7)	74 (93)	80 (100)
NASU	7 (8)	76 (92)	83 (100)
Total	17 (7)	232 (93)	249 (100)

Table 14 above is the result of analysis of response of subjects to the question demanding to know, whether the increases they enjoyed on their salaries meant a significant improvement on their living standards.

Either collectively or on basis of individual unions, overwhelming majority (precisely between 92% and 95%) of respondents maintained that increase in salaries over the years had actually not meant improvement in their living standards.

Table 15 below seeks the viewpoint of respondents on what they perceive as the solution to the problem of inflation as far as protecting their purchasing power is concerned.

TABLE 15: RESPONDENTS' SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF INFLATION
(Percentage in bracket)

	Periodic Renegotiation of Agreements on wages	Standing Agreement that wages should rise by a given % as inflation rises	Other measures	Total
ASUU	12 (14)	64 (73)	12 (13)	88 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	18 (22)	52 (63)	12 (15)	82 (100)
NASU	11 (15)	49 (65)	15 (20)	75 (100)
Total	41 (17)	165 (67)	39 (16)	245 (100)

Respondents were asked to choose as many policy options as they felt in proffering solution to the problem of inflation. Out of 245 opinions that were expressed, a majority, 165 respondents representing 67% supported that wages rise by a given percentage as inflation rises. The next closest opinion was expressed by only 17% of the respondents to the effect that periodic renegotiation of agreements on wages should take place. 16% of the respondents supported series of other measures.

Table 16 - 19 below assess the impact of SAP on industrial relations.

TABLE 16: RESPONDENTS CONFIDENCE IN THE STATUTORY PROVISIONS FOR SETTLEMENT OF TRADE DISPUTES
(Percentage in bracket)

	Yes	No	Total
ASUU	17 (20)	69 (80)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	18 (23)	62 (77)	80 (100)
NASU	12 (14)	71 (86)	83 (100)
Total	47 (19)	202 (81)	249 (100)

Respondents were asked whether or not they had confidence in the Statutory provisions for settlement of Trade Disputes contained in Trade Disputes Decree 1976, as ammended. Table 16 above reveals that 81% or 202 respondents expressed no confidence in the statutory provisions for settlement of trade disputes. Only 47 respondents representing 19% expressed confidence in Trade Disputes Decree 1976.

**TABLE 17: TOLERANCE OF THE UNIVERSITY AUTHORITY TO THE UNIONS
BEFORE SAP
(Percentage in bracket)**

	Tolerant of my Union	Hostile to my Union	Total
ASUU	55 (64)	31 (36)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	56 (70)	24 (30)	80 (100)
NASU	55 (66)	28 (34)	83 (100)
Total	166 (67)	83 (33)	249 (100)

For Table 17 above, respondents were asked to assess the attitude of their university authorities to the existence of their unions before the introduction of SAP in 1986. Collectively (67%) and on basis of individual unions (between 64% - 66%) respondents in the sample were of the opinion that university authorities were tolerant of their unions before SAP.

Table 18 below contains the assessment of respondents of the attitude of their university authorities to the existence of their unions under SAP.

	More tolerant of my Union	More hostile to my Union	Total
ASUU	18 (21)	68 (79)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	48 (60)	32 (40)	80 (100)
NASU	28 (34)	55 (66)	83 (100)
Total	94 (38)	155 (62)	249 (100)

Table 18 above reveals that a majority of both ASUU (79%) and NASU (66%) in the sample were of the view, that their university authorities were more hostile to the existence of their unions under SAP. Only a majority of SSAUTHRIAI members (60%) in the sample maintained that their university authorities were more tolerant of their union under SAP.

Table 19 below contains the assessment of the attitude of the government to the existence of unions before and during SAP. Respondents were asked to indicate 'Yes' or 'No' to the statement: "On the whole, the Government was more tolerant of the existence of my union before SAP than during SAP.

	Yes	No	Total
ASUU	51 (59)	35 (41)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	55 (69)	25 (31)	80 (100)
NASU	66 (80)	17 (20)	83 (100)
Total	172 (69)	77 (31)	249 (100)

In the above table, the figures in bracket are percentages. The table shows that taking all the unions together, a majority of the respondents in the sample (69%) and on union by union cases, a majority of respondents (between 59% and 80%) agreed with the statement that the Government was more tolerant of the existence of their unions before SAP than during SAP. On the whole, 31% of respondents did not agree with the statement.

Table 20 below is an attempt to examine inter - organisational relationship among the unions in the university subsector.

TABLE 20: RESPONDENTS OPINION ABOUT PARITY/SEPARATE SALARY STRUCTURES

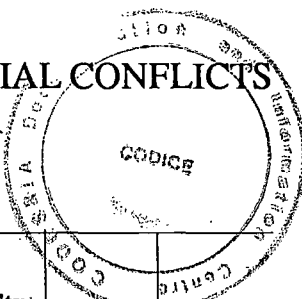
(Percentage in bracket)

	In support of Separate Salary Structure	In Opposition to Separate Salary Structure	Total
ASUU	79 (92)	7 (8)	86 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	6 (8)	74 (92)	80 (100)
NASU	2 (2)	81 (98)	83 (100)
Total	87 (35)	162 (65)	249 (100)

Table 20 shows that overwhelming majority of both SSAUTHRIAI and NASU members in the sample study (92% and 98% respectively) were opposed to the operation of separate salary structure in the University sector while 8% and 2% of SSAUTHRIAI and NASU members respectively were in support of separate salary structure. Similarly, an overwhelming majority of ASUU members in the sample study (92%) stood for separate salary structure while only 8% of ASUU members opposed the idea of separate salary structure. The table therefore shows a polarisation between ASUU on the one hand and SSAUTHRIAI/NASU on the other.

Table 21 below is an attempt to identify the underlying cause(s) of industrial conflicts between the unions on one hand and the university authorities and government on the other, albeit from the point of view of the employees in the subsector.

**TABLE 21: LIKELY UNDERLYING CAUSE(S) OF INDUSTRIAL CONFLICTS
IN THE UNIVERSITY SUBSECTOR
(Percentage in bracket)**



	Communication problems	Non-Implementation of agreements	Lack of democratic bargaining structure	Lack of University Autonomy	Others	Total
ASUU	42 (19)	68 (30)	60 (27)	42 (19)	12 (5)	244 (100)
SSAUTHRIAI	36 (22)	65 (40)	43 (26)	15 (9)	5 (3)	164 (100)
NASU	15 (12)	55 (43)	29 (22)	24 (19)	6 (4)	129 (100)
Total	93 (18)	188 (36)	132 (26)	81 (17)	23 (3)	517 (100)

For Table 21 above, respondents were asked to identify as many underlying causes of industrial conflicts in the university subsector with the benefit of their experiences.

The table above indicates that five hundred and seventeen (517) opinions were expressed. Out of the 517 opinions, 188 or 36% identified "non-implementation of agreements" as one of the underlying causes of industrial unrest. That percentage is the highest percentage as the table shows. Even on basis of individual unions, a majority of the respondents in each union (between 30% and 43%) identified "non-implementation" of collective agreements as one of the underlying causes of industrial crisis. The next factor of industrial conflict identified by respondents was "Lack of democratic bargaining structure". This factor received 26% of all opinions expressed. This is followed by "Communication Problems" which received 18% of all opinions expressed. Only 17% identified "Lack of University Autonomy" as one of the underlying reasons for industrial crisis. Series of other factors were identified by just 3% of all opinions expressed on this question.

4.2 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS FROM INTERVIEW AND CONTENT ANALYSIS

Tables 22 and 23 below attempt to measure the impact of SAP on the state of the Universities generally. This is done by comparing budgetary allocations to Federal Universities over the years.

Table 22 in particular presents the Capital and Recurrent Allocations between 1980 and 1993. The dollar (\$) equivalent of each of the allocations is also calculated on basis of average official exchange rates per year.

The table shows that when the allocations per year are converted into their dollar equivalents, the trend reveals steady decline. For example, whereas the dollar equivalent of 1982 Capital allocation was \$250,145,595.01, by 1991 it declined to \$2,242,102.49 which means that the 1991 capital allocation was about 43% of the 1982 allocation. The same trend applied to the Recurrent allocations for the same period.

TABLE 22: CAPITAL AND RECURRENT ALLOCATION TO FEDERAL UNIVERSITIES AND DOLLAR (\$) EQUIVALENT

Year	\$ Rate	Capital in N	Equivalent in \$	Recurrent in N	Equivalent in \$
1980	.5469	117,000,000	213,933,077.35	185,910,000	339,934,174.44
1981	.6052	210,540,000	347,884,996.70	225,570,000	370,719,762.06
1982	.6731	350,110,000	520,145,595.01	333,910,000	496,077,848.76
1983	.7506	210,580,000	280,548,894.22	343,700,000	457,900,346.39
1984	.7672	133,150,000	173,553,180.40	381,250,000	49,564,482.58
1985	.8924	41,100,000	46,055,580.46	439,920,000	492,962,796.95
1986	1.7323	55,570,000	32,078,739.25	432,540,000	249,691,162.04
1987	3.9691	35,750,000	9,007,079.69	98,740,000	24,877,176.19
1988	4.5367	29,930,000	6,597,306.41	76,120,000	16,778,715.81
1989	7.3651	23,480,000	3,188,008.31	137,150,000	18,621,607.31
1990	8.3469	33,380,000	3,999,089.48	150,430,000	18,022,299.76
1991	9.8702	22,130,000	2,242,102.49	152,640,000	15,464,732.22
1992	18.4744	96,297,000	5,212,465.16	721,799,461	39,070,251.86
1993	23.23	776,000,000	33,405,079.64	2,689,576,030	115,780,285.41

TABLE 23: TOTAL BUDGETARY ALLOCATIONS TO FEDERAL UNIVERSITIES, EQUIVALENT IN DOLLARS (\$), ALLOCATION PER STUDENT DEFLATED.

Table 23 below presents the total budgetary allocations to Federal Universities between 1980 and 1993, the dollar (\$) equivalent of the allocations, the student enrolment figures in the Federal Universities, the allocation per student in Naira (N) and equivalent in dollar (\$). The allocation in Naira (N) were deflated to obtain the real value of the allocations per year. In real terms, the table reveals that whereas the allocation per student in 1982 was N7353.6, in 1988, it declined to N551.64 and rose to N1,317.70 in 1990 which is still far below the allocations for most of the previous years.

Year	Yearly Average \$ Rate	Total Allocation to Fed. Universities	\$ Equivalent	Student Enrolment Fed. Universities	Allocation per Student	Equivalent in \$	CPI : 1985 = 100	Allocated per Student deflated N : K
1980	0.5469	302,910,000.00	553,867,251.78	N A	- -	- -	42.3	- -
1981	0.6052	436,110,000.00	715,647,719.76	74,331	5,867.13	9,694.53	51.2	4848.87
1982	0.6731	684,020,000.00	1,016,223,443.77	86,128	7,941.90	11,798.99	55.1	7353.61
1983	0.7506	604,280,000.00	805,062,616.57	97,631	6,189.43	8,245.40	67.9	5032.06
1984	0.7672	514,400,000.00	670,490,093.85	104,153	4,938.89	6,437.55	94.8	3527.78
1985	0.8924	481,020,000.00	539,018,377.41	111,513	4,313.58	4,833.68	100.00	4108.17
1986	1.7323	488,110,000.00	281,769,901.29	114,624	4,258.58	2,458.34	105.4	4055.79
1987	3.9691	134,490,000.00	33,884,255.88	120,670	1,114.53	280.80	116.1	1013.21
1988	4.5367	106,050,000.00	23,376,022.22	123,234	860.56	189.68	181.2	551.64
1989	7.3651	160,630,000.00	21,809,615.62	126,133	1,273.50	172.91	272.7	849.00
1990	8.3469	183,810,000.00	22,021,349.24	129,160	1,423.12	170.50	293.2	1317.70
1991	9.8702	174,770,000.00	17,706,834.71	N A	N A	N A	330.9	N A
1992	18.4744	818,096,461.00	44,282,708.02	N A	N A	N A	464.6	N A
1993	23.23	3,465,576,030.00	149,185,365.05	N A	N A	N A	642.6	N A

Foot Notes:

N A = Not Available

CPI = Consumer Price Index

Sources: Computed from Allocations to Universities obtained from raw data in the National Universities Commission (NUC) files, in Lagos. Enrolment figures into Federal Universities obtained from ASUU (1992 : 58). For other data, see footnotes to Table 1A (supra). Deflated value is obtained by first dividing the current year CPI by the previous year CPI, and then divide the current year nominal monetary value by whatever is obtained in the first step. The formula is:

$$\frac{\text{Current Year Nominal Monetary Value}}{\text{Current Year CPI}}$$

$$\frac{\text{Current Year CPI}}{\text{Previous Year CPI}}$$

Previous Year CPI

For further elaboration on this formula see Amacher and Ulbrich (1986 : 113 - 133 at 125).

Tables 24 and 25 below are aimed at assessing the impact of SAP on workers' earnings between 1981 and 1992.

Table 24 in particular presents the salary structures in the years 1981, 1988, 1991 and 1992. The dollar (\$) equivalents of the salaries per grade were also calculated. From the table, we can observe for instance that whereas the dollar (\$) equivalent of a worker on grade level (1) one in 1981 was \$2,756.11, the dollar equivalent of a University Professor on the highest grade of Grade level UASS 15 is \$2,041.53. This means someone on Grade level UASS 15 in 1992 earned less than a grade level 01 in 1981, in dollar terms!

TABLE 24: SALARY STRUCTURES (USS, EUSS/UASS) AND DOLLAR (\$) EQUIVALENT

Step 4 of EUSS	1980/81 ₦	\$ equivalent @ 0.6052	1988 May ₦	\$ equivalent @ 4.5367	1991 ₦	\$ equivalent @ 9.8702	June 1992 ₦	\$ equivalent 18.4744
1.	1668.00	2756.11	2,100.00	462.89	3,660.00	370.81	6,351.00	343.77
2.	1764.00	2914.74	2,268.00	499.92	3,888.00	393.91	6,889.00	372.89
3.	2172.00	3588.90	2,676.00	589.86	4,596.00	465.64	8,123.00	439.69
4.	2760.00	4560.48	3,336.00	735.34	5,772.00	584.79	10,109	547.90
5.	3316.00	5419.18	4,164.00	917.85	7,284.00	750.77	12,583.00	681.10
6.	4512.00	7455.39	5,484.00	1208.81	8,043.00	814.88	14,513.00	785.57
7.	5676.00	9378.72	6,936.00	1528.86	8,694.00	880.83	16,086.00	870.72
8.	6912.00	11421.02	8,460.00	1864.79	9,345.00	946.78	17,659.00	955.86
9.	8040.00	13284.87	9,888.00	2179.56	9,888.00	1001.80	18,862.00	1,020.98
10.	8868.00	14653.01	11,784.00	2597.48	11,784.00	1193.90	24,114.00	1,305.27
11.	10080.00	16655.65	12,744.00	2809.09	12,744.00	1291.16	25,720.00	1,392.20
12.	10932.00	18063.45	14,052.00	3097.41	14,052.00	1423.68	28,031.00	1,517.29
13.	13092.00	21632.52	15,612.00	3441.27	15,612.00	1581.73	30,819.00	1,669.82
14.	14712.00	24309.919	18,024.00	3972.93	18,024.00	1826.10	33,809.00	1,830.05
15.	15720.00	25974.88	20,145.00	4440.45	20,145.00	2040.99	37,716.00	2,041.53

Source: Computed from Salary Structures published by Federal Ministry of Education and Youth Development.

TABLE 25: DEFLATED SALARY STRUCTURES, USS, EUSS/UASS, 1981 - 1992 (USING STEP 4 PER SALARY GRADE)

The table presented below presents the Salary Structures for the period 1981 to 1992. The nominal differences in figures, nominal percentage differences between one year and the other were calculated. The real incomes per grade and per year were calculated by deflating the nominal salaries. On basis of this, the real percentage change in salaries were also calculated.

The table therefore shows for example that a level 1 (One) worker who earned nominal basic salary of N6,351 per annum in 1992 in reality, after deflating for inflation, the salary amounted to N4,536. And whereas the nominal percentage change showed 73% wage increase over that of 1991, in real terms, there was a 23% decrease in pay over that of 1991. The same trend is applicable for other grades.

Grade Levels	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	CPI: 1985 = 100
(a) 1981	N1,668.00	1,764.00	2,172.00	2,760.00	3,316.00	4,512.00	5,676.00	6,912.00	8,040.00	8,868.00	10,080.00	10,932.00	13,092.00	14,712.00	15,720.00	51.2
(b) 1988	N2,100.00	2,268.00	2,676.00	3,336.00	4,164.00	5,484.00	6,936.00	8,460.00	9,888.00	11,784.00	12,744.00	14,052.00	15,612.00	18,024.00	20,145.00	181.2
(c) 1991	N3,660.00	3,888.00	4,596.00	5,772.00	7,284.00	8,043.00	8,694.00	9,345.00	9,888.00	11,784.00	12,744.00	14,052.00	15,612.00	18,024.00	20,145.00	330.9
(d) 1992	N6,351.00	6,889.00	8,123.00	10,109.00	12,583.00	14,513.00	16,086.00	17,659.00	18,862.00	24,114.00	25,720.00	28,031.00	30,849.00	33,809.00	37,716.00	464.6
Nominal diff. b/t (a) & (b)	N432.00	504.00	504.00	576.00	848.00	972.00	1,260.00	1,548.00	1,848.00	2,916.00	2,664.00	3,120.00	2,520.00	3,312.00	4,425.00	
Nom. % change b/t (a) & (b)	25.9	28.6	23.2	20.9	25.6	21.5	22.2	22.4	23.0	32.9	26.4	28.5	19.2	22.5	28.1	
Real Income in (b)	N593.22	640.67	755.93	942.37	1,176.27	1,549.15	1,959.32	2,389.83	2,793.22	3,328.81	3,600.00	3,969.49	4,410.17	5,091.53	5,690.68	
Real % Change b/t (a) & (b)	- 64.44	- 63.67	- 65.20	- 65.86	- 64.53	- 65.67	- 65.48	- 65.42	- 65.26	- 62.47	- 64.29	- 63.70	- 66.31	- 65.39	- 63.80	
Nom. diff. b/t (b) & (c)	N1,560.00	1,620.00	1,920.00	2,436.00	3,120.00	2,559.00	1,758.00	885.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Nom. % change b/t (b) & (c)	74.3	71.4	71.7	73.0	75.0	46.7	25.3	10.5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Real Income in (c)	N2,000.00	2,124.59	2,511.48	3,154.10	3,980.33	4,395.08	4,750.82	5,106.56	5,403.28	6,439.34	6,963.93	7,678.69	8,531.15	9,849.18	11,008.20	
Real % change b/t (b) & (c)	- 4.76	- 6.32	- 6.15	- 5.45	- 4.41	- 19.86	- 31.50	- 39.64	- 45.36	- 45.36	- 45.36	- 45.36	- 45.36	- 45.36	- 45.36	
Nom. diff. b/t (c) & (d)	N2,691.00	3,001.00	3,527.00	4,337.00	5,299.00	6,470.00	7,392.00	8,314.00	8,974.00	12,330.00	12,976.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Nom. % change b/t (d) & (d)	73.5	77.2	76.7	75.1	72.7	80.4	85.0	89.0	90.8	104.6	101.8	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Real Income in (d)	N4,536.43	4,920.71	5,802.14	7,220.71	8,989.86	10,366.43	11,490.00	12,613.57	13,472.86	17,224.86	18,371.43	20,022.14	22,035.00	24,149.29	26,940.00	
Real % diff. b/t (c) & (d)	- 23.95	- 26.56	- 26.24	- 25.10	- 21.18	- 28.89	- 32.16	- 34.98	- 36.25	- 46.17	- 44.16	- 42.49	- 41.14	- 33.98	- 33.73	

Footnotes:

1. For the formula for deflating income, supra, Footnote to Table 23

Tables 26A and 26B below present the calculated mean, mode and median pays for academics in Nigerian Universities.

Table 26A present the situation in ten universities while Table 26B present the situation in Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos.

On the whole, the mean salary grades ranged between AUSS 10 and 13. This means in monetary terms, between N23,255.78 and N29,851.82 per annum.

The mode salary grades ranged between salary grade levels AUSS 9 and 13.

The median salary grades ranged between AUSS 9 and 11.

CODESRIA-LIBRARY

TABLE 26A: MEAN, MODE AND MEDIAN PAY FOR ACADEMICS IN NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES, 1993.

University	AUSS 15	AUSS 14	AUSS 13	AUSS 11	AUSS 10	AUSS 9	AUSS 8			
1. Yola	3	4	8	19	38	31	16	Mean	Mode	Median
Cumulative	3	7	15	34	72	103	119	2,767,438	= USS 10	119/2 = 59 R1
Salary Per Grade	N37,716.00	N33,809.00	N30,849.00	N25,720.00	N24,114.00	N18,862.00	N17,658.00	119		= 60
Total Per Grade	113,148.00	135,236.00	246,792.00	488,680.00	916,332.00	584,722.00	282,528.00	23,255.78		= USS 10
Cumulative	113,148.00	248,384.00	495,176.00	983,856.00	1,900,188.00	2,484,910.00	2,767,438.00	= USS 10		
2. Port Harcourt	33	14	113	114	97	56	13			
Cumulative	33	47	160	274	371	427	440	<u>11,760,855</u>		440/2 = 220
							440			
Total Salary per grade	1,244,628.00	473,326.00	3,485,937.00	2,932,080.00	2,339,058.00	1,056,272.00	229,554.00	= 26,729.22		
Cumulative Total	1,244,628.00	1,717,954.00	5,203,891.00	8,135,971.00	10,475,029.00	11,531,301.00	11,760,855.00	= USS 11	= USS 11	= USS 11
3. Minna	13	3	42	30	34	33	11			
Cumulative	13	16	58	88	122	156	166	<u>= 4,295,553</u>		= 166/2
							166			
Total Salary per grade	490,308.00	101,427.00	1,295,668.00	771,600.00	819,876.00	622,446.00	194,238.00	= 25,876.83		= 83
Cumulative Total	490,308.00	591,735.00	1,887,393.00	2,658,993.00	3,478,869.00	4,101,315.00	4,295,553.00	= USS 11	= USS 13	= USS 11
4. O. A. U.	155	-	267	330	160	-	-			
Cumulative	155	155	422	752	912	-	-	<u>26,428,503</u>		= 912/2
							912			
Total Salary per grade	5,845,980.00	-	8,236,683.00	8,487,600.00	3,858,240.00	-	-	28,978.62		= 456
Cumulative Total	5,845,980.00	5,845,980.00	14,082,663.00	22,570,263.00	26,428,503.00	-	-	= USS 13	= USS 11	= USS 11
5. UNN	183	-	358	275	30	-	40	<u>= 26,448,710</u>		
							886			
Cumulative	183	183	541	816	846	846	886	= 29,851.82		= 886/2
Total Salary per grade	6,902,028.00	-	11,043,942.00	7,073,000.00	723,420.00	-	706,320.00			= 443
Cumulative Total	6,902,028.00	6,902,028.00	17,945,970.00	25,018,970.00	25,742,390.00	25,742,390.00	26,448,710.00	= USS 13	= USS 13	= USS 13

6.	UNI JOS	30	27	114	102	114	91	57	<u>= 13,672,543</u>	535/2
	Cumulative	30	57	171	273	387	478	535	= 25,556.16	
	Total Salary per grade	1,147,530.00	912,843.00	3,516,786	2,623,440	2,748,996	1,716,442	1,006,506		= 267 R1
	Cumulative Total	1,147,530.00	2,060,373.00	5,577,159	8,200,599	10,949,595	12,666,037	13,672,543	= US\$ 11	= US\$ 13 & 10 = US\$ 11 = 25,720
7.	BAUCHI	7	7	42	40	29	32	7	<u>4,251,629</u>	164/2 = 82
	Cumulative	7	14	56	96	125	157	164	= 25,924.57	30,849.00
	Total Salary per grade	264,012.00	236,663.00	1,295,658.00	1,028,800.00	699,306.00	603,584.00	123,606.00		= =US\$ 11
	Cumulative Total	264,012.00	500,675.00	1,796,333.00	2,825,133.00	3,524,439.00	4,128,023.00	4,251,629.00	= US\$ 11	= US\$ 13
8.	B U K	13	9	72	83	91	77	72	<u>10,156,891</u>	417/2 = 208 R1
	Cumulative	13	22	94	177	268	345	417		
	Total Salary per grade	490,308.00	304,281.00	2,221,128.00	2,134,760.00	2,194,374.00	1,452,374.00	1,359,666.00	24,357.05	= 24,114.00
	Cumulative Total	490,308.00	794,589.00	3,015,717.00	5,150,477.00	7,344,851.00	8,797,225.00	10,156,891.00	= US\$ 10	= US\$ 10 US\$ 10
9.	UYO	11	4	39	52	70	107	41	6,564,536	324/2 = 162
	Cumulative	11	15	54	106	176	283	324	324	
	Total Salary per grade	414,876.00	135,236.00	246,792.00	1,337,440.00	1,687,980.00	2,018,234.00	723,978.00	= 20,260.91	
	Cumulative Total	414,876.00	550,112.00	796,904.00	2,134,344.00	3,822,324.00	5,840,558.00	6,564,536.00	= US\$ 9	= US\$ 10 US\$ 10
10.	ABRAKA	3	2	16	66	52	24	13	<u>4,308,040</u>	176/2 = 88
	Cumulative	3	5	21	87	139	163	176	24,477.5	25,720.00
	Total Salary per grade	113,148.00	67,618.00	493,584.00	1,697,520.00	1,253,928.00	452,688.00	229,554.00		
	Cumulative Total	113,148.00	180,766.00	674,350.00	2,371,870.00	3,625,798.00	4,078,486.00	4,308,040.00	= US\$ 11	= US\$ 11 US\$ 10

**TABLE 26B: LAGOS STATE UNIVERSITY, OJO
ACADEMIC STAFF STATISTIC AS AT 8TH APRIL,
1993 AND MEAN, MODE AND MEDIAN PAY, 1993.**

S/N	Grade (EUSS)	Male	Female	Total	Sum Total	Salary Step 4	Total	Salary Cumulative
1.	07	20	3	23	23	16,086	369,978	369,978
2.	08	22	20	42	65	17,659	741,678	1,111,656
3.	09	46	25	71	136	18,862	1,339,202	2,450,858
4.	11	23	11	34	170	25,719	874,446	3,325,304
5.	13	30	7	37	207	30,849	1,141,413	4,466,717
6.	14	7	2	9	216	33,809	304,281	4,770,998
7.	15	20	1	21	237	37,716	792,036	5,563,034

Mode Scale = Grade EUSS 09 = UASS 03, Step 4

The Median = 237/2 = 118 and 119 = N18,862

The Mean = 5,563,034/237 = N23,472.72 (AUSS 10)

Tables 27 and 28 below present deflated capital allocations to Federal Universities so as to assess the impact of SAP on the physical working conditions in the universities.

Table 28 merely presents the various items that were considered to calculate the price indices for capital goods for the years 1986 to 1993.

Table 27 shows that whereas the capital allocation in 1986 was N55,570,000, by 1993, the capital allocation of N776,000,000 was N4,024,896.20 in real terms when the effect of inflation on building materials was taken into consideration.

TABLE 27: CAPITAL ALLOCATION TO UNIVERSITIES DEFLATED

Year	Capital Allocation =N=	Capital Goods Index (1986 = 100)	Real Value of Allocation (N)
1986	55,570,000.00	100.00	55,570,000.00
1987	35,750,000.00	163.55	21,798,780.00
1988	29,930,000.00	240.31	20,360,544.00
1989	23,480,000.00	285.58	19,731,092.00
1990	33,380,000.00	309.45	30,907,407.00
1991	22,130,000.00	379.58	17,991,869.00
1992	96,297,000.00	496.50	73,509,160.00
1993	776,000,000.00	957.18	4,024,896.20

Sources: See Table 28 for the Capital Goods Index Table. Capital allocations were obtained raw from National Universities Commission (NUC) data.

Deflation was obtained by the formula.

$$\frac{\text{New Year Value}}{\frac{\text{New Year Index}}{\text{Previous Year Index}}}$$

For an elaboration of this formula, see supra, Table 23, Footnote 2.

TABLE 28: CAPITAL GOODS INDEX 1, 1986 - 1993

Materials	Year							
	Dec. 1986 N	Dec. 1987 N	Dec. 1988 N	Dec. 1989 N	Dec. 1990 N	Dec. 1991 N	Dec. 1992 N	Dec. 1993 N
Cement (50 Kg)	10.00	11.50	18.00	45.00	50.00	62.00	120.00	200.00
Block 9 x 9 x 18	0.80	1.00	2.50	5.00	5.50	6.00	8.00	16.00
Block 9 x 6 x 18	0.40	0.80	1.50	4.00	4.50	5.00	7.00	14.00
Washed gravel (5 cuyd L. L.)	220.00	260.00	460.00	550.00	600.00	750.00	1,450.00	1,650.00
Louvre glass	7.00	11.50	20.00	23.50	25.00	17.00	21.00	45.00
Louvre carrier & blades	5.50	7.00	11.00	13.50	15.00	170.00	250.00	250.00
Ceramic tiles (carton 72 pieces)	75.00	96.00	100.00	125.00	165.00	175.00	210.00	400.00
Emulsion Paint (4 litres)	50.00	76.00	110.00	132.00	140.00	150.00	270.00	330.00
Colour Paint	75.00	110.00	130.00	152.00	176.00	200.00	290.00	400.00
Reinforcement (per ton)	2,200.00	3,750.00	5,500.00	6,500.00	7,000.00	8,500.00	10,500.00	22,000.00
Sub - Total	2,643.70	4,323.80	6,353.00	7,550.00	8,181.00	10,035.00	13,126.00	25,305.00
Labour rate (20%)	528.74	864.76	1,270.60	1,510.00	1,636.20	2,007.00	2,625.20	5,061.00
Grand Total	3,172.44	5,188.56	7,623.60	9,060.00	9,817.20	12,042.00	15,751.20	30,366.00
Capital Goods Index	100.00	163.55	240.31	285.58	309.45	379.58	496.50	957.18

$$\text{Index} = \frac{\text{Current Year Value}}{\text{Base Year Value}} \times 100$$

Source: Computed from various editions of The Guardian Monthly Material Price Review, Co-sponsored by Nigeria Institute of Quantity Surveyor, (NIQS); and from raw data in the files of Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC), Ilupeju, Lagos.

Tables 29 and 30 below show an aspect of the reaction of labour in the universities to the impact of SAP compared to previous years.

Table 29 presents the picture on year by year basis for each of the unions. Table 30 is a Summary of Table 29 which enables further analysis and inferences.

Table 30 shows at a glance, the number of strikes, duration of strikes, striker size and striker days lost per union and per year. It also shows the average number of days per strike and the percentage of strike per year considering the number of strikes that occurred within the period under consideration.

The table reveals for example that if we consider all the national strikes between 1980 and 1993, there were only 25% (8% in 1980 and 17% in 1981) of the strikes before 1986 (i.e. within a period of about 5 years) whereas between 1986 and 1993, 75% of the nation-wide strikes occurred. And in fact 58% (33% in 1992 and 25% in 1993) occurred within the last two years of the period under consideration.

Also, whereas only two unions were recorded to have struck before 1986, between 1988 and 1993, all the three unions were drawn into the strike diary. This goes with the implication that apart from 1981, striker size has steadily been on the increase - from 5,840 strikers in 1980, it grew to 70,410 in 1992/93.

Again, whereas the average number of days per strike before 1986 was 64 days, during the SAP years, it rose to 74 days, a 15% increase in average number of days per strike.

TABLE 29:

NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES NATIONAL STRIKE CHART BY UNIONS, 1980 - 93

Years	ASUU				SSAUTHRIAI				NASU			
	No. of Strikes	No. of Strikers	Duration	Striker days lost	No. of Strikes	No. of Strikers	Duration	Striker days lost	No. of Strikes	No. of Strikers	Duration	Striker days lost
1980	1	5,840	7 days 28 Oct.-3 Nov.	40,880								
1981	1	8,478	90 days (ended 7 Dec.)	763,020					1	150,000	38 days 28Feb.-4Apr.	5,700,000
1982												
1983												
1984												
1985												
1986												
1987												
1988	1	10,937	11 days 1 - 11 July	120,307	1	5,707	11 days 1 - 11 July	62,777				
1989												
1990												
1991												
1992	2	8,703	53 days 25-30 May, 20 July-4 Sept.	461,259	1	5,707	3 days 14-16 Sept.	17,121	1	56,000	30 days 5 Nov.-4 Dec.	1,680,000
1993	1	8,703	129 days 3 May-8 Sept.	1,122,687	1	5,707	47 days 1 Feb.-19 March	268,229	1	56,000	47 days 1 Feb.-19 March	2,632,000

TABLE 30:

NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES NATIONAL STRIKE RECORDS, ALL UNIONS, 1980 - 93

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
ASUU (No. of Strikes)	1	1							1				2	1
SSAUTHRIAI (No. of Strikes)									1				1	1
NASU (No. of Strikes)		1											1	1
Total No. of Strikes	1	2							2				4	3
Duration (days)	7	128							22				86	223
Striker size	5,840	158,478							16,644				70,410	70,410
Striker days lost	40,880	20,285.184							366,168				6,055,260	15,701,430
Average Striker days lost per worker involved	7	128							22				86	223
Average No. of days per strike	7	64							11				22	74
% of strike per year	8	17							17				33	25

Source: Computed from interviews with current national and past union officers and activists; and content analysis of newspaper reports. See also, ORIBABOR (1990).

Table 31 below describes the relationship between strike activity and economic indicators. It is a summary of the computer output of the regression and correlation analysis of the variables (Appendix III).

The economic indicators chosen were the official rates of inflation per year, the officially declared average exchange rates (\$/N) per year and the budgetary allocations to Federal Universities per year, all between 1980 and 1993.

The data selected to indicate the density of strike activity were the total number of national strikes declared by the unions within the Nigerian university system, the number of strikers involved in those strikes and the duration (in days) of those strikes, also between 1980 and 1993, a period of 14 years.

Strike activity was chosen as the dependent variable and represented by 'Y' and economic indicators as independent variables and represented by 'X'.

The table shows that although there is association between the economy and strike activity, the relationship is not mathematically causal. Most of the values of correlation coefficient (r) show weak or partial relationship (with ' r ' falling between 0.29 and 0.68) while only one set of variables (duration of strikes and budgetary allocations) showed partially strong association with ' r ' being 0.83.

TABLE 31:**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC INDICATORS AND STRIKE ACTIVITY 1**

		Correlation coefficient (r)	(r ²)	Remarks (Whether Positive correlation; negative correlation; perfect positive or perfect negative correlation)	Conclusion: Strength of relationship. The closer the coefficient of correlation (r) is to + 1 or - 1, the stronger is the relationship. The closer r is to 0, the weaker is the relationship.
Y X	Number of Strikes Rate of Inflation	0.60	0.36	Positive Correlation	Partial or weak relationship
Y X1	Number of Strikes Exchange Rates	0.67	0.45	Positive Correlation	Partial or weak relationship
Y X2	Number of Strikes Budgetary Allocation	0.52	0.27	Positive Correlation	Partial or weak relationship
Y1 X	Striker Size Rate of Inflation	0.31	0.10	Positive Correlation	Very weak relationship
Y1 X1	Striker Size Exchange Rates	0.29	0.08	Positive Correlation	Very weak relationship
Y1 X2	Striker Size Budgetary Allocation	0.35	0.12	Positive Correlation	Very weak relationship
Y2 X	Duration of Strikes Rate of Inflation	0.55	0.30	Positive Correlation	Weak relationship
Y2 X1	Duration of Strikes Exchange Rates	0.68	0.46	Positive Correlation	Partial relationship
Y2 X2	Duration of Strikes Budgetary Allocation	0.83	0.69	Positive Correlation meaning an increase in x values is associated with an increase in y values.	Partially strong relationship

1. See Appendix III for detailed Computer Analysis).

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter is essentially a discussion of the data analysis presented in the previous chapter. The data are discussed in relation to the research questions as contained in Chapter 1 of this report.

Inevitably therefore, in discussing the findings, a thematic approach is adopted which allows an ordering of the data analysis to answer the research questions.

RESEARCH QUESTION 1: How have the SAP policies of devaluation of Nigeria's national currency (the naira) and cuts in public expenditure on social services affected the working and living conditions of the employees in the university subsector?

Tables 1a, 5, 7, 9-14, 22-28 are relevant to answering research question Number 1.

For clarity, the research question can be divided into two sub-sets: living conditions under SAP and physical working conditions under SAP.

First, the effects of SAP on living conditions: Table 10 sums up respondents assessment of their overall living standards under SAP: 95% of the respondents in the sample maintained that their living standards had not improved under SAP. Only 5% of all the respondents admitted that their living standards had improved under SAP. In individual union cases too, overwhelming majority (between 94% and 96%) maintained that their living standards had not improved under SAP.

Table 14 reconfirms the result of Table 10.

In Table 14, majority of respondents on the whole (93%) and respondents on individual union basis (between 92% and 95%) maintained that increases in salaries meant to redress the effects of SAP had actually not meant improvement in their living standards.

For double assurance, similar majority of respondents in Table 11 (96%) were of the opinion that in spite of increases in salaries, their salaries were inadequate for normal expenses. Only 4% held the opinion that their salaries were adequate for normal expenses.

Consistent with the results of Table 11, in Table 12, only 4% of respondents maintained that their present salaries met their actual need. The remaining 96% said their present salaries met only a fraction of their actual needs. Table 12 reveals that the highest percentage of employees in the university sector in the sample (55%) would expect to be paid four times what they were earning in order for them to satisfy their actual needs. 31% of the respondents maintained that their salaries represented half of their actual need.

On a union by union basis, a majority of ASUU (62%); a majority of SSAUTHRIAI, (45%) and a majority of NASU (66%) maintained that their salaries represented 25%, 50% and 25% of their actual needs respectively.

Actual need was understood to mean basic needs of their families such as education, food, health etc.

On basis of inadequacy of salaries to sustain their families, Table 13 tells us that

a majority of employees in the university engaged in other types of economic activity in addition to their university employment in order to make ends meet. Taking the unions together, 61% of all the respondents combined other jobs. On union by union basis, 55% of ASUU, 63% of SSAUTHRIAI and 65% of NASU members in the sample respectively were combining other jobs before they could maintain their families. Only 39% of the respondents were not combining other jobs with their university employment.

Those who combined other jobs were engaged in jobs ranging from consultancy, “kabukabu” (using one’s personal car for commercial transportation business), ‘supply’ contract business (which involves buying products from one source and selling to companies that do not buy such products directly by themselves), part-time teaching in schools or in the homes of private individuals to petty-trading.

The explanation for the picture of the state of living conditions and standards of the employees in the university subsector is perhaps explained by Tables 24-26B.

Table 24 presents the series of rates of pay which obtained in the university system in the years 1981, 1991 and 1992 and their dollar equivalent using average exchange rates per year which were officially declared.

The table reveals that whereas the dollar (\$) equivalent of a worker on grade level 1 (one) in 1981 was \$2,756.11, the dollar equivalents of a university professor on the highest grade of Grade level UASS 15 is \$2,041.53. This means that **in dollar terms**, the living standard of a worker on grade level 01 in 1981 was higher than the living standard of a worker on the highest grade level 15 in 1992!

Table 25 adjusts the salary structures between 1981 and 1992 for inflation so as to determine the real income each year, using the basic salary rates.

As an example, the table shows that a level 01 worker who earned nominal basic salary of N6351 per annum in 1992, in reality, after deflating for inflation, the basic salary amounted to N4,536. And whereas the nominal percentage change showed 73% wage increase over that of 1991, in real terms, there was a 23% decrease in pay over that of 1991. The same trend is applicable for other grades in each year.

Tables 26A and 26B contain the calculated mean, mode and median pays for academics in eleven (11) Nigerian universities.

On the whole, the mean salary grades ranged between AUSS 10 and 13. This means in monetary terms, between N23,255.78 and N29,851.82 per annum. The mode salary grades ranged between salary grade levels AUSS 9 to 13. The median salary grades ranged between AUSS 9 to and 11.

The import of Tables 26A and 26B can only be appreciated if we note, according to ASUU negotiating documents, that on the average, the basic cost of living for a standard Nigerian household (comprising 4 children, 1 mother, 1 father and two dependants) is N276,650.00.

The relevance of Tables 5, 7 and 9 now comes in at this juncture.

Although, Table 5 confirms ASUU’s definition of a standard Nigeria family comprising 4 children as 51% of our respondents claimed to have 2-4 children, when that percentage is added to those who had 5 children and above, we have a percentage

of 66 out of one hundred, meaning greater parental responsibility.

Unfortunately, as Table 9 reveals, a majority of employees in the university sector who were surveyed, earned between N21,000 and N40,000 per annum. 50% of the employees in the study sample belonged to this category.

A majority of ASUU (54%) and a majority of SSAUTHRIAI (61.75%) in the study sample also belonged to this category.

However, a majority of NASU members in the study sample (64%) in fact earned below N20,000 per annum.

Table 7 on its own shows that a majority of all the employees in the university sector (61%) were employed a long time ago as against 39% employed a long time ago as against 39% employed between 1986 and 1993 and yet earned less than a living wage as calculated by ASUU above.

The aspects of Table 1A that are relevant to answering research question No. 1 are the columns that confirm changes in rate of inflation, consumer price indices and exchange rates, all of which have negative impact on living standards.

To sum up therefore, the living standards of all categories of employees in the university subsector have degenerated under SAP. It may be bad for ASUU members, worse for SSAUTHRIAI members but as far as NASU members in the study sample are concerned, it is not just worst for them, it is simply disastrous.

Having looked at the effect of SAP on living standard, let us consider the other subset to complete the answer to Research Question No. 1. In this regard, Tables 22-23, 27-28 and item No. 25 and 26 in the questionnaire coupled with content analysis will be useful in answering the second part of Research Question No. 1.

Tables 22 and 23 present the nominal capital and recurrent budgetary allocation and their dollar (\$) equivalent respectively for the period 1980 to 1993. The tables reveal a trend of a decline in the funding of the universities when the allocations are converted into their dollar (\$) equivalents. For example, whereas the dollar (\$) equivalent of the 1982 Capital allocation was \$520,145,595.01, by 1991 it declined to \$2,242,102.49 which means that the 1991 capital allocation was about 43% of the 1982 allocation. The same trend applied to the recurrent allocations for the same period.

Tables 27 and 28 achieved one goal: adjust the capital allocations for inflation. Table 28 contains the items that were considered as a "basket" to work out the indices for capital goods. It is the contention of the researcher that it would be wrong to use price indices calculated on consumer goods to adjust capital allocation for inflation. When building contractors bid for building contracts, say with the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation, yearly & variations in their price quotation are based not on consumer Price Index (CPI) but on price changes on building materials. This is the justification for presenting Table 28.

Table 27 equally shows steady decline in the **real value** of capital allocation from one year to another. And whereas the allocation rose from N55,570,000.00 in 1986 to N73,509,160.00 in 1992, it declined to N4,024,896.20 in 1993. And whereas the nominal allocation in 1992 of N96,297,000 amounted to N73,509,160.00, the nominal allocation of N776,000,000 in 1993 amounted to only N4,024,896 in real terms after

accounting for inflation.

The combined effects of Tables 22-23 and 27-28 as discussed above determined the kind of responses gathered from items No. 25 and 26 in the questionnaire and information distilled from content analysis as far as physical infrastructures and physical working conditions were concerned in the universities:

- Physical facilities have remained static compared to phenomenal increase in both student enrolments and staff strength. This implied:
- Shortage of lecture theatres, library, reading rooms, laboratories, staff housing, office space, recreational facilities, student hostels, etc.
- Libraries lacked up-to-date stock of books and journals.
- Many departments, even whole faculties lacked basic operational equipment like cyclostyling or photocopying machine
- Buildings, Machinery, technical and scientific equipment of various kinds were crumbling, lying idle or grossly under-utilised or in disrepair for lack of resources to buy spare parts and employ competent maintenance staff.

Respondents used various adjectives to describe the effects of cuts in public expenditure on education and devaluation of the national currency on the physical facilities: "poor", "terrible"; "not encouraging", "grossly inadequate facilities" "far from ideal; "too bad"; "very poor"; "obsolete laboratories and libraries", etc, etc, Not a single positive remark was recorded!

The Longe Commission summed up the nature and effect of the working environment in the universities: it was simply "depressing" (Nigeria, 1992:35).

RESEARCH QUESTION NO. 2: How have the employees in the subsector reacted to the effects of the SAP policies stated in (1) above?

The most visible way by which workers' reaction to labour and economic policies is assessed is strike action. To this extent, Tables 29 and 30 which present analysis of national strikes by union and in summary form respectively and content analysis will be used to answer Research question No. 2.

But first, it needs be pointed out that strike was used only as a last resort by all the unions when all else failed. ASUU's chronological record of events preceding its strikes indicated the series of steps and "hidden" struggles that unions engage in before open declaration of strikes. ASUU's systematic chronological record of activities which typifies the initial approaches of most unions showed that strikes are **usually** preceded by activities such as General meetings of the union which adopt resolutions expressing the union's position and demands, petition writing, Memoranda development, propaganda, declaration of trade disputes. etc.

Content analysis however indicated two tendencies in the reaction of labour to the effects of SAP: economistic and political unionism.

Economism characteristic the approach of SSAUTHRIAI and NASU. By this it is meant concern for 'bread and butter' issues, i.e. concern with increase in salaries and allowances. On other interconnected wider issues, they were not the object of trade

unionism as far as SSAUTHRIAI for instance is concerned:

“the main object of all trade unions is to regulate the terms and conditions of employment.The issue of funding of universities which is part of the functions of the universities Governing Councils and their Management is not a direct concern of any trade union body or bodies and cannot also constitute a trade dispute in the system” (SSAUTHRIAI, 1993:3).

The other noticeable trend in the reaction of the trade unions in the subsector is the ‘political unionism’ that characterised the activities of ASUU. By political unionism, we mean the combination of economic agitations with wider issues of control, university autonomy, funding, academic freedom, economic policies and concern for political democracy.

One other notable fundamental development in the reaction of labour to the effects of SAP policies is the stress and strains in the relationship among the unions in the subsector. Contrary to the commonly held conception as discussed under the subsection on ‘Theoretical Framework’ in Chapter 2, that deprivations unite working classes of all strata in opposition to the employing class, the SAP period has presented us with a new development.

The basis of the strained relationship is the struggle of both the SSAUTHRIAI and NASU for ‘parity’ in conditions of service and the insistence of ASUU for separate salary structure for academics.

The genesis of the ‘parity’ crisis started with the Government proposal of 30% increase in basic pay to all university staff which ASUU rejected. Based on agitations by ASUU, Government proposed 45% wage increase to academics. Though ASUU again rejected the 45% salary increase, the SSAUTHRIAI and NASU started a struggle for parity, i.e. that they be paid the same 45% salary increase instead of 30%. (CPC/CVC Sub-Committee, 1993:10) In pursuance of a comprehensive charter of demands (including adequate funding of the universities, university autonomy and improvement in conditions of service) ASUU struck twice in 1992: First for 6 days between 25 and 30 May and again for 47 days between 20 July and 4 September. In the process, ASUU was banned and members purportedly sacked. This did not deter its struggle. Members adopted an operating name, Academic Staff of Nigerian Universities (ASNU). On basis of the protracted strike, the historic 3 September, 1992 agreement was won by ASUU, granting some nominal percentage increase in basic pay and new allowances which were never before enjoyed. It was agreed that the gains of the strike (the 3 Sept. Agreement) would be applicable only to academics who fought for it and was termed University Academic Staff Salary (UASS) which for the first time broke the traditional unified salary structure.

ASUU’s gains as reflected in the UASS informed the series of strikes by SSAUTHRIAI between 14 and 16 September, 1992 and that of NASU between 5 Nov. and 4 December, 1992 and the joint strike of both the SSAUTHRIAI and NASU between 1 February and 19 March, 1993, for similar wage increase with ASUU (See Tables 29 and 30).

As a result of the pressures brought to bear on government by those strikes, Government conceded unified salary structure through series of agreements signed individually and collectively with SSAUTHRIAI and NASU, thereby breaking the agreement with ASUU.

However, the unified salary structure did not include the special allowances which academics earned by virtue of the nature of their job.

On basis of this breach of agreement and the fact that other aspects of the agreement had not been implemented, coupled with the then Education Minister's claim that the Agreement with ASUU was not binding on Government, the ASUU again embarked on the longest strike so far in its history - the 3 May - 8 September 1993 strike, a period of 129 days.

ASUU again won. Government was compelled to make some concrete financial commitment to ensure implementation of the 1992 Agreement. Apart from this, two incremental credits were granted to the Academic Staff to ensure disparity between academics and other staff in the university system.

However, that ASUU was pacified did not mean a peaceful industrial atmosphere in the university sector. The other two unions continued their agitation for the same two incremental steps. According to SSAUTHRIAI:

'Parity does not mean equality in pay among all staff. Such is simply unimaginable in a system where the cadre of staff ranges from a messenger on USS 1 (terminal salary of N8,178.00 per annum) to Professor on USS 15 (terminal salary of N46,221.00 to take the two extremes. What parity simply means here is that if a professor is given 45% increase in his salary, a messenger should also be giving (sic!) 45% increase in his own salary.....' (SSAUTHRIAI, OAU, Ile-Ife Branch, p.3)

In fact, as at the time of conducting this study, the NASU had called out its members on a nationwide strike after series of local strikes for parity in pay. All was definitely not well in the sector in terms of the atmosphere of work relations.

A look at the strike diary in Table 29 may reveal one of the underlying causes of friction among the unions. It could be observed that both NASU and SSAUTHRIAI tailed ASUU in terms of strike actions. In other words, while ASUU initiated actions and won concessions the other two unions struck to enjoy what ASUU won in struggle. While ASUU was pro-active, the other unions were reactive. Not only this, instead of being supportive of ASUU, records showed antagonism on the part of NASU and SSAUTHRIAI to ASUU's demands while on strike only for them to begin to ask for the same benefits if ASUU won. This may be one of the reasons informing ASUU's position on parity even though it may not be expressly stated. Yet, no solution acceptable to all the parties had yet been found.

RESEARCH QUESTION NO3: Have more strikes actually occurred under SAP than previously in Nigeria's University Subsector?

Tables 29 and 30 are relevant to answering this research question. From the tables, more strikes occurred during the SAP years than previously in Nigeria's University subsector.

Considering the period 1980 to 1993, the tables show that there were only 3 national strikes before 1986 (precisely one in 1980 and two in 1981) and between 1986 and 1993, nine national strikes took place - two in 1988, four in 1992 and three in 1993.

Even if we look at the records before 1980, the conclusion will not be altered. The first recorded national strike in the University history in Nigeria was that of the University teachers in May, 1973.

However, our understanding of "strikes" here as indicated above is limited to nationwide strikes embarked upon by any or all of the unions.

RESEARCH QUESTION NO. 4: What is the difference in the frequency of strikes, striker size and strike duration under SAP compared to previous years in Nigeria's University subsector?

Again, Tables 29 and 30 will be relied upon to answer research question No. 4.

Following research question No. 3 above, **the difference in the frequency of strikes before SAP and under SAP** is $9 - 3 = 6$. This means six more national strikes occurred under SAP than previously. Converted to percentages, 25% of the strikes occurred before SAP and 75% under SAP, meaning a difference of 50%.

Difference in striker size: From Table 30 in particular, while 164318 strikers were involved in strikes before 1986, 157,464 strikers were involved under SAP. This means 6854 more workers participated in strike actions before SAP than under SAP. The reason why this result is obtained is simply because of the larger size of the NASU before SAP. NASU's membership (in the universities alone) declined from 150,000 in 1981 to about 56,000 today.

Difference in strike duration before SAP and under SAP:

From Table 30, we can observe that the strike duration of all the strikes before SAP took $7 + 128 = 135$ days, while the strike duration under SAP involved 331 days.

Translated into averages, it means that (From Table 30) the average number of days per strike before SAP was 64 days while during SAP, it rose to 74 days.

All these data show that there was a higher strike intensity between 1986 and 1993 (the SAP years) than previously.

RESEARCH QUESTION NO. 5: What is the relationship or association (including the strength of the relationship) between economic indicators (such as changes in the rate of inflation, exchange rates and budgetary allocations to universities) an intensity of strike activity (i.e strike incidence, striker size and strike duration) in Nigeria's University subsector?

Table 31 and Appendix III will be relied upon to answer this research question.

Table 31 summarises the outcome of the regression and correlation analysis of economic indicators (rates of inflation, exchange rates and budgetary allocations to universities) and strike density (Number of strikes, striker size and strike duration) between 1980 and 1993.

Even considering the tabulated data in Appendix III on its face value before

examining the processing by advanced statistical tool, it is clear that the relationship between the economy and strike density is not a mathematical one. In other words, a rise in inflation rate, fall in budgetary allocation or fall in the value of the national currency (the naira) would not automatically lead to strike action instantly. For example, whereas there were two national strikes in 1981 when the official rate of inflation was 20.8% there was no national strike at all in 1989 when official inflation rate was 50.5%.

The computer output of the regression and correlation analysis also confirms this conclusion. Although all the economic indicators mentioned have positive association (as shown in Table 31 and Appendix III), with strike density, only one of them (duration of strikes and budgetary allocation) could be said to have partially strong association with the correlation coefficient 'r' being 0.83. All the other variables showed either "very weak" or "weak" relationship, with 'r' falling between 0.29 and 0.68. This means that although there is a relationship between the health of the economy and (strike) behaviour of the workers, the economy (though a powerful factor) is not the only factor. Or, put in other words, the relationship is not necessarily a causal relationship. This means that we have to search elsewhere for other factors to explain the density of strikes.

In one sense, it may be explained that even though downturn in the economy does not immediately translate into strikes, on the long run, accumulation of economic discomfort would give birth to explosion of social earthquake.

The role of the quality of the leadership of labour is also an important factor. A conservative leadership could hold back workers from expressing themselves through strikes whereas a liberal - radical leadership could be more sensitive, responsive and supportive of workers expressing themselves freely in strike actions.

Apart from the leadership question, another crucial factor is the consciousness of the workers themselves. The conclusions they draw from their own direct experience could determine their behaviour. For example, there was a change of attitude on the part of the national labour movement in 1989 when it was clear that SAP was not going to terminate as early as it was officially promised and the economy was not showing any signs of improvement. This conclusion is one of the reasons for the anti-SAP protests of 1989.

Another important factor in the occurrence of strikes is the nature of the superstructure. From the data on strike density regressed on economic indicators, there was a greater harvest of strikes during military era than during civilian era. This may be a reflection of the impatience of the workers (and the general populace) with military dictatorship. They had come to associate their economic misfortune with dictatorship. In other words, economic difficulties coupled with dissatisfaction with the political superstructure could trigger off waves of strikes.

RESEARCH QUESTION NO. 6: What are the underlying causes of Industrial Unrest in Nigeria's University subsector?

Table 21 is relevant to answering this research question:

“Non-implementation of agreements” was identified by a majority of opinions expressed as one of the underlying causes of industrial unrest in the university subsector. 36% of 517 opinions expressed identified this factor. Even if we analyse union by union, a majority of the respondents in the sample in each union (between 30% and 43%) identified non-implementation of collective agreements as a strong reason for industrial crisis in the sector.

Other factors that significant percentage of opinions identified were: “Lack of democratic bargaining structure” (26%); “Communication Problems” (18%); and “Lack of university autonomy” (17%). The remaining 3% of opinions identified series of other factors.

RESEARCH QUESTION NO. 7: How can we bring about a more harmonious industrial relations?

Responses to item No. 41 on the questionnaire essentially provide answer to this research question. The various suggestions proffered were as follows. (No particular order was adopted in the list):

- implementation of collective agreements.
- democratic representation of all unions in university decision making bodies.
- establish democratic bargaining machinery .
- Bridge communication gaps.
- Revamp the economy and improve living standards.

- Improve funding and infrastructural facilities.
- Provide basic working tools.
- Allow university autonomy.
- Employers (Govt. and University authority) should bargain in good faith.
- Establish open and democratic administration based on accountability and honesty.
- Commitment to all social/welfare needs of staff.
- Government should not support one group against the other.
- Scrap NUC and let universities establish direct link with government.
- Establish formal Joint Negotiating Committee involving all the unions in the subsector.
- Provide good conditions of work with sufficient salaries to maintain meaningful existence.
- Authorities should be responsive to unions’ demands.
- Establish one single industrial union for the universities.
- Government should stop making empty promises. Government should stop being ‘smart’.
- Inaugurate a mutually agreed collective bargaining machinery internally within the university system.

- Consultations should be held with the unions.
- Establish egalitarian society.
- Ensure sustained improvement in working conditions.
- Government should allow the unions and the university authorities to bargain without interference.
- Uphold principles of social justice and fair play.
- Government should take education seriously.
- Government must be sincere and tolerant of the unions.
- Government should eradicate inflation.

And if we seek the meaning of “eradicating inflation” from the viewpoint of the respondents, Table 15 provides an answer. In Table 15, respondents were asked to proffer solution to the problem of inflation as far as their wages were concerned. 67% of all opinions expressed maintained that their wages could be best protected against inflation by a ‘standing agreement that wages should rise by a given percentage as inflation rises’. The next closest opinion that wages be renegotiated periodically was supported by only 17%. Series of other measure were supported by just 16%.

However, since competitive and discriminatory wage claims arising from rivalries among the unions informed some incidents of industrial unrest in the subsector, respondents were asked in item No. 42 on the questionnaire to suggest ways and means of bringing about unity or attaining higher degree of unity among the unions within the university system. The opinions expressed on this note could also play a role in minimising industrial unrest in the subsector. The opinions expressed revolved around the list below, excluding suggestions by ASUU members on one hand and NASU and SSAUTHRIAI members on the other against and for parity respectively. (No particular order was followed in the listing).

- Proper trade union education for all unionists.
- Government’s sincerity at resolving conflicts among unions instead of festering wounds.
- Periodic meetings among executive committees of all the unions.
- Improved inter union communication
- Greater communication among the executives of the various unions..
- Co-operation among the unions.
- Mutual respect for each other/Tolerance of each other.
- Regular joint Seminars/Conferences, etc to collectively assess events.
- One single industrial union for the universities; to be called: Nigerian Universities Workers’ Association.
- Joint Consultative Committee on trade union issues.
- One single non-academic union in the universities.
- All unions should see themselves as having common problems and try to work and live together as a family.
- Co-operation. Artificial barriers must be broken down.
- Constant dialogue and discussions among the unions.
- Supporting each other during struggles.

- A strong and fighting Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) (central labour organisation) which mobilises the collective strength of unions in the subsector and nationally could probably prevent the bad blood that exists among the unions in the subsector.

CODESRIA-LIBRARY

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This Chapter contains a summary of the entire study from the Chapter on Introduction to Discussion of findings. It also contains a summary of the findings and conclusions. The conclusions were drawn on the findings based on a comparison of findings of this study with previous findings and conclusions embodied in the literature review and theoretical framework in Chapter two. It is an effort at unifying the totality of the study.

6.1. SUMMARY

The concern of this project was to assess the industrial relations situation in the university subsector of the Nigerian Economy since the introduction of SAP in 1986 up till 1993. The exercise was carried out by assessing the impact of SAP on living and working conditions and the reaction of trade unions within the sector.

Chapter One gave a general introduction to the study. It established the background of the study to be hinged on the previous immunity of the university subsector to the industrial crisis prevalent in the larger society and the situation today (under SAP) in which industrial crisis has become the norm rather than the exception in the subsector.

Relevant research questions were formulated with the objectives of: Identifying the issues in conflict which were related to SAP policies of devaluation of Nigeria's national currency (the naira) and cuts in public expenditure on social services in particular; assessing the reaction of unions in the subsector to the effects of the identified SAP policies and offering suggestions on how to eliminate antagonistic conflicts and ensure a more harmonious labour-management and government relations in the subsector.

Chapter Two contains a review of literature and theoretical framework which assisted to give the study a clear perspectival focus and theoretical foundation at the background of similar past works which had drawn relevant conclusions on our area of interest. In this regard, literature on the historical background of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, the theoretical conception and implementation of SAP was reviewed. The theoretical framework was laid by considering five early theories of trade unions and five contemporary theories of industrial relations.

Chapter Three discusses the methodology of the research. The research population consisted of an estimated sixty-nine thousand strong employees of the three categories of unions in the university subsector - the ASUU, SSAUTHRIAI and NASU. The sample size selected was 350. Stratified sampling technique was adopted to ensure that all the unions were well represented in the sample. Purposive sampling and double sampling techniques were employed to select the final respondents. At the end, 249 questionnaires (representing 71% return rate) were received from 21 universities out of about 30 universities in Nigeria. Three research instruments (questionnaire, content

analysis and interview) were used to gather data.

In Chapter Four, data from all the research instruments were presented in tables using simple percentages, proportions, price indices, real income, measures of central tendency (mean, mode and median), regression and correlation analysis.

Chapter Five presents a discussion of the findings from the data in Chapter Four as they relate to the formulated research questions.

6.2. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The following findings were obtained from the study:

1. That the living standards of all categories of employees in the university subsector degenerated under SAP. A majority of the respondents said their living standards had not improved under SAP and that nominal increases in wages did not translate into improvements in living standards. 96% said their salaries were inadequate for normal expenses. On basis of inadequacy of salaries, 61% of all the respondents combined other economic activities in addition to their university employment to maintain their families. The fall in living standards was confirmed by the findings on devaluation of the national currency: in dollar terms, the living standard of a university worker on grade level 01 step 4 in 1981 was higher than the living standard of a university Professor on the highest grade level 15 step 4 in 1992. When salaries are adjusted for inflation, nominal increases in wages did not amount to any increase in real wage. For example, a nominal percentage increase in salary of 73% for a level 01 university staff in 1992 over that of 1991 represented a 23% decrease in pay in real terms. The mean, mode and median salaries of the highest paid group of workers in the Nigerian university system (the ASUU) were just between 8% and 11% of the basic cost of living for a standard Nigerian household.
2. That there was a trend of a decline in the funding of the universities when the recurrent and capital budgetary allocations to Federal Universities were converted into their dollar (\$) equivalents or adjusted for inflation. For example, in spite of phenomenal increase in student enrolment figures, the 1991 capital allocation was just about 43% of the 1982 allocation in dollar terms. Similarly, whereas in dollar (\$) terms, \$11,798.99 was allocated per student in 1982, in 1990, it had reduced to \$170.50. Again, when the highest capital allocation (in naira terms) so far of N776,000.000 of 1993 was adjusted for inflation, it came to only N4,024,896.20, representing just 7% of the 1986 allocation. The practical effect of all these was gross, inadequate and dilapidated facilities producing "depressing" working environment.
3. That the effects of SAP policies of devaluation of the national currency (the naira) and cuts in funding of education led to declaration of strike actions on the part of all categories of unions in the university subsector, among

other industrial behaviours.

4. That the strikes (in No. 3 above) were called demanding improvements in wages and non-wage, wider political issues, including increase in wages, improvement in physical working conditions, adequate funding of the universities, university autonomy and democratisation of the administration of the universities.
5. That instead of labour overcoming the competition in the labour market in its reaction to the effects of SAP, labour actually took on the competitive character of the labour market environment as reflected in the divisive struggles for and against parity or unified conditions of service. 92% of SSAUTHRIAI and 98% of NASU in the sample study who opposed separate salary structure (in support of parity) as against 92% of ASUU\ members in the sample studied who stood for separate salary structure (in opposition to parity) gave a glimpse of the bitter polarisation that existed between ASUU and the other two unions (See Table 20).
6. That by and large, SAP did not promote an environment in which the existence of unions could be tolerated by university authorities and government. In fact, there was no formal bargaining machinery like the Joint Consultative Committee or Joint Negotiating Council in spite of repeated calls by government commissions and the trade unions that such should be set up. 67% of all the respondents believed that university authorities were tolerant of the existence of their unions before 1986. Individually, 64% of ASUU, 70% of SSAUTHRIAI and 66% of NASU members in the sample maintained that their university authorities were tolerant of their unions before the introduction of SAP (See Table 17). However, on basis of their experience under SAP, 62% of all the respondents felt that their university authorities were "more hostile" to their unions under SAP. On union by union basis, 79% of ASUU and 66% of NASU said their university authorities were "more hostile" to their unions under SAP. Only a majority of SSAUTHRIAI (60%) maintained that even under SAP, the university authorities were "more tolerant" of their union. But even for SSAUTHRIAI there was a change of attitude occasioned by their experience under SAP. It should be noted that 70% of SSAUTHRIAI members in the sample had maintained that before SAP their university authorities were tolerant of their union. This is against 60% (a 10% difference) that said their university authorities were "more tolerant" of their union under SAP. (Table 18).
Again, assessing the attitude of the government before and after SAP, a majority of all the respondents (69%) and a majority of each of the unions (59% ASUU, 69% SSAUTHRIAI and 66% NASU) maintained that the government was 'more tolerant' of the existence of their unions before SAP than during SAP. (Table 19).
It is not surprising therefore to find that most of the respondents (81%)

expressed no confidence in the statutory provisions for settling trade dispute (i.e. the 1976 Trade Disputes Decree).

7. That there was higher concentration of (national) strike activities between 1986 and 1993 (the SAP years) than previously in the university subsector. Between 1980 and 1985, there were only (3) three national strikes and between 1986 and 1993 (precisely between 1988 and 1993) there were nine (9). In other words, 25% of all the strikes between 1980 and 1993 occurred before SAP and 75% occurred under SAP. While the strike duration (in days) of all the strikes before SAP was 135 days, the strike duration under SAP (1988 - 1993) involved 331 days. Translated to percentages, while the average number of days per strike before SAP was 64 days, it rose to 74 days under SAP. However, while the total number of strikes before SAP (when there were fewer strikes) was 164318, the number of strikers under SAP was 157,464. The strange finding could be explained by a drastic drop in the membership strength of NASU (in universities alone) which had as at 1993, just about 37% of what it had in 1981.
8. That although there is a relationship between the health of the economy and (strike) behaviour of the workers, the relationship is not mathematical. In other words, the state of the health of the economy was not the only determinant of strike density or that the relationship was not a causal relationship. For example, while there were 2 national strikes within the university subsector in 1981 when the official rate of inflation was 20.8% no national strike took place in 1989 when the inflation rate (official) was 50.5%. The regression and correlation analysis by the computer also shows that although there was association between economic indicators and strike activity, the relationship was partial. Of all the variables tested, only one pair (duration of strikes and budgetary allocation) had a partially strong relationship with correlation coefficient (r) being 0.83. All the other variables showed weak relationship with ' r ' falling between 0.29 and 0.68.
9. That the main underlying causes of industrial crisis in the university subsector (identified by respondents) were non-implementation of agreements, lack of democratic bargaining structure that could command the confidence and loyalty of all parties, and lack of university autonomy.
10. That a more harmonious industrial relations could be attained in the university subsector on a programme of egalitarian society, unity of all the unions, establishment of a democratic bargaining machinery, strong economy and adequate funding of universities, university autonomy and democratisation of university administration, among others.

6.3. CONCLUSIONS

The exercise in this subsection involves a comparison of the findings of the work with relevant theoretical postulations and conclusions contained particularly in the

literature review and theoretical framework so as to give meaning to the findings. On basis of the findings, the following conclusions could be drawn:

1. The instability in the health of the economy and the political decision to deprivatise and reduce university funding are the explanations for industrial strike actions which have now become the norm rather than the exception. It confirms the conception that the structural framework of production relations and the instability in the structural factor (economic downswings and upswings, etc) are responsible for changes in consciousness, in attitudes. It is a further confirmation of the idea that **the problem of control of labour by capital is always present** and that on the long-run, labour does not just accept policies or allow attacks on living standards without a fight.
2. The declaration of strikes by all categories of workers in the university subsector, particularly the participation of ASUU and SSAUTHRIAI members shows the immiserisation of the managerial caste under SAP. It proves wrong the early theory that denies the senior staff (the affluent workers) the possibility of militant unionism. It is also a refutation of the systems theory - contemporary theory. Contrary to the Dunlopian systems theory conception of regarding the "hierarchy of managers" as always representing the interest of the employers, the SSAUTHRIAI in particular (senior staff who are middle and top management managers in the university system) belonged to a union and even struck against management and government. This shows that in the social structure, it is erroneous to conceive of a stable and regular role and relationship. The national strike chart in the Nigerian university subsector shows that all workers regardless of their position in the hierarchical structure (academic, non-academic junior or senior) belong to one economic category - workers, wage - labour as opposed to the employers, the government in this case. All the three unions employed the strike weapon even though it was more pronounced in one than another.
3. The negative impacts of SAP, the devaluation in living standards, not only raised demands for improved working and living conditions but also raised political consciousness - improved funding, university autonomy, concern for participation in enterprise (university) management and for political democracy at the level of the larger society. However, this was as far as the ASUU was concerned. It is therefore a confirmation of the conception of those who assign political and democratic role for labour and a refutation of the theoretical position of the environmental psychologists who maintain that unions do not nurse any "ambition to control society as a whole" but merely to enforce "job control". However, the conception of the environmental psychologists found confirmation in SSAUTHRIAI's leadership who was not to be bothered about managerial prerogatives of management and in fact opposed ASUU for dabbling into political issues.
4. Upward movement of the graph of strikes (as the experience in the Nigerian

university subsector proves) does not necessarily always reflect an orientation of consciousness or a striving by workers to create “new structures of industrial and social management and transform society” as the Marxist perspective suggests.

Rather than “transcending competition in the labour market” the bitter polarisation, divisive struggles and discriminatory wage claims by the unions within the university subsector do not strengthen the capacity to consciously threaten the stability of capitalism.

A few instances will confirm this assertion: To ASUU (1993:7) there should not be ‘parity’ in working conditions because, among other reasons, “If utility and productivity are the yardsticks for earnings, the utility and productivity of lecturers has greatly increased since a smaller number of them now produce more graduates than before. By contrast, the utility and productivity of the non-academics has drastically declined, since many more of them do the work that fewer hands could do”. Not that we disagree with the increase in the productivity of academics but the arguments produce grounds which the employers could use for retrenchment of non-academics.

To SSAUTHRIAI, in retaliation, “The truth is that the non-academics are the most stretched in terms of work input. Most of them spend well over 16 hours daily to ensure the regularity of services in the universities. A cursory visit to the universities ‘Staff Clubs and other place of amusements would confirm the idleness of the so called academics who are now being loaded with special allowances” (SSAUTHRIAI, OAU Ile-Ife Branch p. 4) Not that we agree with the accusation against ASUU by SSAUTHRIAI, but the point to note is that the arguments being put forward by all the sides do not strengthen unity, solidarity for a conscious struggle to transform society. Even though strikes on their own threaten the stability of the capitalist system, transforming society (if we are to learn from history) occurs not per chance but by a conscious effort.

The effect of the strained relationship between the unions shows that extreme and acute economic crisis is not favourable to the growth in the development of consciousness for commitment to moral ideals, values of social justice, equality, greater happiness for the disadvantaged, etc which were the traditions upon which the early unions were built.

This reality therefore challenges the early theory which conceives of trade unions as the “sword of justice” based on the Christian notion of the “brotherhood of man”

The analysis here shows that while the graph of militancy within the university subsector has moved upward, the graph of ideological commitment to the emancipation of the poor, commitment to the cause of humanity per se, for the sake of it, has actually taken a downward slope. Consequently, Lenin’s or the Marxist ‘pessimism’ about the trade unions left on their own,

acquiring revolutionary consciousness is here again, unfortunately reconfirmed. The task of transforming society, as Lenin drew the theoretical conclusion (based on his concrete experience then) requires a core of political activists (not just unionists who are concerned with their **sectional** trade interests) but of professional political activists who fight “disinterestedly” in support of **all** the unions, **all** oppressed strata, anytime, anywhere, with the view that each stone thrown against the ruling class, each battle pitched against the employers, weakens the *status-quo*, in preparation for the ultimate triumph of progressive forces of humanity.

Theoretically, the solution to the immediate problem (parity/separate salary structures) tearing the unions apart in the university subsector suggests a reconsideration of the reward/payment system in Nigeria. There is a need to divert attention from payment system based predominantly on educational qualification to a combination of merit (educational qualification) and human needs. As the exercises of converting earnings to their dollar (\$) equivalents and adjusting for inflation showed, on basis of the existing payment system, all workers, regardless of status and scale, in present day Nigeria, are doomed.

As Runciman (1961) pointed out, “the perceived congruence of earnings with need is a more important condition for the maintenance of social justice”

5. Acts of intolerance and hostility to unions, proscriptions of ASUU, non-existence of a formal bargaining machinery like the JCC or JNC etc, confirm Onimode’s (1991) contention that SAPs coincide with or require militarisation of the polity or authoritarian and anti-democratic regimes to implement them “successfully”
Absence of a formal machinery for negotiation amounts to a non-recognition of unions or at best, a reluctant recognition of unions for bargaining purposes. Yet, one of the conditions for effective collective bargaining is union recognition.
The conclusion to be drawn from this particular reality is that in the main, Nigerian authorities operate a unitary ideology in their approach to industrial relations issues and problems and only adopt features of liberal-pluralism under the pressure of the workers. SAP therefore promotes draconian authoritarianism rather than democratic participation of all parties in the industry.
6. We can also conclude from a study of strikes under SAP (a period of economic crisis) in the university subsector that rather than less strikes occurring in a period of economic downturn, on the contrary, more strikes occur. However, this does not mean that the economic factors alone are responsible. For instance, while ASUU was pro-active, demanding more than the regime was prepared to offer, NASU and SSAUTHRIAI were reactively tailing ASUU, striking in demand for what ASUU had won in struggle. Therefore, the quality of leadership is a major factor to consider in analysing strikes. The conclusion here is therefore a confirmation of Adesina’s (1992) conclusions that strike incidence is due, not just to the economic situation, but due to a combination of a number of other factors. The conclusion from this study also refutes the conception of scholars (who

see unions as purely economic organisations) that the health of the economy has a “direct Symmetric” effect on trade union density.

7. The Marxist perspective that the ultimate root cause of antagonistic work relations is to be traced to the context of production relations is also confirmed by the study. The identification by a significant percentage of the respondents of “lack of a democratic bargaining structure” that commands the loyalty of all parties is a recognition of the influence of power in the social structure and in the structure of production relations in particular. Democratic bargaining structure is incompatible with private ownership at the level of the larger society because values that govern the macro society govern management structures in micro cases. Education, and management of educational institutions inclusive, is a reproduction of the social structure of any society. Therefore, if private ownership is the major barrier to establishing democratic bargaining structure and the attainment of a more harmonious industrial relations, then let no one or force prevent its collapse in the interest of overall societal development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS, JOURNALS AND REPORTS

ADESINA, J. "Quantitative Alchemy and Strike Trend in Nigeria", in **Labour Relations In Nigeria**. Vol. 1, Otobo, D., (ed.), Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd., 1992.

African Business, No. 96, August 1986

ALUKO, S., **West Africa**, 7 May, 1973.

ALUKO, S., **Business Champion**, Vol. 2 No. 10, Nov. 1992

ALUKO, S., **The Guardian**, Friday, May, 7, 1993.

A MACHER, R.C., and ULBRICH, H.H., **Principles of Macroeconomics**. OHIO: South - Western Publishing Co., 1986.

ASANTE, S.K.B., **African Development: Adebayo Adedeji's Alternative Strategies**. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd., 1991.

BOREHAM, P. and DOW, G. (eds.), **Work and Inequality**. Vol. 2.

BOTTOMORE, T.B. and MULKAY, M.J., (eds.), **Controversies In Sociology**. Vol. 5, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1976.

BUDD, W.R., THORP, K.R., and DONOHEN, L., **Content Analysis of Communications**. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967.

Business Champion, Vol. 2, No. 10, Nov. 1992 DAMACHI, U.G., "Creating, Industrial Peace", NISER Distinguished Guest Lecturer July 1984; reprinted in Damachi, U.G. & Fashoyin, R. (eds.), **Contemporary Problems in Nigeria Industrial Relations**. Lagos: Development Press, 1986.

Business International Limited, Report No. 2114, 1992.

Daily Times, 12 Nov. 1992.

DUNLOP, J.T., **Industrial Relations Systems**. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1958.

FARNHAM, D. and PIMLOTT, J., **Understanding Industrial Relations**. Cassell Education Limited, 1990.

- FASHOYIN, T., Development in Nigerian Industrial Relations.** MILR Students Association Week Seminar, University of Ibadan, July 1990
- FOX, A., "Industrial Relations: A Social Critique of Pluralist Ideology"** in **CHILD, J. (ed.) Man and Organisation.** London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1973.
- HYMAN, R., Industrial Relations: A Marxist Introduction.** London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1979
- KAY, G., The Economic Theory of the Working Class:** London, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1979.
- KOVAL, B., 'Foreward',** in **On Trade Unions.** Lenin, Moscow: Progress
- MILIBAND, R.B., 'A case of bourgeois class Consciousness'** in **Aspects of History and Class Consciousness.** Meszaros, I. (ed.), London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971, cited in **The Nigerian Class Structure,** Imoagene, O., (ed.) Ibadan: Evans Brothers Ltd. 1989.
- NIGERIA, Views and Comments Of The Federal Government On The Report Of The Commission On The Review Of Higher Education In Nigeria,** Lagos, 1992.
- OBILADE, T. Research Methods In Language and Communication.** Ibadan: Odusote Bookstores Ltd., 1987.
- OKOGU, B., "Structural Adjustment Policies in African Countries: A Theoretical Assessment"** in **The IMF, The World Bank And The African Debt; The Economic Impact.** Onimode, B. (ed.), London; Zed Books Ltd., 1989.
- ONIMODE, B., (ed.); The IMF, The World Bank And The African Debt. The Economic Impact.** London: Zed Books Ltd; 1989.
- ONIMODE, B. "Transcending The Politics of Adjustment"** in **Debt and Democracy.** TUROK, B., (ed.) London: Institute For African Alternatives, 1991.
- ORIBABOR, P.E., 'Determinants of Trade Disputes in The Nigerian University System: 1970-1981'** in **Nigerian Economic and Social Studies, Vol. 32, No. 3,** Nigerian Economic Society, 1990.
Publishers, 1970.
- POOLE, M., Theories of Trade Unionism: A Sociology of Industrial Relations.** London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1981

RUNCIMAN, N.G., **Relative Deprivation and Social Justice**. London: Routledge of Kegan Paul Ltd., 1966.

STEPHENSON, G.M. and BROTHERTON, C.J., (eds.), **Industrial Relations: A Social Psychological Approach**. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 1979.

TAAFFE, P., **South Africa: From Slavery to the Smashing of Apartheid**. London: Militant Labour, 1994.

TOKUNBOH, M.A., "Opening Address By The Chairman", in **Trade Unions: A Matter of Necessity or Expediency**. FASHOYIN, T., (ed.), Lagos; IPMN, 1985.

WEBB, S., and WEBB, B., **The History of Trade Unionism 1666 - 1920**. London: Longman, 1920

WORLD BANK, **Cost and Financing of Universities, Nigeria**. World Bank Confidential Report No. 6920 - UNI, October 23, 1987.

WORLD BANK, **Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies For Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion**, Washington, D.C., 1988.

UNPUBLISHED WORKS

ABUBAKAR, A., 'Sustaining University Education in Developing Economies with Particular Reference to Nigeria', unpublished paper delivered at the Ahmadu Bello University, 17 January, 1992, cited in **How Nigerian Universities Can Survive: ASUU's LOG OF DEMANDS**, Memorandum Submitted to the Industrial Arbitration Panel, (IAP), 1992.

ASUU, **How Nigerian Universities Can Survive: ASUU's LOG OF DEMANDS**, Memorandum submitted to the Arbitration Panel, (IAP), 1992.

ACADEMIC STAFF UNION OF UNIVERSITIES (ASUU), **Memorandum to the Federal Government Committee to Examine And Resolve Outstanding Issues In Federal Universities, Polytechnics And Colleges of Education**, October, 1993.

CPC/CVC SUB-COMMITTEE, **Interim Report of The Committee of Pro-Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Federal and State Universities**

Sub-Committee on Crisis In The Nigerian Universities, June, 1993.

OLANREWAJU, P.B., Organisational Structure And Functions of Trade Unions And Their Implications For Effectiveness: Case Study of SSAUTHRIAI of Nigeria. (Unpublished Master Project Thesis Submitted to the Department of Sociology, Faculty of the Social Sciences, University of Ibadan, 1993).

SSAUTHRIAI, OAU, Ile-Ife Branch, Universities' Senior Staff Association Demands Justice And Fair Play, (undated pamphlet).

SSAUTHRIAI, Memo to the Subcommittee On Crisis In The Nigerian Universities, 1st June, 1993.

CODESRIA-LIBRARY

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What is the numerical strength of your union now?
2. What is the national strike record of your union: Dates, duration, demands, number of union members involved as against the total membership at the particular periods?
3. Do you have any Joint Negotiation Council(s) -nationally or locally in individual universities?
4. If yes, Please could the researcher have a copy of the constitution to determine the composition and mode of operation of the J.N.C.?
5. What is the structure of your union's membership, i.e. how many members per salary grade?
6. What is your union's conception of parity and/or separate salary structure?

APPENDIX II

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY FACULTY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

Dear Respondent,

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE ON: LABOUR UNDER SAP: A STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN THE UNIVERSITY SUB SECTOR

This is a research questionnaire to assess the impact of SAP on industrial relations in the university sub sector. It will enable me to prepare my Thesis and complete my studies under the Master In Industrial and Labour Relations (MILR) programme of the University of Ibadan. The project is also supported by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research In African (CODESRIA). I therefore appeal for your maximum co-operation.

Some of the questions require that you put a tick (√) in the space provided. In other cases you are expected to write out the answer. If necessary, you may use additional sheets. Please write carefully so it can be read.

Thank you.

Femi Aborisade

PART A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Sex: M F
2. Age: below 21 22-32 33-44 44 and above
3. Marital Status: Single Married Divorced
4. Number of children: Nil One 2-4 5 and above
5. Educational qualification:
Primary
Post Primary (WASC, grade II etc.)
Post Secondary but (below first degree)
First degree or equivalent
Post Graduate (up to Ph.D)
6. Date of employment into the University Service: before 1986 between 1986 & 1993
7. In which University do you work?.....
8. In which Faculty/Department do yo work?.....
9. To which Union do you belong: ASUU SSAUTHRIAI NASU
10. What is your total salary (including allowances) per annum?
Below N20,000 p.a.

- N21,000 - N40,000 p.a.
- N41,000 - N60,000 p.a.
- N61,000 - N80,000 p.a.
- N81,000 and above

PART B: IMPACT OF SAP ON LIVING STANDARDS

- 11. Would you say your living standards have improved under SAP? Yes No
- 12. Is your salary adequate to provide the basic needs of your family such as food, health, education, etc?
 Adequate for normal expenses
 Inadequate for normal expenses
- 13. What percentage of your actual need to you think your present salary represent?
 Present salary meets my actual need
 Present salary represents just 50% of my actual need
 Present Salary represents just 25% of my actual need
 Any other fraction/percentage (please specify).....
- 14. How you had to combine other jobs in order to maintain yourself and your family Yes No
- 15. If Yes please indicate the nature/kind of jobs:.....

PART C: LIKELY EFFECTS OF CUTS IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON THE UNIVERSITY SUB SECTOR

- 16. Would you say that the SAP policy of cuts in public expenditure affected allocations to universities? Yes No
- 17. If Yes, what concrete effect have cuts in budgetary allocation had on your university?

- 18. If No, would you say rise in budgetary allocations have had positive effects on the physical, living and working conditions in your university?
 Please give reasons to justify your position.....
- 19. What percentage of the actual need of your university would you say the present rate of budgetary allocation is?
 50%
 25%
 75%
 Any other percentage (please specify).....
- 20. Have any of your colleagues been sacked/retrenched since the inception of SAP? Yes No
- 21. If Yes, for what reasons were they sacked? (Please indicate as many reasons as applicable)

Rationalisation

Retirement age

Ill-health

Redundancy

Trade Union Activity

Others (specify please).....

22. Have you enjoyed increase in wages due to SAP relief packages? Yes No

23. If Yes, would you say increase in salary has brought significant improvement in your living standards? Yes No

24. Whatever your answer in question no 23 above, please give reasons.....

25. How would you assess your physical conditions of work in terms of availability and suitability of buildings (offices, classrooms, libraries, laboratories, etc.) Instructional aids (chalk, duster, books, etc).
.....

PART D: LIKELY EFFECTS OF DEVALUATION ON THE UNIVERSITY SUB SECTOR

26. In your opinion, how has the SAP policy of devaluation of the national currency (the Naira) affected the university SUB SECTOR - the university as an institution and the employees?
.....

27. What would you propose as solution to the problem of inflation as far as wages are concerned?

- Periodic renegotiation of agreement on wages

- A standing agreement that wages should rise by a given percentage as inflation rises

- Other measures (please specify).....

PART E: IMPACT OF SAP ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

28. Is there any mutually agreed mechanism (such as joint negotiating committee/joint consultative committee) for collective bargaining in your university? Yes No

29. If Yes, please state the mechanism and procedure briefly:
.....

30. Could you please critically assess the formal procedure (mentioned in question number 29 above in terms of its effectiveness?
.....

31. Would you say you have confidence in the statutory provisions for settlement of trade disputes contained in the Trade Disputes Decree 1975 as amended? Yes No

32. Whatever your answer in question No. 31 above, please give reasons:
.....

33. How would you assess the relationship between your union and other unions in the university sub sector before and after the introduction of SAP in 1986?

.....

34. With reference to question No. 33 above, what, in your opinion, is responsible for the change in relationship, if any?

.....

35. How would you assess the attitude of your university authority to the existence of your union before the introduction of SAP in 1986?

Tolerant of my union

Hostile to my union

36. How would you assess the attitude of your university authority to the existence of your union under SAP?

- More tolerant of my union

- More hostile to my union

37. On the whole, the government was more tolerant of the existence of my union before SAP than during SAP: Yes No

PART F: REACTION OF TRADE UNIONS UNDER SAP

38. What has your union done or how has your union reacted to the following issues under SAP? (Please state your comments briefly:

(i) Naira devaluation.....

(ii) Braindrain.....

(iii) Funding/Budgetary Allocation to the university.....

(iv) Retrenchment.....

(v) Inflation.....

(vi) Union proscription.....

(vii) Deregulation of collective bargaining.....

(viii) University Autonomy/Academic Freedom.....

39. What is your opinion about separate Salary Structures for different trade groups in the University subsector? (Please give reasons to justify your opinion):

.....

PART G: LIKELY UNDERLYING CAUSE(S) OF INDUSTRIAL CONFLICTS.

40. From your experience and knowledge, what do you consider to be the underlying cause(s) of industrial conflicts between the unions on one hand and the university authorities/government on the other? (Please tick as many factors as you deem fit):

- Communication problems

- Non-implementation of agreements
- Lack of a democratic bargaining machinery that commands the loyalty and confidence of all parties
- Lack of University autonomy

Others (please specify).....

PART H: SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS TO INDUSTRIAL CONFLICTS

41. What suggestions would you proffer for minimising industrial conflicts within the University system?

.....

42. What suggestions would you offer to bring about unity (or higher degrees of unity) among the trade unions within the University system?

.....

CODESRIA-LIBRARY

IC	YEARS	X RATEINFLAT	Y NOSTRIKE	X_1 EXCHANGERA	X_2 BUDGETRYAL	Y_1 STRIKESIZE	Y_2 STRIKEDURA
1	1980	9.9	1	0.5469	302910000	5840	7
2	1981	20.8	2	0.6052	436110000	158470	128
3	1982	7.7	0	0.6731	684020000	0	0
4	1983	23.2	0	0.7506	604280000	0	0
5	1984	39.6	0	0.7672	514400000	0	0
6	1985	5.5	0	0.8924	481020000	0	0
7	1986	5.4	0	1.7323	488110000	0	0
8	1987	10.2	0	3.9691	134490000	0	0
9	1988	38.2	2	4.5367	106050000	16644	22
10	1989	50.5	0	7.3651	160630000	0	0
11	1990	7.5	0	8.3469	183810000	0	0
12	1991	13.0	0	9.8702	174770000	0	0
13	1992	46.0	4	18.4744	818096461	70410	86
14	1993	55.0	3	23.2300	3465576030	70410	223
15							

Correlation coefficient: $r = 0.60$
 $r^2 = 0.36$
5% confidence limits: $0.10 < R < 0.86$

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-statistic
Regression	1	8.4878	8.4878	6.69
Residuals	12	15.2265	1.2689	
Total	13	23.7143		

Coefficients

Variable	Mean	B coefficient	95% confidence		Std Error	Partial F-test
			Lower	Upper		
TEINELAT	23.7500	0.0442303	0.010712	0.077749	0.017101	6.689
Intercept		-0.1933267				

Correlation coefficient: $r = 0.67$
 $r^2 = 0.45$
95% confidence limits: $0.22 < R < 0.89$

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-statistic
Regression	1	10.6609	10.6609	9.80
Residuals	12	13.0534	1.0878	
Total	13	23.7143		

Coefficients

Variable	Mean	B coefficient	95% confidence		Std Error	Partial F-test
			Lower	Upper		
CHANGERA	5.8400	0.1264069	0.047266	0.205548	0.040378	9.800
Intercept		0.1189255				

Correlation coefficient: $r = 0.35$
 $r^2 = 0.12$
95% confidence limits: $-0.23 < R < 0.74$

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-statistic
Regression	1	3349694681.6666	3.3497E+0009	1.63
Residuals	12	24593703106.0477	2.0495E+0009	
Total	13	27943397787.7143		

Coefficients

Variable	Mean	B coefficient	95% confidence		Std Error	Partial F-test
			Lower	Upper		
BUDGETRYAL	6.1E+00	0.00000189	-0.0000010	0.0000048	0.0000015	1.634
Intercept		11462.5749889				

Correlation coefficient: $r = 0.52$
 $r^2 = 0.27$
95% confidence limits: $-0.02 < R < 0.82$

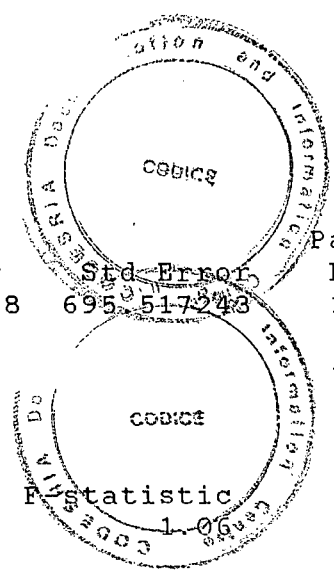
Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-statistic
Regression	1	6.3326	6.3326	4.37
Residuals	12	17.3817	1.4485	
Total	13	23.7143		

Coefficients

Variable	Mean	B coefficient	95% confidence		Std Error	Partial F-test
			Lower	Upper		
BUDGETRYAL	6.1E+00	0.00000000	0.0000000	0.0000000	0.0000000	4.371
Intercept		0.3561981				

Correlation coefficient: $r = 0.31$
 $r^2 = 0.10$
95% confidence limits: $-0.26 < R < 0.72$

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-statistic
Regression	1	2757805665.6595	2.7578E+0009	1.31
Residuals	12	25185592122.0547	2.0988E+0009	
Total	13	27943397787.7143		



Coefficients

Variable	Mean	B coefficient	95% confidence		Std Error	Partial F-t
			Lower	Upper		
ATEINFLAT	23.7500	797.2678860	-565.945910	2160.48168	695.517243	1.31
-Intercept		4048.7448500				
Correlation coefficient:		r = 0.29				
		r^2 = 0.08				
95% confidence limits:		-0.29 < R < 0.71				
Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square		F-statistic	
Regression	1	2274386817.0523	2.2744E+0009		1.06	
Residuals	12	25669010970.6620	2.1391E+0009			
Total	13	27943397787.7143				

Coefficients

Variable	Mean	B coefficient	95% confidence		Std Error	Partial F-t
			Lower	Upper		
EXCHANGERA	5.8400	1846.3133140	-1663.17057	5355.79720	1790.553004	1.06
-Intercept		12201.3742014				
Correlation coefficient:		r = 0.35				
		r^2 = 0.12				
95% confidence limits:		-0.23 < R < 0.74				
Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square		F-statistic	
Regression	1	3349694681.6666	3.3497E+0009		1.63	
Residuals	12	24593703106.0477	2.0495E+0009			
Total	13	27943397787.7143				

Coefficients

Variable	Mean	B coefficient	95% confidence		Std Error	Partial F-t
			Lower	Upper		
BUDGETRYAL	6.1E+00	0.0000189	-0.000010	0.000048	0.000015	1.63
-Intercept		11462.5749889				
Correlation coefficient:		r = 0.55				
		r^2 = 0.30				
95% confidence limits:		0.02 < R < 0.84				
Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square		F-statistic	
Regression	1	17548.3175	17548.3175		5.14	
Residuals	12	40982.5397	3415.2116			
Total	13	58530.8571				

Coefficients

Variable	Mean	B coefficient	95% confidence		Std Error	Partial F-t
			Lower	Upper		
RATEINFLAT	23.7500	2.0111302	0.272179	3.750081	0.887220	5.14
-Intercept		-14.4786274				
Correlation coefficient:		r = 0.68				
		r^2 = 0.46				
95% confidence limits:		0.23 < R < 0.89				
Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square		F-statistic	
Regression	1	26802.1572	26802.1572		10.14	
Residuals	12	31728.7000	2644.0583			

Coefficients

Variable	Mean	B coefficient	95% confidence		Std Error	Partial F-test
			Lower	Upper		
CHANGERA	5.8400	6.3380858	2.436287	10.239884	1.990713	10.1367
Intercept		-3.7287519				

correlation coefficient: $r = 0.83$
 $r^2 = 0.69$
 95% confidence limits: $0.54 < R < 0.95$

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-statistic
Regression	1	40632.6311	40632.6311	27.24
Residuals	12	17898.2261	1491.5188	
Total	13	58530.8571		

Coefficients

Variable	Mean	B coefficient	95% confidence		Std Error	Partial F-test
			Lower	Upper		
BOGETRYAL	6.1E+00	0.0000001	0.000000	0.000000	0.000000	27.2425
Intercept		-6.8411916				

Correlation coefficient: $r = 0.60$
 $r^2 = 0.36$
95% confidence limits: $0.10 < R < 0.86$

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-statistic
Regression	1	8.4878	8.4878	6.69
Residuals	12	15.2265	1.2689	
Total	13	23.7143		

B Coefficients

Page 3

CODESRIA-LIBRARY