


SOUTH AFRICAN AND NIGERIAN WORKERS' PERCEPTIONS
OF THEIR TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS: A COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS OF THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE
UNIONS (COSATU) AND THE NIGERIA LABOUR CONGRESS (NLC)

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South African and Nigerian workers' perceptions of their trade union federations: A comparative analysis of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC)

by

Christiana Omolayo Kappo-Abidemi

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Technology: Human Resource Management in the Faculty of Business, in the Faculty of Business at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology

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South African and Nigerian workers perception of their trade union federations: A comparative analysis of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC)

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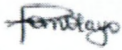
Strike

Industrial/Labour Relations

Workers participation

DECLARATION

I, Christiana O. Kappo-Abidemi declare that the contents of this thesis represent my own unaided work, and that the thesis has not been previously submitted for academic examination towards any qualification. Furthermore, it represents my own opinion and not necessarily those of Cape Peninsula University of Technology.



Signed

1st March, 2012

Date

ABSTRACT

South Africa and Nigeria are both African countries, while the former is located in the southern region of the continent, the latter can be found in the western region. The **Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)** is the largest trade union federation in South Africa with twenty-nine affiliate unions. The trade union federation entered into an alliance with the ruling **African National Congress (ANC)** government owing to their long-standing involvement in the struggle for freedom during the Apartheid era in South Africa. Conversely, the **Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC)** is the only trade union federation in Nigeria with forty-two affiliates. Their political alliance is with the **Labour Party**. The study examines and compares the two trade union federations' administrative and leadership styles. Also, economic, political and social involvements of the unions are examined and members' perceptions with regards to these two union federations promote the interest of their members are compared.

Quantitatively designed close-ended questionnaires were distributed to members of (COSATU) and NLC affiliates. The members were drawn from **South Africa Municipality Workers Union (SAMWU)**, **South Africa Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU)**, **Nigeria Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE)** and **Nigeria Union of Teachers (NUT)**. Various questions were asked about the trade unions federation's performances regarding some union-specific areas. Participants were required to grade the unions' performance based on their opinions with regard to assessment of their functions. This study also, discusses the unions' performances in the past, and relates it with their present activities, as well as areas, which union members hope to improve. Results from the questionnaire were coded, cleaned and cross-tabulated by using SPSS. A chi-square test of association was used to determine significant levels of association. Levels of significant differences were determined at $p \geq 0.05$. The overall result shows that workers still believe in trade unions activities and representation.

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DEDICATION

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organizations
ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
CCMA	Council Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration
CEPPAWAWU	Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union
CNETU	Council of European Trade Unions
CONSAWU	Confederation of South African Workers Union
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CTUC	Commonwealth Trade Union
FEDUSA	Federation of the Unions of South Africa
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICTU	International Confederation of Trade Unions
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LUF	Labour Unity Front
NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions
NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council
NGOs	Non-Governmental organizations

NLC	Nigeria Labour Congress
NPF	Nigeria Police Force
NTUC	Nigeria Trade Union Congress
NULGE	Nigeria Union of Local Government Employees
NUPENG	National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers
NUT	Nigeria Union of Teachers
NWC	Nigeria Workers Council
OATUU	Organization of Africa Trade Union Unity
OTUWA	Organization for Trade Unions of West Africa
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions
SACTWU	Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers Union
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SATAWU	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union
SATLC	South African Trade and Labour Council
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TUC	Trade Union Congress
TUF	Trade Union Federations
TU	Trade Unions
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
ULC	United Labour Congress

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CHAPTER ONE: OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This section of the study examines trade unions activities in South Africa and Nigeria, as well as members' feelings about their federations' performances over the years, while the motivation for this study is discussed. A general background of the study, research questions, research objectives, problem statements, significance of the research, delineation of research, definition of key words and thesis outline are also discussed in this chapter.

1.2 Background to the research

A trade union consists of many occupational and professional affiliated bodies. It is an age-long traditional association of workers, which is meant to protect them from any form of exploitation by employers and government. They negotiate befitting wages and salaries on behalf of workers and above all, protect the interests of members (Sunmonu, 1996). The economic, political and the socio-cultural environment, in which trade unions operate affects their performance, hence whatever changes that occur in society, tend to affect the output and operations of trade unions (Buhlungu, 2002). These factors have both stabilized and destabilized the existence of trade unions in the past and present as well. In as much as environmental influences remain unstable, the affairs of the unions remain unstable as well. These have contributed to the rise and fall of trade union activities in Africa as well as in some parts of the world.

Schillinger (2005) describes a trade union as an organised group of wage and salary earners with the purpose of bringing to bear the economic, social and political interest of their members in labour relations and the political system. A trade union is the only organisation through which workers' economic power is expressed. It is often said that the land cannot bring forth its fullness unless workers plough, sow and reap, which implies that the economic and political situation of a state cannot improve if workers fail to deliver expected services in terms of labour. Hence, the importance of workers and workers' unions cannot be over-emphasized in any country (Murphy, 2006).

1.3 Overview of trade union federations in South Africa and Nigeria

1.3.1 South Africa

South Africa is located at the southern tip of the African continent, (29°00'S 24°00'E) and with a land area of 1.22 million square kilometres (470,693 square kilometres). It is bordered by Swaziland and Mozambique (northeast), and Namibia (northwest), Botswana and Zimbabwe in the north. Within the south-eastern part of South Africa is the Kingdom of Lesotho, which is a small mountainous enclave (BBC News, 2011; Anon 7, 2011). The Republic of South Africa is a diverse country in terms of people, language (eleven official languages in existence) and culture. According to the 2006 General Household Survey (GHS) that was conducted by Statistics South Africa, the population of the country is about 49 million, which is unequally divided across four major descents: Africans, Indians/Asians, Whites and Coloureds (Statistic SA, 2006; Wood, 2007).

Fig. 1.1: Map of South Africa showing border countries and provinces



Source: www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/za/provinces_map.htm

[Accessed 18 January, 2011]

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was founded in 1985 as a result of discrimination and oppression which were experienced by Black workers during the Apartheid regime, although it has a racially-inclusive membership. COSATU is the largest and most active trade union federation in South Africa, with a registered membership of about 1.8 million of the total 3.11 million nationally-registered workers and have twenty-one (21) affiliate unions (Anon 12, 2010; Buhlungu, Brooks & Woods, 2008; Munakamwe, 2009). Other registered trade union federations in South Africa include the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), Federation of the Unions of South

Africa (FEDUSA) and the Confederation of South Africa Workers Union (CONSAWU). However, COSATU arose from the remnants of previously established unions such as the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU), South African Trade and Labour Council (SATLC) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) that were not allowed to progress further owing to interference by the Apartheid government and racial issues (Buhlungu *et al*, 2008).

Despite the diversity in the population of South Africa, the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) has been able to penetrate both private and public sector, as well as all regions and provinces. This achievement came at a huge price as COSATU was part of the political history of South Africa; and was recognised for its contribution to the freedom of the state through protest actions and political strikes (Schillinger, 2005).

Historically, trade unionism in the early days of South Africa was exclusively for the Whites; participation of Africans/Blacks in active trade unionism was not allowed. The first recognized Blacks-inclusive trade union was allowed to register and given official recognition under the Industrial Conciliation (Amendment) Act of 1979 and Labour Relations Act of 1981 (Buhlungu, 2002; Anon 12, 2010). With official recognition granted, the union gained certain privileges such as the right for it to employ full-time officials who earned a monthly salary, the right to negotiate on behalf of workers and the signing of binding agreements with employers and government. These rights enabled trade union officials to become more committed to union duties, hence their

participation in union activities became more of a career rather than a struggle. South Africa is a developing country which is recovering from being deprived of participation in the global political and economy arena owing to years of Apartheid governance which inculcated racial discrimination in all aspects of South Africa society, including trade unionism (Underwood, 2006).

Despite the fact that COSATU operated in a hostile environment, it remained one of the strongest and well-organized trade union federations in Africa, and one to be reckoned with in the world. In the late 1980s to the early 1990's, when developed nations such as the United Kingdom, Spain, Holland and others were experiencing a decrease in trade union membership, South African trade union membership experienced an astronomical growth. In fact, between 1979 and 1993, there was an increase in membership from 700,000 to 2.8 million (Wood & Harcourt, 1998; Zammit & Rizzo, 2002).

COSATU was however, not merely a trade union association, but was also part of the anti-Apartheid movement that joined the struggle for the freedom of African/Blacks. Since the end of Apartheid, COSATU has been able to extend its powerbase into the political arena with union officials now serving as members of parliament as well as representatives in the tripartite alliance. This alliance is a combination of COSATU, the ruling African National Congress (ANC) government and the South African Communist Party (SACP), which advises the ruling government on economic and social policy issues (Wood & Harcourt 1998; Schillinger, 2005). The involvement of COSATU in the tripartite alliance, however, has led to the successful

amendment of the existing Labour Relations Act in 1995, with consequent better service conditions for workers.

Due to COSATU's proximity to the central ANC government, other avenues were established to settle grievances between workers and employers such as establishment of the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation, and Arbitration (CCMA); the Labour Appeal Court; and the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) (Wood & Harcourt, 1998). Recently, the ruling ANC government acknowledged that through working together with its alliance partners (especially COSATU), the legislative framework which protects and guarantees the rights of the worker was established (Zuma, 2009). Furthermore, the alliance successfully negotiated a massive roll-out of anti-retrovirals for HIV-infected workers, as well as for the general public. Subsequently, the alliance teamed up with the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) a lobby group to campaign against the spiralling new HIV/AIDS infection, which was discovered to be affecting about 5.5 million South Africans, and of whom a majority of the citizens could not afford treatment on their own (Anon 12, 2010).

1.3.2 Nigeria

Comparatively, Nigeria is the most densely populated country in Africa, with a population of about 150 million (Tar, 2009). It is located in the western region of the African continent, and occupies a land area equivalent to the combined size of France, Germany and Belgium. The country is bordered by Cameroon to the east and south east, Republic of Benin to the west, Chad in the north

east and Niger to the north (see Figure. 1.2). Nigeria has three major ethnic groups namely Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Due to British colonization, the official language is English. The diversity in ethnicity, tribalism and religious grouping has always been the major reason for political turbulence in the country (Atkinson, 2009). Nigeria's ethnic diversity has led to a huge differential in workplace principles and workers' performance, as shown by Ahiauzu (1985) in his study, which centred on Hausa and Igbo workplaces. Moreover, military rule, which has accounted for thirty-one (31) years of the country's independent life, has entrenched an authoritarian culture, which has affected all levels of human and organisational behaviour, including the trade unions (Odah, 2007).

The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) was established in 1978 to protect, defend and promote the rights, well-being and interests of all workers and pensioners in Nigeria. To date, the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) comprises up to 4 million registered members across the public and private sectors; it is the only official labour union federation in Nigeria (News Online, 2009). The NLC succeeded the previous four trade unions, namely Nigeria Trade Union Congress (NTUC), Labour Unity front (LUF), United Labour Congress (ULC), and Nigeria Workers Council (NWC) with over a thousand affiliates that often resulted in rivalry and resentment (Melson, 1971). These affiliates became amalgamated into forty-two, which then came together as one trade union and one federations, hence the birth of the Nigeria Labour Congress (Odah, 2007; News Online, 2009).

Fig. 1.2: Map of Nigeria showing border countries and different states



Source: www.manybase.com/image/nigeria.gif. [Assessed 18 January, 2011]

The union has often resorted to strike action and general labour stoppage to interrupt/disrupt different government decisions that do not favour workers and the masses such as the increase in fuel pump prices (Atkinson, 2009). Like any other association, the Nigerian Labour Congress has experienced its own share of brutality from the government (especially the military government). The federation was dissolved on two different occasions due to what was termed as interference and opposition to government policies and decisions (Abu, 2007; Olukoshi & Aremu, 1988).

The Nigerian economy basically depends on foreign importation of goods with the resultant adverse effects leading to unemployment, which by extension leads to a reduction in trade union membership (Offiong, 2005). This phenomenon explains one of the reasons why the country has a meagre 4 million registered workers from a total population of 150 million. The import-driven economy of Nigeria, however, has led to some industries closing down and the existing ones underperforming, hence the resultant lay-off of workers. Unemployment, low living standards, poor infrastructural state, poor industrial base, political instability, collapse of public infrastructure, weakness of democratic governance, and reappearance of ethnic chauvinism, amongst others, have been some of the sources of contention between the government and Nigerian trade union federations (Atkinson, 2009; Odah, 2007).

In addition, successive Nigerian governments seemed unconcerned about the condition of state facilities and its consequent effect on workers and the masses. The Nigeria Labour Congress has always stated its desire to work with political parties (as seen in South Africa), if certain issues could be compromised. However, in spite of the fact that an alliance could not be formed with the democratic government, both parties have been able to develop an understanding of some issues leading to a reduction in the spate arrests and molestations of union leaders as during military regimes (Alalade, 2004). Moreover, attempts by union leaders to form alliances with political parties in order for their opinions on specific issues to be heard by the government of-the-day, have been largely unsuccessful, hence, the need for the union to start its own party, namely the Labour Party, which contested

elective positions during the 2007 and 2011 national general elections. The party aimed at placing the country's resources and wealth under the control of workers in a democratic setting (Ibrahim, 2010; Melson, 1971; Tuman 1994).

Nevertheless, both COSATU and the NLC have been at the forefront of denouncing neo-liberal policies which were blind to workers rights. Both trade union federations have experienced being banned and unbanned at various times for various reasons, which includes antagonising the government on policies that do not favour the working class and the general well-being of the citizens. However, in spite of all these challenges, they are still in existence after decades of establishment.

With South Africa and Nigeria having experienced better prevailing political climates in recent years, this study was aimed at analysing the common features and to evaluate differences in the perceptions of both sets of workers concerning their trade union federations taking into consideration the perceived closeness of these unions to their central government nowadays. Both trade unions share certain similarities in terms of their involvement in the struggle for democracy and the constant mediation between workers, masses and the ruling government. With the days of struggle for freedom gone, and with involvement in trade unionism becoming a career option, this study is further interested in determining the opinion of workers regarding trade union officials. Finally, this study will serve as a framework for further research which could be conducted concerning whether trade unionism still has relevance in the modern society.

1.3 Research questions

Based on the overall understanding of focus of the study, the following questions form the basis of this study:

- (a) What are the impacts of trade union activities on the international image of a country?
- (b) Do trade unions influence the process of collective bargaining between employees and employers or government?
- (c) Do affiliate unions support the trade unions federations in seeking international solidarity?
- (d) How often do trade unions engage its affiliates in policy making, training and development programmes?
- (e) To what extent are trade union members involved in the federations administrative set up?
- (f) What measures have been established by trade unions to fight unemployment, poverty and inequality in the society?
- (g) Do trade union policies favour both genders?

1.4 Research objectives

The general objective of this study is to determine the perception of South African and Nigerian workers concerning their trade union federations. More specifically, also attempts to:

- (a) Investigate similarities and differences between South Africa and Nigeria trade union members' perceptions of their trade union federations;
- (b) Examine the relationship between the trade unions and their affiliates;

(c) Ascertain the level of trade union involvement in political affairs and international solidarity in support of workers; and

(d) Investigate members' understanding of trade union leadership styles, administrative set up and general management of the organisation.

1.5 Problem statements

1.5.1 Main problem

The trade union federations of South Africa and Nigeria are perceived as not protecting, defending and promoting the rights, well-being and interests of the workers. The study will investigate the points (sub-problems) listed below to ascertain or disprove the above perception:

1.5.2 Sub-problem One

- To establish whether the closeness of trade unions with the government (tripartite alliance in South Africa and Labour Party in Nigeria) has led to a conflict of interest between union officials and workers that they sought to represent.

1.5.3 Sub-problem Two

- To ascertain workers' feelings and expectations concerning the performance of their union federations.

1.5.4 Sub-problem Three

- To investigate whether trade union federations are still performing in accordance with union objectives and their members' expectation.

1.6 Significance of the research

Workers in both private and public sector comprise a huge percentage of the total national population; hence they influence the economic condition of a country. Trade unions in both South Africa and Nigeria have shown the importance of workers in the polity of these nations through the organization of mass strike actions. This has been the instrument of negotiation which is used by workers against the government even before the establishment of either COSATU or the NLC. The successes of these mass actions have proven to the employers as well as the workers that if industrial action is embarked upon *enmasse*, it can disrupt national affairs in its totality (NLC, 1991; South Africa Info, 2009).

Recent events seem to show that workers are no longer affiliate with the objectives of their trade unions or rather; trade unions have completely derailed from their commitment to the workers. Rust (2001) explains the challenges faced by South African workers and the role that trade unions were expected to play in order to attract and retain membership. These problems are not limited to Africa alone, but are indeed universal. However, it is more imperative for trade unions to give their members valid reasons to believe more in them now than ever before. Therefore, this research is about the expectations of workers and their perceptions of the performance of their unions thus far. COSATU being the largest union organisation in South Africa; and NLC, the sole union federation in Nigeria, together with their history of being part of their respective national struggle make for a perfect case study for this research.

1.7 Delineation of the research

Data was collected in Cape Town, South Africa and in Lagos, Nigeria. The sampling of union affiliates was limited to the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) and the South Africa Municipality Workers Union (SAMWU) in South Africa. For the purpose of identical comparativeness of union affiliates between the two countries, the Nigeria Union of Teachers (NUT) and the Nigeria Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE) were also sampled. However, this study did not involve the following:

- An examination of the role played by trade unions during Apartheid and colonial regimes;
- Discussion of other trade union federations except COSATU and NLC; and
- Discussion of national policies and politics of South Africa and Nigeria.

1.8 Definition of keywords

Trade union: this is an association of employed individuals which they safeguards their interests in the workplace. The individuals may be skilled, unskilled, professional or even unemployed, but with the common purpose of maintaining or improving prevailing conditions of employment. Hence, a trade union serves as a tool through which employees and their companies relate to create working rules and regulations (Robert, 2010).

Affiliates: according to COSATU's constitution, an affiliate is described as the union that has been admitted to the membership of their federation, which is

not more than six months or more in arrears in affiliation fees to the federation in terms of Federation Constitution Clause 2 (2).

Collective Bargaining: according to Vettori (2005), this refers to a system of negotiation between employer parties and trade unions in order to determine satisfied working conditions and all other aspects and issues, which arises from an employment relationship.

Federation of trade unions: is described as the parental body to which all the industrial unions of a country are affiliated and, sometimes it could be more than a federation in a country, depending on the country's Labour Act.

Strike: Madhuku (1997) defines strike "as the right of workers to withdraw their services from their employer as a means of addressing their grievances to their employers".

1.9 Thesis outline

This study is subdivided into six chapters. Chapter One provides the background to the study. The statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, hypotheses, significance and scope of the study are clearly delineated. Furthermore, keywords are defined and the thesis outline is provided. Chapter Two provides a theoretical framework by way of reviews of literature within which the study was conducted in the following order: Overview of South Africa and COSATU; COSATU pre-Apartheid, through Apartheid and post-Apartheid era; key instruments of the South African Labour Legislation; overview of Nigeria and the Nigeria Labour Congress;

NLC before democracy (during military era) and post-democracy; and key labour regulations in Nigeria. Chapter Three presents the research design and methodology section of the thesis, which explains how the study was conducted by presenting the methodology of choice. Procedures for participant selection and recruitment, data collection, data analysis, as well as ethical issues are also outlined in this chapter. Chapter Four provides statistical results of data analysis, while Chapter Five discusses the results of this study in view of similar or previous studies that were conducted elsewhere with recommendations and general conclusions based on result from the study.

1.10 Chapter summary

This chapter provides a framework for the overall study of trade unionism in South Africa and Nigeria, which is the focus of the research. It gives a brief overview of the two countries geographical location and an insight into labour relations issues, as well as how and when the trade union federations COSATU and NLC came into being. Various achievements and shortcomings of the federations are also examined. The research questions and objectives provide the basis for the research. The following chapter presents a detailed literature review of trade unionism and trade union federation in other continents, as well as Africa. The chapter also discusses Industrial relations theory with a focus on South Africa and Nigeria with reference to trade union federation success and expectations of members in the respective countries.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON TRADE UNIONS

2.1 Introduction

A trade union is an organisation comprising waged workers/employees which could be affected by a change in the governance of a state and other factors that affect the state in its entirety such as political and economic affairs. Beckman, Buhlungu and Sachikonye (2010) observe “that the involvement of trade unions in the political process of the state is to intervene and regulate labour relation processes as well as control the price of labour”. Hence, trade unions could be referred to as the resources that nurture the state’s richness through services that are rendered by their members (workers) and, who in return should therefore, be taken care of with the state’s resources in order to avoid conflict of interest between them and the state.

This chapter focuses on reviewing discourses regarding trade unionism with respect to industrial relations theories; origin of trade unions and trade union federations in Africa; and the state of African trade unions. Furthermore, the geography and people of South Africa and Nigeria with specific emphasis on COSATU and NLC are reviewed. Above all, certain areas of interest to union members and the public at large are also extensively discussed.

2.2 Industrial Relations Theory

Industrial relation theory is a discipline that covers almost all issues related to employment, including human resource management, employee relations,

and labour relations. Industrial relations deal with the relationship between the employer, employee, and government. The relationship begins from the first time an employee approaches an employer for a paid job. Such relationships are expressed through collective bargaining, grievances and dispute settlement, and workers' participation in decision making (Anon 11, 2011). Some theoretical approaches that further explain the relationship between the stakeholders in the industrial relations are as follows: the Dunlop approach, Pluralist approach and Marxist approach.

The Dunlop approach recognizes three major players in the industrial relationship, which comprise employees, employers and the government. These actors and organisations are located within an environment which is determined by technology, labour and politics. Actors within this environment interact with one another on the basis of political and governmental rules and regulations. According to the Dunlop approach, actors depend on one another for effective performance in industrial relations, especially employees and employers, including judicial intervention during collective bargaining and settlement of other industrial disputes (Anon11, 2011: Dabscheck, 2011).

The relationship between employer and employee is recognized by the Pluralist approach, which refers to employers' ability to reach a compromise with employees without interference from a third party. The pluralist approach perceives conflict of interest and disagreement between management and workers as a normal and inescapable situation, but reckons that the ability of management to enforce, control, persuade, and co-ordinate the workers in such situation is vital during collective bargaining (Anon 11, 2011: Blain &

Gennard, 1970). Anon 11 (2011) further clarifies that for effective manifestation of the pluralist approach in the workplace, there should be a full time industrial relations and personnel specialist who advises management on union consultation and negotiation, usage of independent external arbitrators that resolve disputes, while union representatives should be well informed and negotiate of agreements with unions. However, the Marxist approach was basically generated as a result of trade unions' opposition to capitalist tendencies. The approach bridges the capitalist relationship between the political and economical situation of a country.

Despite all the above approaches, at present the aspiration and mission of trade unions to represent workers is becoming more complex owing to forces beyond their control, which includes high levels of unemployment and globalization. As a result workers' reaction to trade union membership presently is dependent on the degree to which they believe that such membership will reduce their dissatisfaction and concerns, improve their opportunities for a higher workplace status and lead to improvement in their standard of living, which is the ultimate aim of any working person (Rust 2001: 58; Zammit & Rizzo, 2000; Gani 1996; Gerber, Nel and Van Dyk, 1996).

A work environment that allows workers the freedom to use their own initiative will influence their perceptions and make them more interested in the affairs of the workplace. Hence, workers are offered the opportunities to participate more meaningfully in the formulation of decisions, which affect them. As the new generation of workers are more independent, articulate and better educated, workplace atmospheres become more confrontational. Gone is the

era of workers being aloof about decisions that are taken regarding their well-being, and in its place is a generation of workers who want to be involved in organisational decision-making in order to realise their own potential (Wood & Glaister 2008; Kochan 2000).

In light of the above, trade union federations should evolve a strategy through which constant contact with their members can be obtained; their opinions and desires gathered, sorted and assimilated. Moreover, trade unions have derived their objective support from the existence of conflict between workers and employers. Hence, the performance of unions is indeed based on the continuous existence of a capitalist sphere of power, exploitation of workers and the need of the working class to be protected from such exploitation (Kautsky, 1901). Incidences such as child labour, sweat-shop phenomena, economic and political crisis, unfair labour practices, and wage disputes are some of the issues that trade unions mostly contend with (Donaldson, 2001). However, this should be done in accordance with the provision of the law of the country, as well as Labour Court and Industrial Court provision (Leat, 2007).

The importance of the working class to the economy and growth of any nation cannot be underestimated. The social, economic and political development of any country is dependent on the existence, degree of strength and political independence of its trade union movement. The absence of trade union federations in any country leads to slavery, hunger, poverty and total lack of human rights and freedom. Hence, the most valuable part of the state's

economic and political pressure is borne by trade unions (Flanagan, Moene and Wallerstein, 1993).

In accordance with industrial relations provisions, workers have the right to collective bargaining, freedom of association, periodic training, both on job training and industrial relations training and the right to workplace safety and health security. Also, industrial relations policies provide employers with the right to help worker representatives to understand their responsibilities towards their colleagues and employers, the conveniences of trade union meetings, and understanding of legal and real needs of workers (Gerber *et al*, 1996). These provisions form the framework within which employers and workers, as well as unions relate and operate in the workplace.

The main instrument of industrial relations for trade unions is collective bargaining through negotiation on behalf of the workforce with employers and government (Gerber *et al*, 1996; Okolie, 2010). The International Labour Organization's employee relations are based on the principle of voluntary collective bargaining, which allows individual governments to decide on the principle that works for their country (Tajudeen & Kehinde, 2007). In Nigeria a majority of the workforce are employed within in the public sector and in most cases, government and other employers do not involve themselves in collective bargaining agreements, but is done through agents who act on their behalf and the government employees. The intention is merely for the government to watch and judge the outcome of the negotiation. However, the government should act and maintain its status to ensure that the agreement

entered into on its behalf is successfully carried out (Iheme, 2003; Okolie, 2010).

Likewise Gerber *et al* (1996) agree that collective bargaining process in South Africa is also done by members of the Industrial Council which consists of employers and trade unions but not agents of the organisation that they represent. The state authority has the final say about agreed issues concerning the Industrial Council and decides whether or not to add it to the Government Gazette. However, Schillinger (2005) reckons that the role of worker organisations in industrial relations in Africa is weak compared to their political influence. Employment relations in most developing countries are restricted.

A huge expectation which is placed on trade unions by its members is to satisfy the individual and collective needs of the association, as well as its members. Therefore, trade unions in every country struggle to strike a balance between the two. In addition government has its own rules and expectations in which they expect the unions to operate, which may be in conflict or consonant with their organisational rules.

2.3 Origin of trade unionism and trade union federations

Trade unions originated in England in the early 18th century as a result of a shift in bargaining power to employers. Employees were left with no option but to form the Trade Union Congress (TUC) in 1886. British unions have a history of courageous workers who dared imprisonment, deportation, victimization and

persecution in order to have a powerful and strong labour union. The struggle was a continuous effort in which one generation succeeded another in great strikes, massive demonstrations and political struggle until millions were organized into trade unions (Murphy, 2006; Tyson, 2006; Sunmonou, 1996).

According to Hess (2008), “there are three main tools on which the British union was based: establishment of control over entry into jobs; establishment of some common rules where terms and conditions of employment are the same across particular work classifications; and establishment of mutual insurance”. Kautsky (1901) states that England has the most independent, freest and best organized working class trade union movements, in spite of widely-acclaimed existence of the capitalism; and suggests that other nations learn from and consult the English pattern.

Crucial roles in the formation and continuous existence of trade unions in many countries were played by both socialists, as well as democrats because any attempt which prevented employees from joining the unions, was seen as a violation of human right, according to Article 23 sub-section 4 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948). Furthermore, Article 20 sub-section 2 of UDHR states that an employee has the right to decide whether or not to join a union; hence no one may be compelled to join an association. Also, charges may be laid against employers who are found to discriminate based on trade union membership. Any attempt by employers, with the help of outside agencies, to prevent union membership among their staff which is often called ‘union bursting,’ is a punishable offence under the

law. Recognition of a trade union in an establishment is dependent on the number of employee support; hence, recognition is important for the union to be perceived as effective by members and potential members. Adler and Webster (1995: 75) further emphasize that, "it is better to have a hundred unionized workers in a single workplace than have a thousand unionized workers in a hundred work places". This shows that there is power in large numbers of unionized workers.

Typical industrial organisations normally offer few opportunities for workers at a lower level of the hierarchy, as their interests are not considered, which makes their work boring and disinteresting. Value is however, placed on capital and other factors of production more so than labour. Not until the French Revolution of Ownership Rights in the 19th and 20th centuries, which were backed by Christian ethics of the Catholic, Protestant and the Lutheran churches, that employees were given the right to participate in the decision-making of the 'their' company. Moreover, employees are human beings and not soulless objects without any property rights. Furthermore, workers may sometimes risk their lives in the line of duty while owners can only risk at most, part of their wealth (Buhlungu 2004).

McGregor (1960) states that "in as much as human beings should be given decision making powers in the organization that they work for, they should also be controlled, monitored, persuaded, rewarded and punished at the same time by the management because, by nature, the average person is slothful, self-centred, lacks ambition, and dislikes responsibility". This could be

greatly achieved without interfering with the human ego if the organizational management works in-tandem with the trade unions. Trade unions are shouldered with responsibilities of protecting workers' rights and interests in the workplace. Part of their rights involves decision making on issues that have to do with them and their work. Hence, the introduction of shop stewards at floor level in the workplace ensures that workers' interests are expressed and agreements with employers are implemented.

Robert (2010) asserts that in order for the interest of trade unions to be well-represented, officials that are elected or employed should have the true interest of workers at heart and should be ready to establish structures that move along with ever-changing employers, government and management legislations and policies. Trade unions came into being as a result of the coming together of individuals related through employment who organized themselves together as a group to safeguard their interests as workers. These individuals may be skilled, unskilled, professional workers or even unemployed.

Leat (2007) and Rust (2001) further state that "the definition of a trade union may vary from one country to another depending on the categories of people that the union decides to admit into their membership and their objectives; but notwithstanding, good working relationships are required from both parties to maintain high production in the workplace". President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1955), in a speech sent to the merger union meeting between the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisation (AFL-CIO),

stated that every individual deserves a job with decent pay; practical hours; good working conditions that gives them a sense of fulfilment; and, above all, the economic interest of employers and employees should be of mutual prosperity. The major purpose of a trade union is to maintain or improve workers current conditions of employment. The unions are the instrument by which employees and their companies relate in the working place to create rules and regulations of employment. Both employers and employees should work together in order to acquire the greatest amount of wealth for all. Workers have the right to express their grievances in any form, and the best way for employers to fix grievances is by mutual agreement. Inability to reach an agreement with an employer may, therefore, lead to industrial action with resultant loss for the organization in terms of finance and public image.

Trade unions emerge mainly for economic reasons in order to bridge the gap between unequal balance of power within the labour market and labour, whilst believing that individuals are weak when it comes to market influence. This belief brought about collectiveness in bargaining power, which ultimately resulted in trade unionism. However, the continuous struggle by trade unions for collective bargaining in the form of higher wages and improved working conditions with employers and government is a threat to employers who want to reduce the costs of production in order to maximize profits (Murphy, 2006; Rust 2001).

Not in all countries of the world are people allowed to form and join trade unions owing to the fact that management, employers and government

perceive unions as a threat. Therefore, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the International Confederation of Trade Unions (ICTU) have taken it upon themselves to gear up a wider range of acceptance in all countries (Tyson, 2006). Irrespective of place, environment or nationality, trade unions are shouldered with the following responsibilities; protection of workers and management interest by providing a common front between them; minimization of industrial disagreements/conflicts; creation and development of democracy within the workplace; provision of avenues for collective bargaining, and lastly, organization of industrial actions.

In order for unions to cut across all industries and occupations, as well as be accessible to their members, they are often represented in all workplaces by shop stewards who are part of the organization's employees. Shop stewards represent their members at the lowest level of the official organization within the union, and ensure that members enjoy the above-listed responsibilities of the union and other accrued benefits. Shop stewards are sources of vital communication between management and workers. They have the power to push for concessions from the management, which not only create space for further advances, but also win improvement in working conditions. Since unions are democratic and their power is dependent on the support of ordinary working people, the emergence of shop stewards is an indication that industrial relations policies and strategies can be used to foster productive relationships at the company/local level (Adler & Webster, 1995; Buhlungu 2004.; Buhlungu *et al* 2008).

There are times when employees and management prefer to organize staff associations or have team leaders to replace shop stewards so that they can have full control over employees (Hutchinson, 1994; McCabe & Black, 1997). Moreover, some employees have used the shop steward position as means to rise to a management position of their organization, while some organizations have made the position attractive in terms of payment, which often leads to serious contention among employees for the position (Bulungu *et al*, 2008). For instance, full-time shop stewards in the mining industries of South Africa these days are well-paid and have guaranteed chances of becoming members of the management board.

The age-long responsibilities and objectives of trade unions is a major reason why the African Union (AU) has tried to integrate the African Trade Unions into a partnership programme, which would seek to improve the welfare of the people of Africa through the united action of the working people in the continent (Schillinger, 2005). The partnership has a distinctive goal and power, which separates and distinguishes it from other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations (Olukoshi, 2007; Schillinger, 2005). Similar partnerships have been developed at some point in time on other continents, as there existed reasons to integrate the trade union policies with the national agenda.

2.4 Trade unionism in Africa

Due to historical colonization of most African countries by the United Kingdom, trade unions in Africa were formed and operated almost in the same way as the British, except for the fact that African trade unions had to fight against racism and colonization alongside capitalist exploitation (Schillinger, 2005). Ananaba (1979) reveals that the colonial authority tried as much as possible to discourage African trade unions from participating in political activities. This is in fact different from what was seen in their home country, considering the relationship between British trade unions and the Labour Party. For instance, in 1949 twenty-one (21) mine workers were shot dead because their industrial action dispute was misconstrued as a political protest.

Meanwhile, at the end of colonization, African governments tried as much as they could to integrate trade union movements into political parties or government establishments so that their activities would be seen and controlled by government. However, the declaration of trade union federations as an independent entity from political parties in countries such as Mali, Congo-Brazzaville and Niger, played an important role in the transition to multi-party democracy. Furthermore, trade unions in Africa have shown that they can successfully challenge the autocratic ruling system in existence in most parts of the continent. This is exemplified by the 1989 demonstrations by civil servants, teachers and traders against autocracy and economic mismanagement in Benin Republic. The 1990 ascendancy into power of Fredrick Chiluba in Zambia, under the banner of the Congress of Trade Unions, after three decades of rule by Kenneth Kaunda is another example of

trade unions successfully winning political positions through the ballot box (Gyimah-Boadi, 1996).

The activities and policies of financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to impose structural adjustment programmes on some African countries have paralysed the activities of trade unions and their involvement in the state political affairs. Moreover, some governments have established flexible labour laws, which attract foreign investors to their country; hence investors were favoured at the expense of local workers. Added to the fact that trade unions have been absorbed by the ruling political party, little could be done to protect working people because their policies and rights have been weakened by the state (Andrea & Beckman, 1996; Jauch, 2003).

Foreign investment looks good on the surface to the development of any country, but some of the conditions attached are not always beneficial. Haworth and Ramsay (2007: 55) stated that “transfer pricing, currency speculation, profit repatriation and remote control over investment decisions can damage balance of payments, regional, state and other national policies. Governments and workers can be blackmailed by threats to invest elsewhere. Economic independency can also be lost when no one country has full production facilities, and should rely on supply from or sending partly finished products to another subsidiary”.

Wood and Glaister (2008) emphasize that the presence of well-organized unions in any country always concurs with export success in some highly competitive areas of the economy. Possibly, the integration of the informal segment of the economy into trade unions would improve the unions' involvement in the state affairs and will be taken more seriously. According to Gallin (2001), there are some good reasons why informal sector workers should be integrated into the trade union movement. The fact is that while the formal sector has been declining, the informal sector has been growing rapidly and cannot be wished away. Also, a majority of workers worldwide belong to the informal sector, and organising this sector means reaching out to a majority of the workers. Gallin's study showed that the informal sector is growing almost in every country in the world as privatization and unemployment increases in public sectors (Gallin 2001). One way of keeping the growth of trade union federations steady is to properly organize the informal sector with the resultant increase in the credibility of the unions on the social and political front.

Irobi (2005) describes South Africa and Nigeria as the biblical Aaron and Moses, endowed with the responsibility of bringing Africa out of the bondages of despair, decline and under-development. Therefore, as regional powers, history imposed on them the task of finding solutions to some of the most pressing African concerns. One of these concerns is the operation of the trade union movements in both countries.

This study aims to examine the operations of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC). This is necessary to ascertain how both unions are conducting the responsibility of representing workers' interests under the following contexts: administrative set up; leadership style; political influence; organization and recruitment of members; workers training and development; collective bargaining; globalization; gender representation; health and safety; mobilization for industrial action; and finance. Furthermore, this study was focused on South Africa and COSATU, as well as Nigeria and the NLC, with special reference to the colonization of both countries and its effects on the working people and the ultimate formation of trade unions.

2.5 Geography and peopling of South Africa

Hess (2008) emphasizes the importance of community as a factor for the organization of trade unions; hence any study on trade unions will be done in cognizance of the environment in which the unions operate. The environment plays an important role in the performance of the union, since it determines the context in which the organization operates and how the people are assessed in terms of culture, religion and political beliefs. Trade unions played an important role in the early industrialization of South Africa and its neighbouring countries. Basically, trade unions in South Africa were shouldered with the responsibility of negotiation during the Apartheid regime owing to the prevailing political conditions that subjected Black workers to oppression in terms of poor working and living conditions and discrimination,

which still continue to exist even in the post-Apartheid era (Tshikalange, 2001).

Historically, South Africa was originally inhabited by the San, Khoikhoi, and later, the Bantus who emigrated from west central Africa. They were later joined in the early 15th century by Portuguese and British merchants who discovered the Cape of Good Hope and thus decided to stay there for a while. These early South Africans were originally farmers, fishermen and pastoralists. According to Brynes (1996), the Portuguese travellers and sailors who shipwrecked along the coast in the 17th century reportedly saw a great concentration of people who lived in evident prosperity. As early as 1600, the present day South Africa was divided as follows: the Khoisan in the west and south west, Sotho-Tswanas in the Highveld, while the Ngunis (Bantu speakers) lived along the coastal plain. The Portuguese mariners navigated the west coast of Africa in the 15th century, and hence dominated the marine trade route throughout the 16th century. However, their monopoly was challenged by English and Dutch merchants who saw the Cape Peninsula as a source of fresh water, meat and timber, all of which could only be obtained by trading with the local Khoi-khois (Brynes, 1996).

During the course of the British residing at the Cape, they tried to keep the cost of their living low and their settlements small. The officials continued to rely on the importation of slave labour rather than encourage European immigrants. This led to the introduction of racially discriminatory legislation to force the Khoi-khois and other free Black people to work for as little as

possible. Thereafter, the indigenous Black people were mandated to carry passes around, which showed where they lived and who their employers were. However, those without passes could be forced into employment by the White masters. This is proof of the existence of age-long exploitation of employers in South Africa and the rest of the world, whereby employers care more about preserving their capital than the source of labour namely workers. Labour is one area where the cost of production has been minimized in order to maximize profits (Murphy, 2006).

The discovery of gold and diamonds in the 1800s re-established the British and the Dutch, and in fact turned out to be one of the reasons why their temporary stay became permanent to date (Brynes, 1996). Due to racial discrimination, jobs such as house cleaning, farm work, gardening and, at best, mining, were reserved for Blacks, while skilled and semi-skilled jobs were exclusively for Whites. The discovery of these minerals attracted a lot of both skilled and unskilled immigrants to the Republic from neighbouring African countries. However, immigrants or indigenous, Blacks or Whites, were all discriminated against not only in terms of skill or race, but also in terms of wages and access to collective bargaining.

Furthermore, the Africans were denied access to schooling and some other formal training that could give them the necessary exposure to decent jobs. This served as a limiting factor against Africans for many years, which affected every area of their employment relations. Luiz (1994) emphasizes that between 1918-1970, the proportion of the national wealth between

Whites and Africans (including the Coloureds, Asians and Blacks) was 70 % to 30 %, respectively. The meaning of this is that the White minority controls a majority of the country's wealth, while the African majority has little or no access to this wealth owing to discrimination in terms of education, access to national health services, and decent jobs (Luiz, 1994).

2.5.1 Origin of trade unions in South Africa

In 1910 the Union of South Africa was created out of the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and the Free State, which were the existing four provinces then. It was essentially a White union with the Blacks not allowed to participate. Resistance against this union by the Blacks led to the establishment of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912, which vehemently protested against this segregation of Blacks from power (Underwood, 2006). The Blacks were also officially excluded from collective bargaining from 1924 until 1979 when the industrial relations law was reviewed by the Wiehahn Commission (1979). Furthermore, they were restricted to a certain geographical location; job reservation policy was also introduced in 1956 which rendered certain jobs exclusively for the whites (Adler & Webster, 1995; Azam, 2007; Buhlungu *et al*, 2008).

The gross effect of the above-listed policies led to a huge pay disparity between the Africans and the Whites, and to date remains one of the reasons why it seems that South African Whites are richer than Blacks. However, the latest political climate in the Republic, through various policies, has empowered Blacks to bridge this gap. The present conditions have created a

basis on which the Black workers could establish an industrial union. Numerous attempts that were earlier made by blacks to unionize had failed, apart from the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of 1920, which was able to make impressive progress for a while (Buhlungu *et al*, 2008). Racial oppression in the workplace was also a confirmation that political and economic systems in South Africa were fundamentally unjust. Most pro-active Blacks who agitated for African workers' unions were either jailed or sent to exile; then the main reason of inconsistency among Black unions (Buhlungu *et al*, 2008).

The unions grew rapidly from 1979 in the townships and schools such as the universities of Natal, Witwatersrand and Cape Town agitating for decent jobs, land, water, electricity, nutrition, healthcare and social welfare. Due to persistent and non-stop agitation for a better life, an African inclusive trade union was established. The Wiehahn Commission of 1979 approved the recognition of African trade unions by the government. The commission posited that unions posed more of a threat outside the government umbrella than inside, with the thinking that it will help the government to keep an eye on them and monitor their activities (Holdt, 2003; Maree, 1998). Therefore, Wiehahn Commission (1979) decided to grant the necessary industrial empowerment to Black trade unionism in a disciplined manner and subsequent successful integration into the Industrial Council.

In the early days of trade unionism in South Africa, membership of Black trade unions or holding of union executive posts was regardless of education or class and political party affiliation. The general aims and objectives then were

to liberate Blacks from the unfair labour practices which were carried out by the Apartheid government (Buhlungu *et al*, 2008), but in actual sense, education has been shown to play a part in South Africa's democracy. When it began, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) of Steve Biko had most of its activities taking place at racially Black segregated universities and schools; this singular act also helped to revive redundant Black workers' organizations (Okin, 1995).

Furthermore, the church under the leadership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu also played a vital role in the liberation of Black people, as well Black workers during the Apartheid era. In some cases both the union and the church worked together to establish the non-racial, non-sexist and fair governance in South Africa. Different trade unions emerged during the Apartheid era with the hope that they may serve as a panacea for racially-discriminated Black workers, but for various reasons their activities did not see the light of the day. Further factors, which played major roles in establishing the trade union movement and its effectiveness in South Africa include the Durban strike of 1973 (Kooy, 1974; Sambureni, 1995) and the Soweto student uprising of 1976 (Ndlovu, 1998).

2.5.2 Establishment of the Congress of South African Trade Unions

(COSATU)

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was formed in 1985 as a result of a merger between the Federation of South Africa Trade Unions (FOSATU) and the United Democratic Front (UDF); while most members

were from the former South Africa Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). The intention was to create a non-racial trade union even though a majority of the members comprised Blacks. However, there are also other races among the membership, but in the long run, the union ended up representing black people and not only Black workers (Adler & Webster, 1995).

The integration of FOSATU members into COSATU led to the rapid increment of the latter union's membership. FOSATU, which began in 1979 had the largest union membership then and advocated broad unity among emerging unions. Also, the formation of alliance with the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) played a huge role in increasing COSATU's popularity and membership. This alliance brought about COSATU's involvement in South Africa's political and economic affairs, thereby raising the debate on whether the union has really been acting in the interest of workers or the alliance. However, COSATU's consistent pursuit of its own objective of negotiating on behalf of the workers with the state brought about the question of whether or not it should be involved in the tripartite alliance. The membership of COSATU grew rapidly from 462,000 at inception in 1985 to 1.26 million in 1991. COSATU believes in non-racial workers' control, paid-up membership and international worker solidarity. The union also believes in the principle of 'one union', 'one country', 'one federation'.

The emergence of powerful labour movements has led to the radical reform of a distinctive role for the trade union movement in the process of democratic transition. The tripartite alliance formed by the ANC, SACP and COSATU has enabled the three parties to adopt some of their different policies. A major

policy of COSATU which was adopted by the ruling ANC government is the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which has a central objective of meeting the basic needs of people such as housing, decent jobs, land, water and electricity. Moreover, the expectation of COSATU is that the ANC-led government will pursue this objective owing to the fact that it coincides with the basic needs of many of the working populace as well (Maree, 1998).

The COSATU agenda was further pushed through at the workplaces by the appointment of shop stewards. A study which was conducted by Maree (1998) showed that 99 % of respondents stated that there are functional shop stewards at their workplaces. This proves that the activities of COSATU are felt at the grassroots level, namely the workplaces. Furthermore, the day-to-day running of union activities were able to be separated from national issues partly owing to the reasons mentioned earlier. COSATU was also able to utilize their democratic right and alliance power with the government to revise the previous Labour Relations Act in 1995 after some inconsistencies were identified in the previous 1988 Act. This amendment was successful owing to the fact that COSATU was able to negotiate with the employers and all the stakeholders concerned to revise the Act in 1995. The Labour Relations Act was basically meant for the advancement of economic development, social justice, labour peace and democratization of the workplace (Labour Relations Act, 1995). Hence, the act was amended in such a way that it is subject to further amendment at any point in time to fit into standard worldwide labour practice (Buhlungu *et al*, 2008).

The alliance between COSATU and the ruling political party has also shown to increase membership of this union. Comparatively, between 1985 and 1995 when union memberships were drastically being reduced in every other country in the world, as seen by the 21.1 % reduction in the USA, 42.6 % in Argentina, 84.9 % in the Philippines and 62.1 % in Spain, an increment of 130.8 % was experienced in South Africa (Gallin, 2001). The contribution of COSATU to the ANC's political ideology and its involvement in the tripartite alliance gave the union an opportunity to be part of parliamentary members on the ticket of the ruling ANC, thereby giving a trade union voice to national issues. Furthermore, the alliance also gave birth to the formation of the National Economic Development and Labour Advisory Council (NEDLAC), which provides an avenue for negotiation between business, the state and unions (Buhlungu *et al*, 2008).

Meanwhile, involvement in union activities became more of a career rather than a struggle. Union officials began to negotiate for prevailing remunerations, and taking up managerial jobs with the hope of influencing change from within organizations. The meeting venues of unions began to change from remote locations to fancy venues and hotels, with people becoming proud to be associated with the unions (Buhlungu, 2003). Trade union involvement in the tripartite alliance enabled worker representatives to have access to national assets, which eventually provided the basis for collective bargaining with the government on behalf of workers. The representatives know when the government is feeding fat at the expense of workers, as well as the limit at which demand for increase in wages can be pushed at a particular time (Vavi, 2010).

Union officials at this point do not have a choice other than to educate themselves. Presently, the truth is that membership is changing from an uneducated set-up to educated ones, and hence the leaders are expected to meet up with this demand. Union officials and shop stewards are now enrolling for courses at universities and colleges in order to upgrade their knowledge and fit into the emerging demands of union activities and structures.

Even though COSATU and other union federations do contend for memberships, they have a united forum through the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) where consensus on social and economic issues is being reached. COSATU is devoted to protecting workers' rights and the need to defeat unemployment, poverty and inequality (Munakamwe, 2009). COSATU's achievements, commitments and perceptions of the union by members over the years have been subject to discussion under the various variables, which are discussed below.

a. Administrative set-up and leadership style of COSATU

Employment of full-time union officials has been characterized by race, gender, educational qualifications and occupational position. These factors have been determinants for officials' remunerations and posts. In the early days of COSATU, some officials believed that working for the union gave them an opportunity to become involved in national liberation and economic emancipation. This mindset then enabled the union to have staff members who are willing to work with limited available resources and care less about

financial rewards (Buhlungu, 2002). However, the trend has totally changed at present, since the unions expect to employ full-time officials with guaranteed monthly salaries according to their qualifications and, if possible, with basic benefits.

Workers' control, in respect of organisational culture and political activism was the core practise of the older generation of union officials. This was intended to be transferred to the new generation, in the form of leadership training. However, the new generation has not bought into the whole idea as they believe that union officials do not only have to be politically active, but should also be able to provide quality services to workers. This change brought about the importance of education in appointing union leaders and officials. The modern generation ensured that full-time officials have more power in decision making and a high level of engagement in other institutions such as employment, state and meeting of alliance (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008). It was also believed that part-time officials do not have enough time to attend meetings and other union businesses. South Africa still believes in the fact that unions should be democratically operated; however, people are concerned about the concentration of power in the hands of union officials (Buhlungu, 2004; 2002).

b. Political influence of COSATU

COSATU through its alliance with NEDLAC was able to participate in discussions aimed, at bringing significant changes to social and economic policies before being introduced to parliament (Benzuidenhout, 2000). Also, in

1993 COSATU decided to send twenty (20) senior officials and leaders to parliament on the ANC's ticket owing to their alliance, which revealed an opportunity for these union officials to be involved in political affairs at local, provincial and national levels. This exposed them to benefits such as Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). This has also given the union an opportunity to accept or reject bills which are not in favour of working people at parliamentary level (Buhlungu, 2002).

Trade union alliance with political parties is a popular theme around the globe. In one way or another unions influence the politics of a country and are also influenced by politics, for example three (3) out of the five (5) existing unions in India are political affiliates (Ratnam & Jain 2002). Despite the global recession that has badly affected workers in almost every country in the world, COSATU was able to use their influence in the tripartite alliance to press for improvement in the defence of employment and social welfare. This was possible owing to their holding key positions in the central government such as the Ministry for Economic Development, which was headed by a former SACTWU General Secretary, Ebrahim Patel (Beckman, 2009).

c. COSATU's organisation and recruitment of members

The constitution of COSATU, as well as that of its affiliates and other Black unions, was built on the principle of workers' control, which has been used to turn power relations in the unions to their advantage (Buhlungu, 2004). Unions were able to keep existing members and recruit new ones through the activities and competencies of shop stewards in the workplace. A drastic

reduction in the membership of trade unions between the 1980s and 1990s was seen the world over owing to the fact that conventional parties do not involve the unions in the business of the federation after being elected into government.

Most countries do not engage the labour parties in discussions around social, political, economic growth, and unemployment conditions of the state. The resultant effect is a feeling of neglect by union members that their membership in the unions can no longer protect their interests in the state, as well as their workplaces. However, the reverse is the case in South Africa. The transition from the Apartheid regime to democracy, as well as the role played by the unions in the transition process, has led to drastic increases in their membership. South Africa is one of the countries where union officials are sitting members of parliament who deliberate on national issues (Wood & Harcourt, 1998).

COSATU is the most populated union in South Africa with its members spanning across almost all economic sectors: mining, manufacturing, and services. Buhlungu *et al* (2008) argue that “30 % of COSATU members are under the age of 35 years, which shows that a majority of its members are matured. The deduction from this is that there is a high level of unemployment among the youth rather than the youths feeling that it is not necessary to join the union”.

Furthermore, Benzuidenhout (2000) observe that 30.2 % of COSATU's members are from the manufacturing industry, 14.9 % from the National Union of Mineworkers, and 36.4 % from the public sector. These figures accounted for 81.5 % of COSATU membership, while the remaining members are from plantation, construction and agriculture sectors. The membership will further increase if a way can be found to unionize the informal sectors and other vulnerable workers. At the COSATU national conference in 1997, it was suggested that one of the founding principles of "one industry, one union" should be re-adapted, leading to the merging of some unions such as South Africa Transport and Allied Workers (SATAWU) and Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union (CEPPWAWU). COSATU and its affiliates employ more than 1600 full-time officials across various disciplines such as researchers, legal officials, general secretaries and administrators (Buhlungu, 2002).

d. Training of workers by COSATU

Trade unions have long seen workplace training and education as an additional advantage for their members, rather than a central part of the union's activities and interest. Even on occasions when the trade unions are involved, these training session tend to tackle immediate needs, which only end up as poor bargaining power for the trade unions and poor employability profiles for the workers (Forrester, 2001; Stroud & Fairbrother, 2008). The September Commission (1997) proposed that one way to increase COSATU membership is by educating union officials and shop stewards (Benzuidenhout, 2000). Education was one of the major instruments which

are used to liberate Blacks from racial discrimination in the workplace, as well as advance shop-floor struggles. At COSATU's special congress in 1999, some education programmes and strategies were reviewed by the congress. The federation agreed that programmes such as ideological work (for officials, members, shop stewards, COSATU local officials and staff), shop steward training, leadership and staff training, membership education, and gender equality education should be encouraged by the federation and its affiliates. These programmes and many others were suggested to be financed by 10 % of the total income of the union (Munakamwe, 2009). Moreover, universities of technology and universities have now developed courses and in-training services for union officials, which have enabled the relationship between workers and management through human resources management training (Buhlungu, 2002).

e. Collective bargaining and mobilization for industrial action by

COSATU

Collective bargaining is a key activity of unions. The ability of the trade union to bargain correctly depends on the prevailing situation such as the political, social and economic condition of the state. In South Africa, collective bargaining during the Apartheid regime was quite different from what is obtainable now. During Apartheid era, workers were faced with poor working conditions, low wages and discrimination; while in the post-Apartheid, these problems have been exacerbated by extreme poverty (Tshikalange, 2001). In South Africa, the Labour Act provided unions with the power to negotiate on behalf of any employee with any employer; employees cannot be

discriminated against on grounds of association with any union, and the institution of collective bargaining which covers almost every area of day-to-day activities of both employers and employees (Labour Relations Act, 1995).

However, there has always been conflict of interest between government (employers) and trade unions. Trade unions will always use any reasonable means to ensure that their demands are positively responded to, even if this includes embarking on industrial action. The 1973 Durban mass action was an example of what unions can achieve when they speak with one voice. In fact, this has been the basis for most industrial actions in South Africa. COSATU has successfully negotiated with the government and other stakeholders after the 1994 elections for the amendment of certain sections of the Labour Relations Act, which was not in favour of Blacks. The negotiation was backed with nationwide and workplace protests and eventually the act was reversed (Buhlungu *et al*, 2008).

Buhlungu (2002) observes that the aftermath of the 1973 general industrial action brought about some significant changes regarding union functioning in South Africa. One of these changes is the recognition of Black workers' unions and the right of this union to negotiate on behalf of their members. This duty was assigned to full-time officials by union members; they are expected to be present at every important negotiation and to act as a signatory to any concluded agreement. Hence, the right to bargain collectively was conferred on trade unions, employees and employers by the provision of the 1996 South African Constitution.

The issue of collective bargaining is a result of exact compromise on the part of employee and employer in which a party has to agree or disagree, but overall, management and employee should work together to protect their mutual and conflicting interests (Ferreira, 2010: 40). Collective bargaining is used as an instrument to ease conflict in modern-day labour relations. It is also recognised as an instrument to resolve conflict of mutual interest. The standard for labour practice and collective bargaining is usually set by the country's legislative framework, in which any of the negotiating parties that derails is subject to justice. COSATU affiliates embark on different nationwide industrial actions with the full support of the federation. An example is the 2010 South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) general strike owing to increase in the price of electricity. These actions were all planned with and supported by the central COSATU body (Craven, 2010).

f. Effect of globalization on COSATU

The global economy is determined by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which are mockingly not in favour of the developing nations owing to debt servicing conditions and the inability of the so-called developing nations to pay back in due course (Steingard & Fitzgibbons, 1995). The western world, business and management institutions are all controlled by globalization, which sometimes is a polite way of spreading inequality, workaholism, slavery, violence, political lethargy, child labour and many other ills with the under-developed and developing world. As good as globalization looks on the surface, it is gradually disintegrating the cultures of

individual countries. Conversely, globalization has also led to a reduction in average import tariffs, with countries such as India reducing theirs from 82 % in 1990 to 30 % in 1997, China from 43 % in 1992 to 18 % in 1997, and South Africa from 14 % in 1994 to 5.6 % in 1998. This encourages free flow of trade between countries and workers across the world with a quest for better wages and working conditions (Bezuidenhout, 2000).

One of the major campaigns of the Thabo Mbeki government was to place South Africa on the global focus in order to attract foreign investors to South Africa. According to Ghadge (2000), globalization has made it difficult for trade unions to bargain collectively on behalf of the working class, and also with workers who are resistant to technological changes and workplace restructuring (Lommerud *et al*, 2006). Chu (2001) acknowledges the fact that privatization and globalization encourages public establishments to improve and strive to meet with internationally-acceptable standards, which ultimately enhance change in industrial relations and employment relationships in government-owned enterprises.

Wood and Glaister (2008) assert that the most successful exporting nations such as Taiwan, Brazil and Germany are characterized by a high level of union participation and strong bargaining power, except for China, whose successes are founded on low costs and disempowered labour. South Africa has repositioned itself as a major exporter of manufactured goods and minerals after emerging from the apartheid era in spite of high levels of union involvement and socialism in the manufacturing and mining sector of the economy. In 2004, for example, South Africa's exports amounted to \$36

billion based on gold, metal products, motor vehicles, and value added taxes (Wood & Glaister, 2008).

It has been shown in South Africa that the involvement of unions and workplace participation has led to increases in output and national exports. This enhances the level of globalization that enables firms to sell their product *enmasse*, and source for inputs from the larger range of international markets. Also, globalization enables firms to source for more localized products and human resources. Bezuidenhout (2000) states that in the 1970s, the South Africa union movement was symbolic in the sense that active members realized that trade unions within the country alone cannot fight the apartheid government but drew their strength from the global social movement unionism. This showed the importance of globalization to the union movement in developing the national economy.

g. Gender equality within COSATU

Female participation and leadership has been part of COSATU's main agenda since inception, but since 1994 this was not the case. At its national congress in 1997, COSATU attempted to discourage, and up till now is trying to disabuse its members from a patriarchal mindset (Orr, 1999). Research has shown that there is no equal representation of both gender and class in the workplace, which also extends to female participation in union affairs; be it at a managerial or membership level of the union. Munakwame (2009) acknowledges that COSATU does have an effective gender policy that has been recommended to be implemented by all its affiliates, although some of

them do have the policy on paper, but have yet to implement it, while others do not have it at all. One of the major reasons for female under-representation in the union is the age-long traditional society stereotype about women taking up professional jobs. Most people still believe that the place for a woman is in the kitchen (Oyesola, 2010).

The above statement was supported by Ratnam and Jain (2002) who showed that in spite of the fact that India as a nation has an all-women trade union party, the total number of women in the union is very limited, owing to them being found more in the unorganised sector. As a result of hegemonic cultural norms and structurally based identities, gender inequalities were also evident based a on socio-economic basis (Ratnam & Jain, 2002). Basically, reasonable percentages of women in South Africa are self-employed, which is the sector of the economy that has not been unionized in most countries.

h. Health and safety policy of COSATU

Gerber *et al* (1996) describe health as the mental, physical and social wellbeing of an individual, while safety can be described as having a friendly working environment devoid of danger and health hazard materials. It is in fact the duty of workplace management to ensure workplace safety for all workers; ensure treatment of any injured worker in the course of carrying out their duties; and compensate the family of any deceased worker, who died as a result of a job hazard.

Workplace injuries and deaths are common in South Africa especially in the manufacturing and mining sectors. This has left many workers incapacitated and many families without a breadwinner. The official country-wise statistical data showed that at the end of each working day, at least four (4) workers would have died as a result of industrial or occupational accidents, forty-one (41) would have been permanently disabled; and two hundred and one (201) will be temporarily out of action. The official report was based on reported cases, even though there were so many unreported cases and many that have been dealt with by insurance companies (Anon 13, 2002).

Many workers have also been stigmatized owing to various sicknesses and diseases, which the society considered contagious. South Africa is one of the countries with the highest number of people who live with HIV/AIDS. The prevalence of this disease as at 2007 was 5.7 million, which was approximately 12.4 % of the total population (UNAIDS, 2008). However, the rate of new infections has been shown to have decreased by one-fifth compared to the rate of infection in 2009 (UNAIDS, 2010). The trade union has taken it upon itself to reduce the spread of the disease with COSATU forming an alliance with the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) to create awareness and to educate workers on the issue of HIV/AIDS as well as allow infected people have access to anti-retrovirals. Furthermore, COSATU took this responsibility upon itself on the realization that the lowest paid members of the working class suffer mainly from the pandemic and could hardly afford anti-retrovirals (COSATU Online, 2010). The most popular slogan of COSATU

is “an injury to one is an injury to all” which means that the wellbeing of their members is a high priority on their agenda.

i. Finance of COSATU

Union membership fees are deducted from salaries by stop order on the assumption that workers have a permanent and consistent flow of income (Benzuidenhout, 2000). Munakamwe (2009) states that most federation affiliates do not have a proper record of their finances, which render the funds remitted to the federation as inappropriate. Also, the financial manager could hardly ask office bearers to account for the funds spent outside the union’s original budget.

2.4 Geography and the people of Nigeria

Like a majority of African and Asian countries, Nigeria experienced its own share of dehumanization and hard labour under the colonial masters before 1960 when it attained its independence. Before 1914 there was no country called Nigeria. However, the country came into existence as a result of the amalgamation of four (4) powerful empires: Northern Empire, Calabar Kingdom, Oduduwa Empire, and Benin Empire (Anon 1, 2010). These empires extended to areas which are not even part of present-day Nigeria such as Ghana and Cameroon. Historically, Nigeria was first inhabited by the Nok people, followed by the Kanuri, Fulani and the Hausa. The British invaded the country in the 1800s while exploring the Niger-Benue for business opportunities and with the intention of stopping the existing arrangement. This

contact with the British exposed the country to the western education system. The empires were finally brought together in 1914 under the government of Lord Frederick Lugard via the amalgamation of the protectorate of northern Nigeria with the protectorate of southern Nigeria. Lord Lugard then became the first head of a unified Nigerian administration known as the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria with Lagos as the federal territory (Anon 1, 2010).

The British colonization lasted for 60 years (1900-1960) under different Governor-Generals and different interference regarding union activities. Nigeria became an independent nation on the 1st of October 1960, however, the country was brought together as a result of administrative and political possession of the British (Afigbo & Uya, 2004). Currently, the country comprises thirty-six (36) states with a Federal Capital Territory (FCT), which houses the presidency. Nigeria is further sub-divided into seven hundred and seventy eight (778) local governments across two-hundred and fifty ethnic groups. The country operates the bicameral legislature system, while the national assembly comprises the Senate and House of Representatives.

The period of British rule was called the colonial era. Since 1960 to date, the country experienced different ethnic, religious and political crises from workers, students, the unemployed, small commodity producers, and petty traders (Momoh, 1996; Anon 1, 2010). The colonial state was perceived by Nigerians as an illegitimate foreign system with strange rules and norms that could not produce a sense of national identity among the diverse ethnic groups and, which has remained the basis of many nation-building problems in Nigeria since 1960 (Afigbo & Uya, 2004).

2.4.1 Origin of trade unions in Nigeria

The first trade union federation was established in 1912 with the name Nigerian Civil Service Union under a colonial administration that was not fair to African workers. There was no law, which controlled industrial relations practise and workers were paid depending on the generosity of their employers. Formation of active trade unionism was not allowed and those that were formed were not recognized by the colonial government (Ademiluyi & Imhonopi, 2010: Abu, 2007). In 1938, the British Labour Party and Trade Union Congress of Great Britain exerted pressure on Nigeria's government to allow trade union formation and its recognition in the country, which was in form of an ordinance that gave the labour unions power to operate openly without fear of intimidation and harassment from the government (Nwoko, 2009).

Initially there were four (4) trade union federations with about one thousand affiliates in Nigeria. Two of the unions, which purported a socialist mindset, included the Nigeria Trade Union Congress and Labour Unity Font. The other two which were capitalist-inclined, were the United Labour Congress and the Nigerian Workers Council. The 1938 Labour Ordinance that allowed the formation of trade unions does not control the structure that unions should form. The national policy allowed a minimum of fifty (50) people to form a union which gave rise to unions emerging up uncontrolled. During this period, there were about one thousand unions in the country under the four trade union federations with various objectives and missions (Abu, 2007).

The so-called socialist unions believed in fighting for workers' rights, but found that irrespective of the working class category, they were caught in-between loyalty to their ethnic group and loyalty to the union, when it came to their choice of political leaders (Melson, 197; Ihonvbere, 1997), but it has been proven that workers economic interest superseded that of ethnic colouration. A typical example of this was the 1964 general workers strike and its effect on the national election in which 88 % of respondents in a certain research showed loyalty to the Labour Party, while 5 % remained committed to their ethnic groups (Melson, 1971).

The government of Nigeria was never been satisfied with the activities of the trade unions and eventually the four (4) labour unions were banned in 1978 and restructured by a government-appointed sole administrator. As a result of Decree No. 22, which placed the activities of unified organizational structures and industrial unions under the federal military regime, the existing one thousand (1000) labour union affiliates were reduced to seventy (70): forty-two (42) industrial unions, seven (7) employers' associations, fifteen (15) senior management staff associations, and four (4) professional unions. The industrial unions were later toned down to twenty-nine (29) and were all eventually united under the Nigeria Labour Congress (Abu, 2007).

2.4.2 Establishment of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC)

The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) was established as the only central labour organization in the country and forbade any other one being established after it until the new Trade Union Amendment Act of 2005, which broke its monopoly. The NLC has represented both blue and white collar

workers, including pensioners. Irrespective of the trade, the main objective is to have one union for one industry (Anon 5, 2010). The NLC was shouldered with the following responsibilities, as contained in the 1996 Trade Unions Amendment Act:

- Representing its members on an international recommended body set up by the federal government;
- Compilation and distribution of information to its members and advice on economic and social issues;
- Render advice, encouragement and financial assistance to members;
- Promotion of education in the field of labour relations and related fields to trade unions members;
- Rendering any other assistance as provided for in the articles of affiliation (Abu, 2007).

It has been 50 years since Nigeria's independence. The military has ruled for thirty-one (31) years, which was characterized by much economic deprivation and human rights abuses. The national economy experienced the best and the worst during those years owing to the oil boom and oil recession. There was massive employment of labour and good salary increments in the 1970s owing to the oil boom, as well as a colossal lay-off of workers when oil recessed in the 1980s (Turner, 1986). This was owing to the fact that crude oil and petroleum production had been the bedrock of the national economy since its discovery. There was continuous violation of workers' rights owing to government interference in organized labour as well as deprivation of the

rights of association and independence, especially during the regime of General Sani Abacha. Many trade union activists were detained without trial, while certain instruments that could give trade unions better negotiation with government, were removed. In fact, trade union activities, as well as some of its leaders were banned from participating in politics (Anon 6, 2011; NLC Policy Document, 2007).

The NLC Policy Document (2007) showed the situation of the Nigerian economy based on the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) report of 2001, which indicated that about 125 million Nigerians live below \$1 per day; there is lack a of access to safe drinking water and about 80 million Nigerians reside outside the country. The average Nigerian believed that the oil boom was the beginning of the country's problems because it led to abandonment of other sources of national income generation. Furthermore, the income generated from oil trading was mismanaged by the leaders. The people and the workers of oil-generating communities are frustrated to an extent that there was even a popular song in the mid 1980s to express their frustrations. The song, adapted from Turner (1986), include the following lyrics;

Oil job is not good.

Who can make soup with oil?

Who can drink oil? Impossible!

The white man trouble is more than oil.

They want us to work hard.

But they don't want to pay us well.

The rich eat while the poor work.

Nigerian workers have historically been in the forefront of liberation against colonialism and showed sustained opposition to military rule in the country. The trade unions' influence could not be ignored by the government (Ihonorbere, 1997). Some of the affiliates believed though that the parent body the NLC, did not take decisive action to fight against the dictatorship of the military. They, however acknowledged the role played by women, the youth, labour organizations and unions, religious groups and associations when General Ibrahim Babangida annulled the most successful election that the country has ever had in 1993 (Ihonorbere, 1997).

The Nigerian Labour Congress is so pro-active that the effect of their decisive action impacted on their affiliate unions in taking action against the government. This is exemplified by the Nigerian Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers (NUPENG) who were in the forefront of the struggle against military rule and the transition of government from military to democracy. However, major percentage of NLC members is from the public service who are forbidden by the Nigerian constitution to join political parties. They can work with whoever and whatever party in power, but cannot form an alliance with them in order to have political impartiality in the civil service. However, this policy has not stopped the union to push for change when necessary (Ihonorbere, 2003).

Lado (2000) acknowledges that the greatest resource that the Nigerian economy has is its huge number of human resources and its utilization as the

labour force. Though the country has often times encouraged the use of foreign capital investments to finance industrial development and investment programmes, this has really devalued the reliability of the public sector. Hence, this research work considers the influence of the NLC under various headings in national and workers' development.

a. Administrative set-up and leadership style of the NLC

The NLC is an affiliate of four (4) international bodies of trade unions, namely the International Labour Organisation (ILO), Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC), Organisation for Trade Unions of West Africa (OTUWA), and Organisation of Africa Trade Union Unity (OATUU). The activities of the NLC are planned to conform with the standards of these international bodies and in return, they monitor its activities (Olukoshi & Aremu, 1988). The electoral process of the union is supervised and monitored by these bodies as well, while representatives from the Federal Ministry of Labour and the Federal Government also have an oversight function in terms of activities of the union. Constitutionally, the presence of 60 % of eligible candidates for a conference is enough for election procedures. Elected candidates should remain in the office for four years, which could be re-run for two consecutive terms, all things being equal. The political head of the NLC is the National President, while the administrative head is the General Secretary (Offiong, 2005; Olukoshi & Aremu, 1988).

Nigeria is characterized by many ethnic groups and is equally divided between the Muslim North and the Christian South. Ethnicity and religion have dominated and controlled most national affairs. The NLC is no exception to

this effect. There is always internal crises based on ethnicity and religious differences of members and executives, but one of the major objectives of the federation is to protect workers and trade unions, irrespective of creed, state of origin, gender, and political belief. This is done through the verdict of the decision making committee, which supersedes any controversy based on creed and tribe. The body follows a particular hierarchy from national level to the states and in fact filters down to the affiliates depending on the industry. The decision making organs comprise the National Delegates Conference, National Executive Committee, Central Working Committee, and the National Administrative Council (Anon 7, 2009; Irobi, 2005; Offiong, 2005).

b. Political influence exerted by the NLC

Ihonvbere (1997: 77) opines that “the working class alone cannot initiate socio-economic and political change in a country”. However, this could be achieved if other stakeholders such as the community are empowered and enlightened. The involvement of organized labour in governance transition processes does affect political stability, which was enjoyed by the post-reform regime. Labour can only contribute positively to the democratic process when it is involved and recognized in policy making. This could happen through trade union participation and not necessarily in alliance with the ruling political party. The union should adopt a strategy that is applicable to economic restructuring through privatization, wage restraints, and investment liberalization (Lado, 2000; Tuman, 1994).

Even though the relationship between the union and the government is sometimes cordial, the trade union always uses civil society in the formal and informal sectors to fight supposed corrupt governments and demand for accountability (Beckman, 2009). In 2000, minimum wage standards announced during the regime of President Olusegun Obasanjo were not negotiated with the trade union federations, but when implementation became problematic in different states, the union intervened in order to bring an understanding between the workers and the state governments. This almost led to a division between the states wing of the NLC but owing to continuous agitation on the part of the unions, the federal government eventually announced a general percentage of salary increment against the initial variation from state to state (Okafor, 2007).

Furthermore, the NLC President and other stakeholders embarked on a protest to stop the National Assembly from passing oil deregulation into law and the implementation of certain electoral reforms into law. The protest was so intense that the Senate President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives had to flee the national assembly before the crowd of protesters could get there. However, the crowd and the NLC officials did not leave without leaving a message vice their deputies about their mission and purpose of protest (Anon 6, 2011).

Apart from issues of wage increment, trade unions are always known to have the primary objective of fighting for workers based on the following: satisfaction of basic needs; defence of social rights; protection of employment

and income against global economic improvement of urban living conditions; removal of abusive discriminatory practices at workplace level; and expansion of workers' control at points of production (Lado, 2000). Nigerian workers have always been actively involved in fighting for the masses since the colonial era, this continued even in the post-colonial era, which makes it difficult for politicians to ignore the union and its activities. It is a case of either they agree to their demands or disagree. Sometimes they are bullied into agreeing with the unions, but have found it difficult to silence them (Lewis, 1994). The NLC, in conjunction with its affiliates, has often called on civil societies to embark on industrial action in order for the government to reverse its decision to increase fuel price, which practically affects almost everybody in the country (Egede *et al*, 2000; Ihonvbere, 1997).

c. Organization and the recruitment of members the NLC

The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) has about 4 million members from the huge population of about 140 million. Nigeria has a total of about 63 million working people. Most working age people in the country are self-employed, which is classified as the informal sector, while some occupations in the formal sectors are not allowed to unionize. This is based on the fact that it is believed that they provide essential services to the nation. Such sectors include the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) and the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). However, the union federation is looking for means of unionizing the informal sector because a majority of the working people fall into this category. Also, members of trade unions are reducing drastically in the sense

that people are losing their jobs every day and are being forced into largely unorganized informal economic activities (Anon 4, 2009; Fajana, 2008).

Formation of a centralized labour union such as the NLC has helped to establish the objective of one industry, one union. It has also helped the union gain recognition of the government, as well as employers. Even in the unpopular informal sector of the nation, the NLC is recognized. In comparison to COSATU's operational activities in South Africa, the unique decision making organ lies with the NLC. Hence, there is hardly a workplace conflict based on disparity in unionism.

d. Workers training by the NLC

The NLC Policy Document (2007) states that the union is interested in providing workers with leadership and societal responsibilities, which will promote internal democracy, transparency and accountability within the structures of the union. The union believes that the education programme will allow members the opportunity to freely express their views. The plan to achieve this education programme is to set aside 10 % of the NLC's income and some funding from affiliates for the education programme. Programme participants will be fully funded by the NLC with special preference given to women; this education programme will be free from class bias. The education department of the NLC will be involved in setting up the curriculum for the training and education of trade union members. Affiliate unions will, however; also be advised to follow similar steps.

e. Collective bargaining and mobilization for industrial action by the NLC

Collective bargaining is the most effective way to enhance improvement in working conditions. It involves negotiation on almost all terms and conditions of employment relations. It also involves employers, government, employees and the labour unions, which represent employees in most cases. In the case of government and trade unions, the government holds the power to accept, select or modify agreements between union representatives and government representatives (Alalade, 2004; NLC Policy Document, 2007).

During Nigeria's military regime, the NLC was able to bring the nation to a standstill by calling on their members to go on national strike which forced the then-president, General Ibrahim Babangida, out of office and the appointment of an interim government (Ihovbere, 1997; Tuman, 1994). As much as the NLC could, they prevented the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), which was initiated by International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank through the government in 1985. However, owing to the selfish nature of the government, the programme rendered people jobless, and impoverished the nation (Olukosi & Aremu, 1988).

The Nigeria Labour Congress has often used different campaigns and strikes to stop certain decisions that are unfavourable for workers, for example the 1986 amendment of the 1982 Minimum Wage Act that affected more than two-thirds of Nigerian workers. However, owing to labour union persistence and the ability to mobilize their members on time, the decision was reversed. In fact, owing to some of the resistance to governmental decisions and

spontaneous reactions to those decisions from the NLC, the union was dissolved in 1988 (Ademiluyi & Imhonopi, 2010).

In Nigeria, many workers especially in the public sector are not covered by formal and properly-structured bargaining facilities. In most cases, it results in temporary bargaining and industrial action. Some of the bargaining instruments used by parastatals have been in existence since the military regime; hence they are irrelevant and outdated. The NLC does adopt different methods to ensure that their grievances are heard by the government. They, in fact, could go to any lengths to make sure that the impact of industrial actions is felt by all stakeholders, as well as the masses. Handbills are printed and distributed to as many people as possible before and during strikes to make sure that labour has enough support, starting with the threat to go on strike and followed by two days of warning strike. Then, if the expected result is not achieved, labour could decide to go on an indefinite strike or suspend the strike altogether (Alalade, 2004).

f. Effect of globalization on Nigeria Labour Congress

The Nigerian government has always supported privatization and liberalization for some time, which have weakened the formal waged economy owing to the global recession that has affected the economy. The effect was felt on the production of crude oil which is the backbone of the Nigerian economy owing to a decrease in oil prices and the rising costs of importation. The resultant effect of globalization lead to high local pricing of petrol products which has equally led to strong opposition from the unions (Beckman, 2009).

It is believed that globalization enriches the world both scientifically and culturally, however, most nations and their people are yet to experience the economic benefit with the expectation of eradicating poverty in the 21st century. However, globalization has rendered negative consequences on several developing countries dependent on public services in terms of political, economical, cultural and environmental areas (Okafor, 2007). Furthermore, globalization has widened the gap between the rich and the poor even within the same country, and has entrusted the nation's wealth into the hands of a few individuals. It has also brought about changes in the lives of workers, as well as organizational goals and objectives to which most developing countries are still trying to adjust.

As a result of globalization in Nigerian, the positions of junior staff members are fading and being replaced with casual workers in multinational companies, especially in the oil industry. The resultant effect is that the labour union has little or no representation at these companies. For example, Mobil Oil Nigeria Plc employed 110 labour contractors and 1,329 casual workers in 1991, but by 2002 there was not a single junior staff member from Mobil who is a member of the National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers (NUPENG), which is a total violation of the country's labour law (Okafor, 2007). It is quite clear that low wages, casualization, unemployment, job losses, downsizing, and rationalization are some of the results of globalization.

g. Gender equality within the Nigeria Labour Congress

The 1991 census data showed that 60 % of the total population of Nigeria are women, while only 25 % are part of the workforce. The involvement of this 25 % in trade unionism is insignificant (Osiruemu, 2004). The Nigeria Labour Act does not discriminate against women in terms of collective bargaining but the involvement of women in leadership and the decision making body of trade unions is questionable. For example, there is only one woman among the forty-six (46) executive members of the NLC. One of the reasons given is that men make the trade unions executive positions unattractive to women in terms of meeting times, places of meeting, mobility, and seminars. Men do opine that the major priorities of women are being mother and wife (Alalade, 2004).

The Nigerian Nurses Association was registered in 1938 and is a predominantly female-dominated association, but women did not feature in their administration for decades. As much as Nigerian women have been involved in the social and economic transition of their country at different times, trade unionism is one area that they have not conquered. Women of southern Nigeria have been involved in active protests against taxation on self-employment through demonstration during the colonial era from 1929-1938 (Osiruemu, 2004). Furthermore, women from other parts of the country have also protested for the same cause and were successful.

At its 8th Delegates Conference in 2003, the NLC accepted the gender equity policy to ensure active participation of women at all levels of union activities.

The Chairperson of the National Women Commission became the Vice-President of the NLC and an automatic member of the decision making body of the federation. The Deputy Chairperson of the Women's Commission became a member of the Central Working Committee and National Executive Council of the NLC national level (Anon 4, 2009).

h. Health and safety policy of the NLC

Occupational health and safety conditions in Nigeria are of serious concern to workers as a whole because it is badly deteriorating. It is most worrying owing to the fact that the NLC's does not have policies in this regard. Employers also use this as an advantage to exploit vulnerable employees. There are incidences where factory workers were locked in while working and when accident occurred, none of the workers were able to escape. They were all burnt to death with no one being brought to book for this. Labour unions have also realized that there is an alarming rate of HIV infections among workers. However, there is no concrete policy, which protects **People Living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA)** in the workplace. NLC and its affiliates have agreed that all employers of labour in the country should adopt a policy that protects PLWHA from any form of discrimination and stigmatization in the workplace, workers should be encouraged to go for voluntary test. Employers are also advised to ensure safe working conditions for their employees (www.nlcng.org).

i. Finance of the NLC

The forty-two (42) unions affiliated to the NLC generate their income from dues paid by their members based on the compulsory check-off system, which were introduced by one-time military Head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo, at the time of establishment of the trade union in 1978. However, a certain percentage of the money contributed to the union through the check-off system is said to be paid into upholding NLC activities and its secretariat. The level of representation of affiliates in the NLC membership and conferences is determined by their commitment in terms of financial remission to the central labour federation (Olukoshi & Aremu, 1988). The Trade Union Amendment Act (2005) states that trade unions will pay appropriate trade union federations from contributions that are received from their members, namely a certain sum as specified in their constitution from time to time (Abu, 2007).

2.5 Chapter Summary

Having intensively studied the operations of trade unions, it is understandable that the trade union is not merely an organization for workers, but an organization that touches and impacts on almost every individual's life (Jauch, 2003). Trade unions protect children from child labour, while they also ensure that the rights of pensioners are protected, and unemployed citizens are taken care of. The chapter is an overview of South African and Nigerian trade union federations examined under various contexts. The successes and failures of the trade union federations were discussed under various headings in the context of the environment in which they operate, and the people they deal

with (government of the day). The knowledge acquired from this section of the study has provided insight into workers' perceptions of COSATU and NLC, and their successes and failures in the past. The following chapter is an overview of the methodology which was adopted to design the research instrument and how data was collected and analyzed.

3.2 Research procedure and methodology

The use of a purposively selected sample was chosen for this study because the study focused on depth data collected in a specific area of South Africa and Nigeria. One of the few past studies that have been

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The methodological framework includes the instruments that used for the selection and recruitment of participants, how data was collected and analyzed, as well as ethical issues pertaining to this study which are highlighted in this section of the thesis. The study was aimed at analyzing common features and perceived differences in the relationship between trade union federations and their memberships in both South Africa and Nigeria. Furthermore, trade union memberships understanding of the workings of their federations, as well as the feelings of both sets of workers from South Africa and Nigeria were comparatively analyzed. The basis of comparison was used to determine the statistical analysis used in this study. In South Africa, the affiliates of COSATU that used for the study included Western Cape Branch members of the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) and the South African Democratic Teacher Union (SADTU). Furthermore, corresponding affiliates of the NLC, which participated in this study, comprised Lagos State Branch members of the Nigeria Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE) and the Nigeria Union of Teachers (NUT).

3.2 Research procedure and methodology

Use of a quantitatively designed questionnaire was decided for this study, because the study discussed in detail trade unionism with an emphasis on South Africa and Nigeria. Due to the fact that this study cut across two

different countries it was impossible to get the participants together for oral interviews, while the closed ended nature will sieve the comments and allow participants as forthright as possible. The research investigated participant s' perceptions of trade union federations' performance in South Africa and Nigeria by using an attitude scale to measure the participants' position on the questionnaire statements (Welman & Kruger, 2005). A survey method of data collection was adopted, with participants selected from two affiliate trade union federations of COSATU and NLC as mentioned above (see Section 3.1). This is a quantitative research which used the simple random sampling method, which means that all members of the selected trade union affiliates from both countries have equal rights to participate in the research (Welman & Kruger, 2005).

A letter of introduction stating the research title and purpose was submitted to the managers/heads of department/heads of the institution, who in turn introduced me (the researcher) to the staff. Interested participants were handed the research questionnaires after being briefed about the study. Waged workers who are registered members of the selected unions, aged twenty-one (21) and above, were sampled. Participants who took part in the study were those that could read and write English proficiently. This was necessary for the purpose of data comparison, since the study involve two countries which have English as the only common language between them. Furthermore, before proceeding to the schools, municipal offices and local government secretariats for data collection, approval to conduct the study was

sought and given in form the of a letter of authorization by the affiliate trade union federations of COSATU and NLC (see Appendices 3, 4 & 5).

3.3 Research setting

The study made use of trade union affiliates from South Africa and Nigeria in the form of a case study for the research. In line with ethical considerations, the unions gave their approval for their members to partake in the study.

3.3.1 Overview of the South Africa Municipality Workers Union (SAMWU) and the South Africa Democratic Teacher Unions (SADTU)

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is the largest trade union federation in South Africa comprising members of about 1.8 millions and twenty-one (21) affiliate unions. The South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) has 118,973 members and the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) has 233,784 members are affiliates of COSATU (Buhlungu *et al*, 2008; Munakamwe, 2009). The total number of both affiliate members represents about 20 % of the total membership of COSATU, and are also members of international trade unions.

SAMWU was founded in 1987 as a result of fusion between five public sector unions. It is an association which comprises blue-collar municipality employees from the eight hundred and sixty-three (863) municipalities in all nine (9) provinces of South Africa, with local structures as subsidiaries (Landsberg, 2004; Lier & Stokke, 2006; Rutters & Bond, 1999). SAMWU has been involved in various struggles for its members with the government, and

has fought against policies, which are not in the interests of their members. Conversely, SADTU is a union of practising and intending teachers which was founded in 1990. It is a non-racial teacher association, which represents more than two-thirds of the total number of teachers in the country (www.sadtu.org). The SADTU membership, when differentiated across racial lines, consists of 75 % Blacks, 15 % Indians, 6 % Coloured, and 4 % Whites. The organisation portrays itself as a union of professionals. One of their major aims is the proclamation for one teacher union in South Africa; SADTU is in fact described by other trade unions, (which are not COSATU affiliates) as the notorious teacher union. The union has the resolve to make their members happy by getting the attention of the authorities through whatever means possible, as long as the expected result is achieved (Heystek & Lethoko, 2001: SADTU, 2001).

3.3.2 Overview of National Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE) and Nigerian Union of Teachers

Comparatively, the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) has forty-two (42) affiliate unions, of which the National Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE) and the Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT) are two affiliates under their umbrella. Both affiliates have been in existence long before the decree that brought all existing union federations together as one in 1978 (Ademiluyi & Imhonopi, 2010). NULGE represents employees from seven hundred and seventy-four (774) local governments in Nigeria within the NLC. The union is known for agitating better conditions of service for local government employees, as well as stakeholders and is in constant consultation with the

government on issues that concern with local government authority. The union was formed as a result of the local governments' reform in 1976; most of the workers are from within the local authorities (Awotokun, 2005) NULGE is the second largest union in the country after NUT. NUT was first established in the western part of Nigeria in 1931 and later spread to the northern region of Nigeria in 1972. It is one of the largest unions in Africa, as well as the second oldest union in Nigeria. The union represents the interests and welfare of all teachers and educators from primary and secondary schools (<http://www.nutnigeria.org/>).

3.4 Research population and sampling

Research population means the entire cases or sets of people from which the research sample is taken (Welman & Kruger, 2005). A total of two-hundred and seventy (270) quantitatively-designed questionnaires were given out to waged workers irrespective of gender. These workers who were in the formal sector were targeted to represent the research population. However, two-hundred (200) of the administered questionnaires were retrieved from the participants. This population consisted of hundred (100) participants from South Africa with fifty (50) each from SADTU and SAMWU. The other hundred (100) participants came from the Nigerian population with fifty (50) people each from NUT and NULGE. It is noteworthy to point out that the teachers' unions (SADTU and NUT) comprise of skilled and educated individuals, while the municipal workers' unions (SAMWU and NULGE) comprise of skilled, unskilled, semi-skilled, literate, and illiterate employees (Landsberg, 2004). This should strengthen the assessment of workers'

opinions of their union federations in respect of not biased because the questionnaire cut across all types or classes of people, in terms of education levels and skills.

3.5 Research methodology and instrument

The research work is a descriptive research which studies the nature and issues relating to trade unions and trade union federations. Therefore, questionnaires were designed to address various issues that are important to union members while response sets which varied from strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, and strongly agree were given. Participants were requested to mark one of the boxes in response to the question asked based on their opinion. A demographic section was also included in the questionnaire in order to learn the gender, age, working experience, and the length of trade union membership of participants. This data helped to ascertain the involvement and experience levels of participants with the trade unions. More so, it was helpful to further ascertain gender relations in the activities of trade unions and their affiliates. Each of the variables in the questionnaire was coded for the purpose of data analysis. The quantitative nature of the questionnaire further gave participants an opportunity to remain anonymous and to respond to questions without fear or intimidation, since the answers would not be traced back to them. The questionnaire was of a quantitative nature with basic response sets, because huge numbers of participants were involved, and also for analytical purposes.

3.6 Research design and development of instruments

Welman and Kruger (2005) explain research design as a plan by which research participants are recruited and how data is collected from them. In the case of this research work, the questionnaire was designed and divided into two sections: the first section dealt with demographics while the second section dealt with the research items. There is a clear introductory section, which instructs participants on what to do with the questionnaire and what not to do. Furthermore, the last page of the questionnaire contains the researcher's full contact details in case any of the affiliates or members contacted during the course of the research is interested in feedback. Finally, the questionnaire was taken to the chosen workplaces and distributed to union members who met the inclusion criteria to complete. Questionnaires were personally handed to participants to ensure effective dissemination of information, as well as to give participants an opportunity to ask questions about any of the questions that they did not clearly understand. Workers lunch hours were targeted for questionnaire distribution and completion as not to disturb the work-flow of the targeted work-places.

3.7 Data analysis

The data was analyzed quantitatively with the use of statistical tables and bar chart graphs. Chi-square test of association was used to measure the level of significance of research items studied between the two countries profiled as shown in Chapter four. The university statistician helped in generating the data view and variable view of the results using SPSS 18. Statistical tables

were also generated using the SPSS 18 software (SPSS18). Data was analyzed and interpreted and is presented in Chapter four.

3.8 Validity and reliability

Closed-ended questionnaires of an attitudinal scale have been used over time to test participants' perceptions of a situation. The design of this research study ensured that the identity of the participants should remain anonymous. The Chi-square test analysis has been an effective means of testing level of significant differences between two variables. Therefore, both the design of the questionnaire and the statistical analyses were valid in measuring participants' perceptions of their trade union federations. The content of the questionnaire is in line with the literature review of the study, and for the face validity of the content, the document was proof-read by an editor for any possible errors before printing. Furthermore, the literature review, research methodology and the recommendations were based on trade union activities. Quantitative research, as used in this context, was proven to be reliable owing to the closed-ended nature of the questionnaire. Using the attitude scale gave the participants limited options, while irrelevant comments were totally avoided. Above all, the research work presented here was not intended to be used to determine what is right or wrong, but to shed more light on the activities of trade union federations and to rationalise the opinions of their members.

3.9 Ethical consideration

The consent of all union affiliates involved in the research was sought and their consent was given in the form of a letter of approval to conduct the study. The consent letters (letters of approval) with the research proposal and questionnaire sample were presented to the Faculty of Business's Ethical Committee at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology for clearance and approval to conduct the research. However, in spite of approval being sought and granted from the parent union federations, an introduction of the researcher and the purpose of the study were done prior to administering the questionnaires to the respondents. This was done after the principals and managers as, well as the union representatives from the different sections have introduced the researcher to the staff members.

Goduka (1990) points out that the researcher should make sure that participants understand the complexities of the research process, because it is often assumed that they understand the entire informed consent process before their participation in the research project. Hence, participants were fully informed of the purpose of the research work and, consequently, gave their consent orally before the questionnaire was administered to them. Total anonymity was granted to participants, hence there was no need to request their personal details before or after participation. Since the purpose of the study remains solely academic, participants were informed that there is no monetary support or remuneration for their involvement in the study. Hence, the result of this study was intended only to be used for academic purposes in order to contribute to knowledge and on-going discourse in the area of

industrial relations, and no part of it will be used for any purpose that it was not meant for.

4.1 Introduction

3.10 Chapter Summary

An in-depth description of the methodological analysis and an overview of the research setting of the study were given in this chapter as well as the procedure and development of the research instrument. A detailed analysis and interpretation of the results are presented in the next chapter, chapter four.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.2 Data presentation

Quantitative data analysis method was applied for the study. A sample of 100 respondents was selected from the study area. The data were analyzed using SPSS software. The results were presented in the form of tables and figures. The data were analyzed using SPSS software. The results were presented in the form of tables and figures. The data were analyzed using SPSS software. The results were presented in the form of tables and figures.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

Having pointed out the methods by which the research instrument was designed as well as the method of data collection in Chapter three, the primary aim of this chapter is to analyze and compare results from the data that was collected from South African and Nigerian workers regarding their feelings and expectations concerning the performance of their union federations. The results were analyzed and compared based on the research questions, problem statements and objectives of the study which stated in chapter one.

4.2 Data presentation

Quantitative data analysis method was chosen for the study because the designed questionnaire contained closed-ended questions and owing to the large number of participants involved in the study. The quantitative nature of the questionnaire led to a high response rate of the research items. Ordinal values were given to the options of the research items in the questionnaire. The participants were selected by using a non-probability method, with participation based on membership of the selected unions (SAMWU, SADTU, NULGE and NUT). Furthermore, ability to speak and write the English language was a further criterion for participation in the study.

The data that collected from the study was analyzed by using descriptive statistics, which were presented in tabular and bar chart format. Groebner and Shannon (1985) define descriptive statistics as comprising of techniques and measures, which help decision-makers to describe data by using graphs, charts and tables. Cross-tabulation was used to examine the differences in participants' opinion from the two countries profiled. The level of significance of opinion was measured by using the Chi-square test of association where p-value is \geq or \leq 0.05. The association was taken to be significant if $p \leq 0.05$ (p-value is less than or equal to 0.05). The response sets given in the questionnaire were merged together namely "strongly disagree" and "disagree" were combined as "**disagree**". In the same way, "strongly agree" and "agree" was joined together as "**agree**". Microsoft Office Excel (Microsoft Inc., USA) was used to draw bar charts when needed.

The software, **Statistical Package for Social Sciences** version 18 (SPSS 18), was installed and used to view the variables; data coding and cleaning; and was also used for statistical analyses in both graphical and tabular form. Coding is used for the identification of various variables for the purpose of statistical analysis with different values given to different variables (Welman & Kruger, 2005). The results were explained graphically for a concluding meaning.

A total of two hundred (200) questionnaires were retrieved from participants who are members of SAMWU and SADTU (South Africa), NULGE and NUT (Nigeria), expressing their opinions of their trade union federations.

Responses were coded and entered into a spreadsheet using SPSS 18 to analyze the coded data. The results were expressed quantitatively by using both graphs and tables in order to make sense of the raw data. These results were analyzed and presented within the structure of the key research questions and objectives of the study.

4.3 Demographic background of participants

In administering the questionnaires, it was ensured that at least an equal number of respondents would be submitted for both countries, namely 50.0 % of the respondents from each country, making it 25.0 % of each union affiliate profiled. The demographics of the participants in the study as shown in Table 4.1 reveal that a majority of respondents are males, which makes up 56.0 % of the total respondents, while the remaining 44.0 % are females. Furthermore, a majority of participants were 41 years and above (33.0 %) in age, and were closely followed by those within the age bracket of 31-35 years of age (25.0 %). Respondents within the age bracket of 21-25 years of age comprised a meagre 9.0 %, making them the least represented of all the age groups profiled in the study. This may mean that it takes time to secure jobs in either South Africa or Nigeria. Table 4.1 shows the statistical analysis of the demography of the questionnaire respondents:

Table 4.1: Demographic data of respondents

DEMOGRAPHICS	N (%)
TOTAL SAMPLE	200 (100%)
GENDER	
Male	111 (55.5%)
Female	89 (44.5%)
Total	200 (100%)
AGE	
21-25 years	17 (8.5%)
26-30 years	34 (17.0%)
31-35 years	50 (25.0%)
36-40 years	33 (16.5%)
≥41 years	66 (33.0%)
Total	200 (100%)
WORK EXPERIENCE	
6-10 years	89 (44.5%)
11-15 years	29 (14.5%)
16-20 years	30 (15.0%)
21-25 years	29 (14.5%)
≥26 years	23 (11.5%)
Total	200 (100%)
LENGTH OF TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP	
1-5 years	64 (32.0%)
6-10 years	44 (22.0%)
11-15 years	39 (19.5%)
16-20 years	25 (12.5%)
≥21 years	28 (14.0%)
Total	200 (100.0%)

Furthermore, the present study sought to clarify certain issues concerning trade unions, which were made up of a body of workers. Hence, for the sake of validity and to have an unbiased data to work with, the respondents had to have some level of work experience as well as be a member of a trade union federation so that they would have information concerning the operations of the unions. Hence, the demographic section of the questionnaire was designed to query work experience and length of trade union membership among respondents.

Results from the study showed that respondents with work experience of between 6-10 years (45.0 %) constituted the largest population in the study. However, there was no distinct disparity in the population of respondents within the other years of work experience that was surveyed in the study. It is, however, noteworthy to mention that while respondents with 6-10 years work experience comprised the largest proportion of those surveyed, those with greater than or equal to 26 years of work experience constituted the lowest proportion (12.0 %) in this study. Hence, the result from this study revealed an inverse relationship between proportion of respondents and their work experience. This was also confirmed by Munakamwe (2009).

Table 4.1 further showed that length of trade union membership of respondents in this study is highest (32.0 %) among those that have been members of trade unions between 1-5 years. Those who have been members for 6-10 years (22.0 %) were second and those with 11-15 years (20.0 %) membership were a close third. Years of work experience is a determinant for

the length of trade union membership of workers because it is not possible to belong to the union without being employed. Therefore, this explains the direct relationship between work experience and length of trade union membership of respondents.

4.4 Relationship between trade union federations and their affiliates

Table 4.2 shows the working relationship between the trade union federations (TUF) and their affiliates in various contexts. This is in response to the research question that asked about “how often does the trade union federation engage its affiliates in policy making, training and development programmes”? Hence, the objective of asking this question was to examine the relationship between trade union federations and their affiliates. The result in Table 4.2.1 shows the relationship between the union federations and their affiliates in the context of their finances.

Table 4.2.1: Financial relationship between the TUF and its affiliates

Accessibility of trade union federations annual financial statements by affiliates				Accountability and management of allocated funds from affiliates by trade union federations				
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square
Disagree	30 (43.5 %)	50 (51.5 %)	80 (47.5 %)	0.000	25 (37.9 %)	44 (50.0 %)	69 (43.9 %)	0.002
Agree	39 (56.5 %)	47 (48.5 %)	86 (52.5 %)		41 (62.1 %)	44 (50.0 %)	84 (56.1 %)	
Total	69 (100 %)	97 (100 %)	166 (100 %)		66 (100 %)	88 (100 %)	154 (100 %)	

Results shown were adapted from responses to the related questions concerning the above-mentioned subject. Table 4.2.1 shows that a majority of

South African respondents (57.0 %) believed that COSATU is financially transparent, while the opposite is the case with the NLC (49.0 %), this implies that affiliate members do not have access to the financial statements of the NLC. Furthermore, the Chi-square test association between the two countries that were profiled shows a significant difference in terms of financial transparency in the financial dealings of the two trade union federations.

More so, the opinions of respondents concerning accountability and prudent management of allocated funds, which comes directly from affiliate members to the union federations are also shown in Table 4.2.1. A majority of South African respondents (62.0 %) believed that the funds entrusted to COSATU were well-managed and can be accounted for. However, there is no clear disparity among Nigerian respondents who opined in the affirmative (50.0 %) and those who are in the negative (50.0 %), concerning this research item. The Chi-square analysis of association shows a significant difference between COSATU and NLC in the way that funds meant for the operations of these two federations, were managed.

Trade union federations' involvement in the organization of training and development programmes for affiliate members was also examined, as shown in Table 4.2.2. Results reveal that a majority of respondents in both countries (68.0 % in South Africa and 64.0 % in Nigeria) affirmed the involvement of COSATU and the NLC in organizing training and development programmes for their members. More so, the Chi-square analysis showed a significant difference between the countries with regard to this research item.

Table 4.2.2: Training and development programmes relations between TUF and affiliates

Organization of training and development programme for affiliated members					Trade union federations' organization of programmes enhancing technical competency among officials, shop stewards, and members			
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square
Disagree	23 (32.4 %)	31 (35.6 %)	54 (34.0 %)	0.004	19 (27.1 %)	27 (33.3 %)	46 (30.2 %)	0.398
Agree	48 (67.6 %)	56 (64.4 %)	104 (66.0 %)		51 (72.9 %)	54 (66.7 %)	105 (69.8 %)	
Total	71 (100 %)	87 (100 %)	158 (100 %)		70 (100 %)	81 (100 %)	151 (100 %)	

It is a known fact that on-the-job-training helps in the acquisition of skills or certain expertise, which were lacking in workers before they were recruited. Hence, for an establishment to still remain relevant nowadays, programmes and training as mentioned earlier are always organized by the establishment in order to ensure technical competencies among members of staff. Trade union federations are not an exception to this rule. Hence, the respondents in this study were asked if their union federations from time to time do organize such programmes, which are aimed at empowering the officials (especially full-time officials), shop stewards and the members themselves.

Table 4.2.2 portrays the respondents' knowledge of technical competencies among union officials and the organization of empowerment programmes for all members. Results show that a majority of respondents in both countries (73.0 % in South Africa and 67.0 % in Nigeria) confirmed that affiliate members are empowered to attend programmes which are organized by union federations to boost their technical competencies. More so, the Chi-

square analysis of association between both sets of respondents revealed an insignificant difference between COSATU and NLC concerning this research item. Therefore, it can be inferred that both unions are serious about technical and educational upliftment of their members.

A key instrument in the operations of trade unions is their ability to mobilize members for industrial actions when negotiating better working conditions for them, and to voice their opinions against any government policies that they find repressive to the masses for example, increase in pump price of petrol or high rate of inflation and unemployment. Hence, this study also sought to establish how promptly trade union federations were able to mobilize affiliate members for industrial actions.

Table 4.2.3: Mobilization of affiliate members for industrial action

Trade union federations could get through to its affiliate bodies to embark on industrial action within a short period					Government only listen to trade union demands when threatened with (or when workers embark on) strike actions			
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square
Disagree	20 (27.4 %)	12 (14.0 %)	32 (20.7 %)	0.004	31 (36.0 %)	15 (15.6 %)	23 (25.8 %)	0.001
Agree	53 (72.6 %)	74 (86.0 %)	127 (79.3 %)		55 (64.0 %)	81 (84.4 %)	136 (74.2 %)	
Total	73 (100 %)	86 (100 %)	159 (100 %)		86 (100 %)	96 (100 %)	158 (100 %)	

Table 4.2.3 shows that 73 % of affiliate members in South Africa and 86 % in Nigeria agree that the federations could easily get through to the affiliates in order to embark on industrial action within a short period of time. The higher proportion returned by Nigerian respondents might be connected to the repressive anti-worker policies of past and present Nigerian governments. Hence, the NLC uses industrial actions to bargain with the government of the day. However, there exists a significant difference ($p= 0.004$) in the response rate from both countries.

As shown in Table 4.2.3, affiliates could be promptly mobilized for industrial actions, hence the study further sought to ascertain whether in both South Africa and Nigeria industrial actions have been an effective way of making government listen to the yearnings of workers. Results show that 64.0 % of South African respondents and 84.0 % of Nigerian respondents believed that the only language that the government understands when it comes to industrial issues, revolves around threats of industrial action and strikes. Both sets of respondents agreed that threatening the government with industrial

action is a good weapon to negotiate with the government, but there is a considerable disparity in the rates returned for both countries. Hence, a significant difference ($p=0.001$) existed when associating data from both countries.

On the whole, results from Section 4.4 are proof that trade union federations do have a relationship with the affiliates; and work together as one union, according to the members. The statements and responses were adapted from the respondents' opinions to Questions 9, 12, 13, 14, 24 and 25 in the study questionnaire (See Appendix 1).

4.5 Trade Union Federations' (TUF) involvement in the political affairs of the state

A major objective of this study was to ascertain the level of the trade union involvement in the states' political affairs and to gauge overview of how such involvement is used to favour workers, as well as members of the public at large. The figures below revealed statistical analysis of how union members felt about the roles that their executives play in government political decisions. Moreover, it has been widely speculated that some officials use their involvement in trade union federations as a means to launch their political careers. Hence, the popularity and exposure acquired during their stewardship of union administration is ridden upon to win political elections. Thus, this study sought to clarify this notion by asking respondents their opinions concerning this.

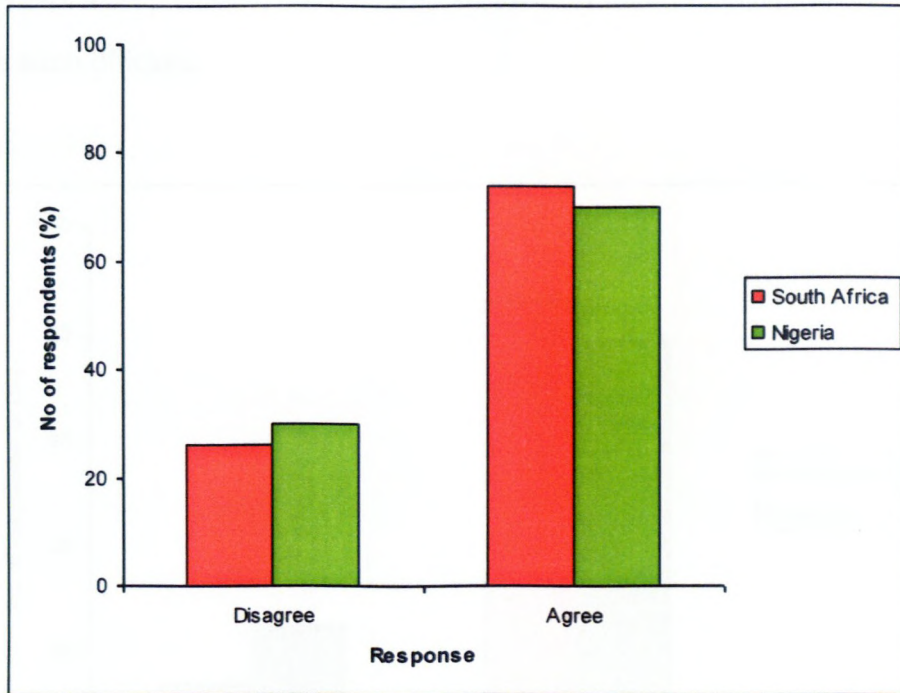


Fig. 4.1.1: Usage of TU members to fulfil political ambitions of officials

As shown in Figure.4.1.1, an overwhelming majority of respondents (74.0 % from South Africa and 70.0 % from Nigeria) affirmed trade union officials use members to fulfil their political ambitions. However, a significant difference exists when the responses are associated with the total number of respondents using Chi-square. Hence, members from both countries agreed that union officials use the unions not only to establish their political careers, but also to get close to the national government.

Furthermore, membership of trade union federations and active participation in politics should not be mutually exclusive. Hence, there is nothing that prevents anyone from participating in active politics from being members of trade unions. However, **perceived 'breaking of rank'** owing to closeness of

these union officials seeking political office, has led to calls for unions to exclude such officials.

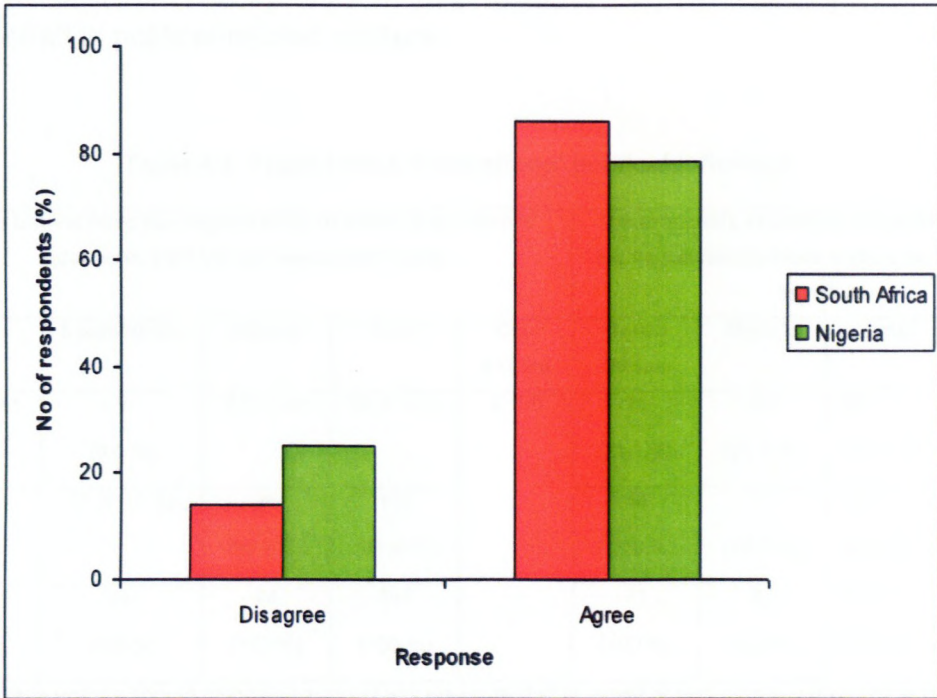


Fig. 4.1.2: Legal participation of union officials in politics

Results shown in Figure 4.1.2 show that 86.0 % of respondents from South Africa and 75.0 % of respondents from Nigeria confirmed that there is nothing illegal in trade union officials' active participation in the political activities of the state. Hence, it is not a misdemeanour for COSATU and NLC officials to be involved in the political activities of the state. A significant difference was not observed ($p=0.072$) when the Chi-square test of association was used to compare responses from both sets of respondents.

Most workers join the trade unions with the expectation of being protected from exploitation and believing that trade union federations are like the voice

of workers, and that they can reverse some governmental policies that are not in favour of members of the workforce. Table 4.3 showed workers' responses to their expectations in terms of how their unions protect and intervene on their behalf in political-related matters.

Table 4.3: Trade Union Federations' political influence

Trade unions have the responsibility of protecting workers' economic, political and social well being					Government's economic and political reforms are negotiated by trade unions on behalf of the workforce			
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square
Disagree	8 (9.0 %)	7 (7.1 %)	15 (8.1 %)	0.130	15 (21.1 %)	20 (21.7 %)	35 (21.4 %)	0.000
Agree	81 (91.0 %)	91 (92.9 %)	172 (91.9 %)		56 (78.9 %)	72 (78.3 %)	128 (78.6 %)	
Total	89 (100 %)	98 (100 %)	187 (100 %)		71 (100 %)	92 (100 %)	163 (100 %)	
Trade unions should campaign against any measure that is aimed at reducing social services benefits								
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square				
Disagree	12 (17.9 %)	12 (12.8 %)	24 (15.4 %)	0.011				
Agree	55 (82.1 %)	82 (87.2 %)	137(84.7 %)					
Total	73 (100 %)	94 (100 %)	167 (100 %)					

The statistical analysis shown in Table 4.3 shows that a majority of the respondents from South Africa and Nigeria (91.0 % and 93.0 % respectively) agree that trade union federations should be responsible for protecting workers economic, political and social well-being. The Chi-square test of associations shows that there is no significant difference amongst the opinions of participants from both countries. This proves that workers have high expectations of the union federations on the issue of their economic and political protection. Furthermore, owing to this high expectation from union members concerning economic, political and social life protection of

members, trade union federations are striving hard to meet this expectation. Hence, the unions have been trying continuously to contend and reform some governmental economic and political decisions that are not in favour of the workforce.

Participants attest positively to the above stated fact that their unions have always negotiated with government on their behalf. Seventy-nine percent (79.0 %) of South African respondents agree that their unions contend with government on their behalf, while 78.0 % of Nigerian respondents affirmed the same. The chi-square test analysis, which is $p \leq 0.05$, shows that there is significant difference in the respondents' response to the statement. More so, union members believe that the union federation should campaign against any measure by the government to reduce social service benefits. In this vein, 82.0 % of South African respondents agree to this, while 87.0 % of Nigerian participants also agreed. However, a significant difference exists when responses of participants from both countries are associated by using Chi-test analysis.

4.6 Trade unions leadership, administration and management style

COSATU and its affiliates have about 1,600 full-time officials in various categories such as administrators, organisers, researchers, legal officers and general secretaries to carry out the administrative and managerial functions of the federation (Buhlungu, 2002; 2003). Conversely, the NLC also has full-time officials working with the executives of the union for the day-to-day running of the organisation (NLC Policy document, 2007). The question here is, how

efficient are these officials and does the member have a clear understanding of their work with the union leaders? The analysis is as a response to the research question that probes the involvement of the members in the administrative set-up of trade union federations and the research objective that investigates members' understanding of trade unions' leadership styles, administrative set-up and general management of the union. The problem statement that wants to ascertain workers' feelings and expectations concerning the performances of trade union federations is also dealt with using the statistical analysis below.

Table 4.4.1 presents the analysis of both South African and Nigerian respondents' perceptions of their trade union federation's electoral executive usage of power. The tabular analysis shows the raw figures and percentages of respondents' opinions.

Table 4.4.1: Executive power usage within the trade union federations

Existence of conflict of power and interest among the executives of the trade union				Trade union administration is affected by nationality, creed and ethnicity				
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square
Disagree	18 (22.5 %)	17 (17.0 %)	35 (19.7 %)	0.000	22 (27.8 %)	42 (44.7 %)	64 (36.3 %)	0.000
Agree	62 (77.5 %)	83 (83.0 %)	145 (80.3 %)		57 (72.2 %)	52 (55.3 %)	109 (63.7 %)	
Total	80 (100 %)	100 (100 %)	180 (100 %)		79 (100 %)	94 (100 %)	173 (100 %)	

The perceptions of union members and their understanding of the unions' administration, management and leadership were explored. Table 4.4.1 shows respondents' knowledge of the existence of conflict of power and interest among union executives. While 76.0 % of South African respondents confirmed this existence, an equally higher proportion of Nigerian respondents (83.0 %) agreed with their Southern African counterparts that there is conflict of interest and power among the executives. The Chi-square analysis shows that there is a significant difference in members' opinions from both countries on the level of the conflicts.

Moreover, the absolute confirmation of the existence of conflict of power and interest among union executives was buttressed by the fact that a majority of South African members (72.0 %) confirmed that nationality, creed and ethnicity play a major role in trade union administration, although a lesser proportion of respondents from Nigeria concurred with this statement. The reason for this may be due to the fact that trade unionism in Nigeria is not heavily skewed along racial lines, unlike in South Africa where most opinions

have racial undertones emanating from the ills of the past. More so, the Chi-square analysis clarified that there is significant difference in members' perception of this research statement within the two countries.

The table below shows the analysis of members' opinions of the union electoral processes, showing the similarities and differences in South Africa and Nigeria trade unions member perceptions of the union's electoral processes.

Table 4.4.2: Electoral process within trade union federations

Executives are democratically elected with a limited period of tenure				All members have equal right to contest for any post during election				
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square
Disagree	10 (14.3 %)	14 (14.7 %)	24 (14.5 %)	0.000	13 (16.0 %)	9 (9.1 %)	22 (12.5 %)	0.000
Agree	60 (85.7 %)	81 (85.3 %)	141 (85.5 %)		68 (84.0 %)	90 (90.9 %)	158 (87.5 %)	
Total	70 (100 %)	95 (100 %)	165 (100 %)		81 (100 %)	99 (100 %)	180 (100 %)	
Union elections are democratically conducted								
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square				
Disagree	4 (5.5%)	12 (12.4%)	16 (8.9%)	0.000				
Agree	69 (94.5%)	85 (87.6%)	154 (91.1%)					
Total	73 (100%)	97 (100%)	170 (100%)					

The electoral process of the trade union federations was also examined within the context of this study. Trade unions have been said to be an embodiment of true democracy within the countries in which they operate. To establish the accuracy of the above statement, respondents were asked their opinions

about the electoral processes within COSATU and the NLC. Table 4.3 confirmed that union elections are democratically conducted both in South Africa (95.0 %) and Nigeria (88.0 %); all members have equal rights to contest for any post during elections (84.0 % in South Africa and 91.0 % in Nigeria) ; and that executives are democratically elected with a limited period of tenure (86.0 % in South Africa and 85.0 % in Nigeria). The Chi-square analysis observed significant differences between both countries with respect to the research items queried. Hence, the implication is that the national governments of both South Africa and Nigeria can take a cue from the democratic process taking place within COSATU and the NLC.

Table 4.4.3 shows the analysis of the members' feelings about executive decision making within the trade union federations.

Table 4.4.3: Decision making within trade union federations

Members are consulted before levies are decided					The executives often take unilateral decisions			
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square
Disagree	31 (41.3 %)	61 (66.3 %)	92 (53.8 %)	0.000	28 (42.4 %)	15 (15.6 %)	43 (29.0 %)	0.000
Agree	44 (58.7 %)	31 (33.7 %)	75 (46.2 %)		38 (57.6 %)	81 (84.4 %)	119 (71.0 %)	
Total	75 (100 %)	92 (100 %)	167 (100 %)		66 (100 %)	96 (100 %)	162 (100 %)	

Decision making within the trade union federations was sampled from the responses of affiliates. Respondents were asked if they were consulted before levies are decided upon by union executives. Table 4.4.3 shows that 59.0 % of South African respondents agreed that they were consulted before union

levies were decided, while 34.0 % of Nigerian respondents agreed. The low proportion of respondents from Nigeria is indicative of the high-handedness of NLC officials. Conversely, 58.0 % of South African and 84.0 % of Nigerian respondents affirmed that executives of both COSATU and the NLC often take unilateral decisions even though they believe that these decisions are for the betterment of members' lives. However, the high proportion of Nigeria respondents might probably be owing to the total number of respondents sampled. The Chi-square analysis regarding this research item revealed a significant difference ($p \leq 0.05$) between South African and Nigerian trade union members in terms of decision making.

4.7 Gender representation within COSATU and NLC

Two research questions were posed to clarify if executive positions within union federations are meant exclusively for men. Evidence exists that women are deprived of opportunities in many areas of life (Francis, 1991) hence; this study attempts to confirm whether such deprivation extended to the right of women in union membership. Table 4.5 shows the responses from members concerning gender opinions within the union federations that were surveyed. It shows responses to the question asking if trade union policies are in favour of all genders without gender bias.

Table 4.5: Members' perceptions of trade union federations' stand on gender issues

Female participation is not encouraged at executive level by trade union federations					Trade union policies and activities are structured in a way that favour both genders				
Country		South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square
	Disagree	46 (59.0 %)	61 (62.2 %)	107 (60.6 %)	0.000	18 (25.7 %)	59 (62.1 %)	77 (43.9 %)	0.000
	Agree	32 (41.0 %)	37 (37.8 %)	69 (39.4 %)		52 (74.3 %)	36 (37.9 %)	95 (56.1 %)	
	Total	78 (100 %)	98 (100 %)	176 (100 %)		70 (100 %)	95 (100 %)	172 (100 %)	
Gender		Male	Female	Total	Chi-square	Male	Female	Total	Chi-square
	Disagree	56 (56.0 %)	51 (67.1 %)	107 (61.6 %)	0.430	46 (48.4 %)	31 (44.3 %)	77 (46.4 %)	0.187
	Agree	44 (44.0 %)	25 (32.9 %)	79 (38.4 %)		49 (51.6 %)	39 (55.7 %)	88 (53.6 %)	
	Total	100 (100 %)	76 (100 %)	186 (100 %)		95 (100 %)	70 (100 %)	165 (100 %)	

Table 4.5 depicts the perceptions of trade union members regarding gender issues. A large proportion of both South African (59.0 %) and Nigerian (62.0 %) respondents disagreed that female women participation is not encouraged at an executive level by trade union federations. Conversely, 67.0 % of females and 56.0 % of males agreed women participation is encouraged at an executive level by the unions. Furthermore, there is a huge disparity between South African (74.0 %) and Nigerian (38.0 %) respondents concerning gender structure of policies and activities. When this question was considered based on gender, both males (52.0 %) and females (56.0 %) agreed that the policies and activities of trade unions were unbiased or in favour of one gender. Finally, a significant difference existed when this

research item is considered country-wise, but when considered gender-wise, there is no significant difference.

4.8 Foreign investors and solidarity on the countries' trade union activities

The effect of trade union activities in both South Africa and Nigeria on investors and foreign solidarity was examined in the present study. HIV/AIDS is a global epidemic that affects almost everybody or someone related. In a global trade context, badly-paid workers are mostly affected by this scourge owing to their inability to afford the expensive anti-retrovirals. Responses to trade union roles and activities concerning the international image of the country as well as their support in seeking solidarity, shown in Figure. 4.2.1.

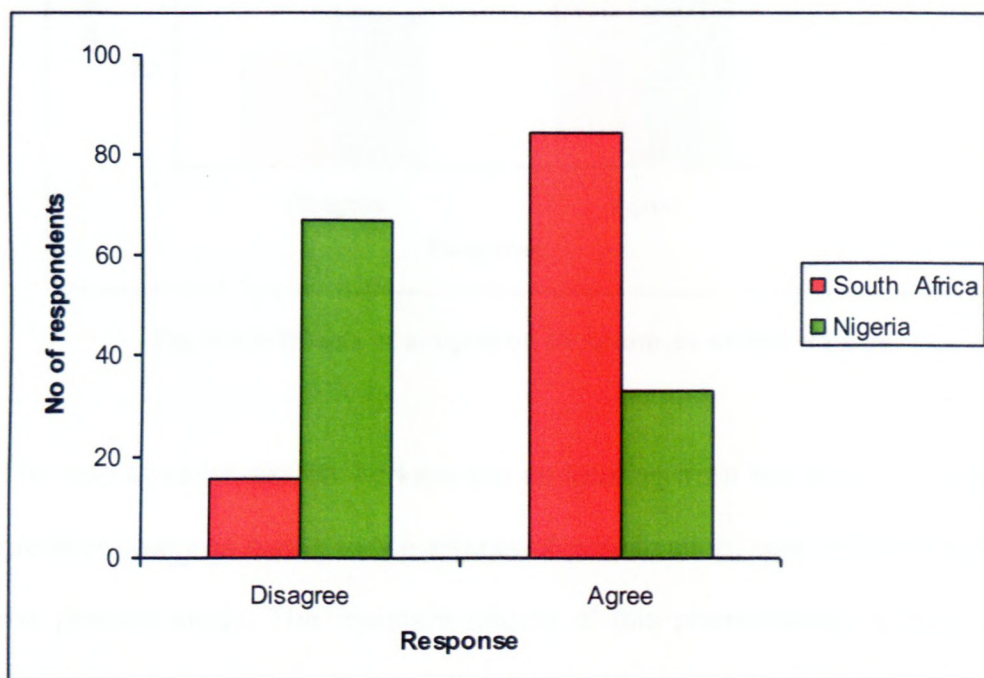


Fig. 4.2.1: Unions are concerned about members living with HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis

Figure 4.2.1 shows that 85.0 % of South African respondents and 33.0 % of Nigerian respondents affirm that their trade union federations support members who are affected by HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases. The meagre proportion returned by Nigerian respondents is indicative of the fact that the NLC is less-concerned about the welfare of their members who are affected by these diseases. However, the caring nature of the unions, as well as their outcry, could attract foreign solidarity and support for rolling out medications for such diseases.

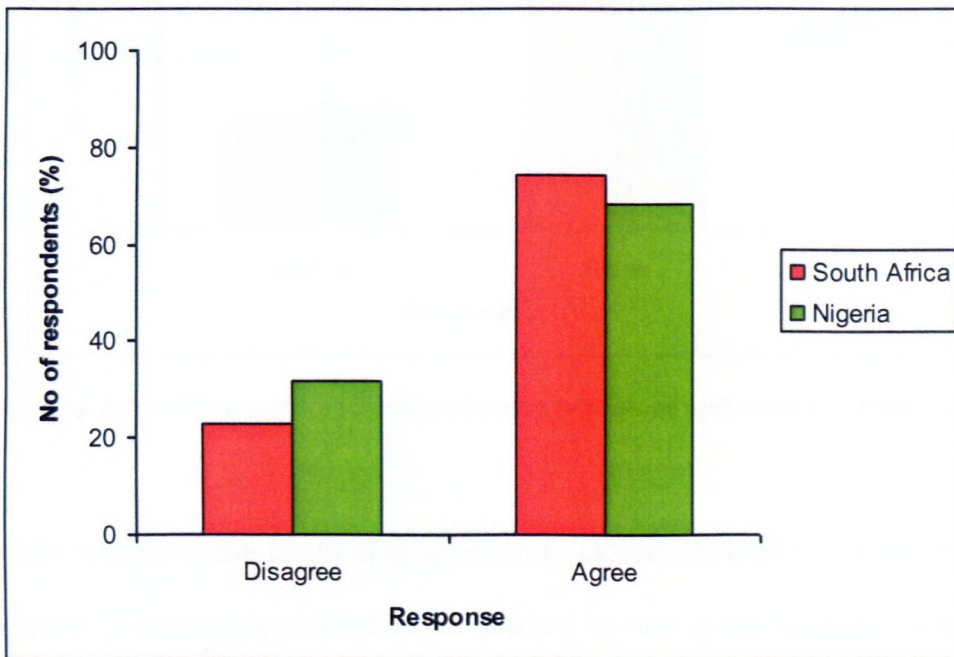


Fig. 4.2.2: Effects of emigration on countries skilled workers

The rate at which skilled workers are emigrating from the country in search of greener pastures owing to the effects of privatization, was also established in the present study. The resultant effects of this phenomenon is that workers that have little or no skills are left behind, which could eventually scare away investors, and ultimately lead to unemployment, which could also affect

membership of the unions. As illustrated in Figure 4.2.2, a majority of the participants in both countries (74.0 % of South African respondents and 68.0 % of Nigerian respondents) agreed that the privatization is in fact the cause of brain-drain in both countries.

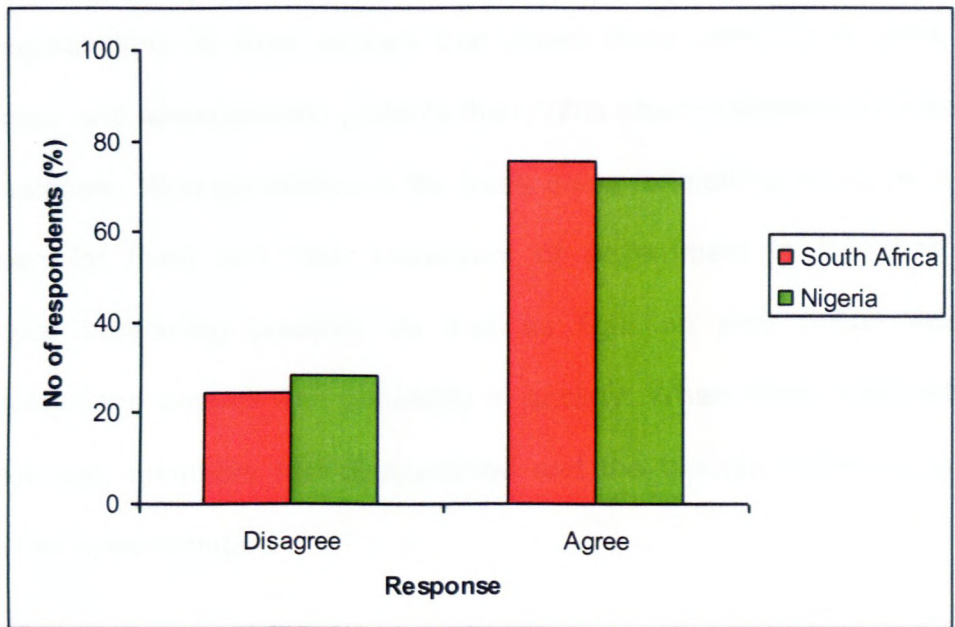


Fig. 4.2.3: Effects of free trade on human resources and local raw material

Closely related to the issue of emigration of skilled workers and brain drain is the issue of unemployment which is caused by free trade between countries. This has been speculated to be the cause of a reduction in local capacity utilization and sourcing of raw materials locally. Figure 4.2.3 illustrates the role of trade unions in national employments. A majority of respondents (76.0 % in South Africa and 72.0 % in Nigeria) believe the encouragement of free trade between countries resulted in the low employment rate and low utilization of local resources especially human skills. Consequently, employers could easily

source for migrant workers who are not union members and pay them less than expected wages in order to preserve costs.

4.9 Trade union members' expectations and faith in union federations

The expectations of most workers that joined trade unions is to have job protection and someone who protects their rights when maltreated or cheated by employers. Workers believe in the trade union federations to act as a go-between for them and their employers or government to influence the collective bargaining process, as well as fight on their behalf against unemployment, poverty and inequality in society. When these expectations are not met, members feel disappointed and the thought of deserting the union becomes stronger.

Zammit and Rizzo (2002) stressed the decreasing nature of union memberships all around the world in the 1980s, but South African trade unions experienced massive increases in their membership at the time. This study sought the opinions of union members for the reason for the increase in membership in both countries profiled, as well as to verify if the increment was consistent (Wood & Harcourt, 1998). For comparative purposes, Nigerian workers' opinions on either increment or decrement in union membership over the years were considered, as well as reasons for either. Table 4.6.1 and 4.6.2 illustrate respondents' opinions of increasing or decreasing trade union membership and the factors leading to whatever effect was felt.

Table 4.6.1: Increment in the trade union members

Memberships of union are increasing every year					New employees are encouraged and motivated to join the trade unions			
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square
Disagree	20 (24.1 %)	30 (30.9 %)	50 (27.5 %)	0.001	9 (10.8 %)	14 (14.9 %)	22 (12.9 %)	0.024
Agree	63 (75.9 %)	67 (69.1 %)	130 (72.5 %)		74 (89.2 %)	80 (85.1 %)	154 (87.1 %)	
Total	83 (100 %)	97 (100 %)	180 (100 %)		83 (100 %)	94 (100 %)	176 (100 %)	
Privatization of public enterprises has led to reduction in trade union membership over the years								
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square				
Disagree	20 (29.9 %)	22 (26.8 %)	42 (28.4 %)	0.068				
Agree	47 (70.1 %)	60 (73.2 %)	107 (71.6 %)					
Total	67 (100 %)	82 (100 %)	149 (100 %)					

Table 4.6.1 illustrates respondents' opinions of membership of union federations and whether privatization of public enterprises has led to a reduction of trade union membership over the years. The majority of the respondents from both countries (76.0 % of South Africans and 69.0 % of Nigerians) believed union memberships are increasing each year. Furthermore, owing to the fact that the rights of new employees should be protected and that only the union federations can help to protect their rights, new employees have no option but to join the trade unions; their membership is motivated by old employees. Eighty-nine percent (89.0 %) of South African

workers and 85.0 % of Nigerian workers concurred that new employees are encouraged to join the unions. The Chi-square analysis of association concerning both research items mentioned earlier, showed a significant difference ($p \leq 0.05$) in the responses of both South African and Nigerian workers. Similarly, results further showed that membership of the unions would have increased the more, had it not been for the privatization of some government establishments. Seventy percent (70 %) of South African workers and 73 % of Nigerian workers believed that privatization had a negative effect on union membership. However, there is no significant difference in the opinions of members from both countries on this research item.

Emphasis on the importance of collective bargaining, as well as industrial negotiation with trade unions cannot be under-estimated. In addition, the influence of the unions on national policy and how well their members interests are represented, determines their ability to retain their old members and attract new ones (Buhlungu *et al*, 2008; Wood & Harcourt, 1998). Trade unions' protection of workers from exploitation and defending their rights in the workplace returned 69 % and 81 % from South Africa and Nigeria workers, respectively, as shown in Table 4.6.2. This might still remain the primary justification for new workers being encouraged to join the unions in both countries.

Table 4.6.2: Members' representation at negotiations by union federations

Union membership has been regarded as an effective means of improving wages and securing good rewards from work					Trade unions can be trusted to negotiate befitting remuneration and incentives from employers or government on their members behalf			
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square
Disagree	19 (25.0%)	17 (18.7%)	36 (21.9%)	0.012	21 (30.0%)	18 (19.6%)	39 (24.8%)	0.000
Agree	57 (75.0%)	74 (81.3%)	131 (78.1%)		49 (70.0%)	74 (80.4%)	123 (75.2%)	
Total	76 (100%)	91 (100%)	167 (100%)		70 (100%)	92 (100%)	162 (100%)	
Union members are protected from any form of exploitation by employer/government								
	South Africa	Nigeria	Total	Chi-square				
Disagree	24 (30.8%)	17 (18.7%)	41 (24.8%)	0.018				
Agree	54 (69.2%)	74 (81.3%)	128 (75.2%)					
Total	78 (100%)	91 (100%)	169 (100%)					

Union members trust the federations to secure good wages and befitting remunerations on their behalf. As shown in Table 4.6.2, a majority of workers (70.0 % in South Africa and 80.0 % in Nigeria) still consider the union as a medium for negotiating befitting wages and better conditions of service for workers. Table 4.6.2 shows that 75.0 % of South Africa union members regard union membership as an effective means of wage improvement and means to secure good rewards from work, while 78.0 % of Nigeria union members also agreed that the unions are effective means to obtain good pay from their employers. Associating results from both South Africa by and

Nigeria using the Chi-square analysis on union members' representation at negotiations by their federations, showed a significant difference in responses from both sets of respondents.

4.10 Chapter Summary

The perceptions of South African and Nigerian trade union members concerning their trade union federation were analyzed in this chapter by using results from the questionnaire. The analysis shows disparity between the two trade union federations in question, as well as parity. The result, however will afford the union federations insight into some of the grievances and areas that their members feel they are under-performing, which might need a more concerted effort to improve. Furthermore, it might be an index or a score card of their activities thus far, as representatives of the workforce.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATION, AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

Having analyzed the results of South African and Nigerian trade union members' acuity of their union federations in chapter four, this section of the study discusses the results in the context of previous or related studies, and makes recommendations for further relevant study in this area of trade unionism. It is, however worthy to note that the establishment of COSATU in South Africa in 1985 does not guarantee a problem-free trade union in the country but merely a solution to bridge the racially-divided existing unions. At the time of establishing COSATU, racism was a major problem in South Africa, especially in the workplace. However, the question remains after the erosion of the Apartheid government, has COSATU been able to address other workplace related issues, as well as societal problems to the satisfaction and expectation of their members and to the accepted standards of the International Labour Organization (Camay & Gordon, 2002)?

Similar questions are posed to the NLC as well. To say the least, Nigeria has been in a democratic government dispensation for the past 13 years. Nigerian trade union officials have not been arrested and molested as was the case previously, during the military government and during the days of colonialism. Hence, there is an air of freedom for unions to claim their rightful place in the hearts of workers, which they represent. Union members' expectations and

their opinions of union performance, as depicted in chapter four, are discussed in tandem with literature works.

A major difference between COSATU and NLC is that the former is shouldered with the responsibility of representing their members in labour negotiations, and yet acts as part of the larger society in addressing issues that have to do with the general populace such as housing and developmental issues (Adler & Webster, 1995); whereas the latter is responsible for all the workers in Nigeria owing to the fact that they are the only central labour organization in their country. Almost, almost every worker in the organized sector in Nigeria is a member of the NLC by agency shop agreement between the union and the employers (News Online, 2009; Ademiluyi & Imhonopi, 2010). COSATU also exercises a similar agreement in the workplace where they have to intervene on behalf of non-members as well. As a result, both trade union federations represent the social and political interests of the masses in their respective countries.

It is noteworthy to mention here that all the research participants were registered members of their trade unions with membership experience spanning from one year to ≥ 21 years. This means that they have firsthand experience and information of the research topic in question. More so, their workplace experiences afford them an understanding of issues that transpire between the unions, employers and government.

5.2 Perceptions of gender issues

Gender representation among participants in the study showed that there are more male participants than females. One possible deduction from this observation is that there are more men who are in paid up employment than women while there are more men in trade union movements than women. Forrest (1993) asserts that “industrial relations, as well as trade union concepts are male oriented, since women were traditionally not really treated as workers or trade unionists but were defined as wives, mothers and daughters”. This view is also supported by Oyesola (2010), Osiruemu (2004) and Omar (2004). These authors reveal that there is discrimination against women in society, employment, as well as in trade unionism. Policies have been established by both COSATU and the NLC that favour women; a majority of participants in the present study also agreed to this, but state that it is quite difficult to change the patriarchal mentality of the members (Orr, 1999; NLC Policy Document, 2007).

Tuner and D’Art (2003) further state that “owing to the changing nature of employment from mostly blue collar to white collar, the percentage of the female workforce is on the increase”. Even though this has a positive effect on their involvement in unionism, much responsibility and power have not been given to women on the leadership forum of the trade unions. Respondents’ opinions of female involvement in trade unionism, as well as the structures and policies of the unions on gender issues, have not been affected by gender mindsets as the result based on gender opinions showed no significant difference. However, a majority of respondents’ opinions showed

agreement with studies that were done elsewhere, which showed that gender restructuring in the unions in both countries, remains work in progress (Orr, 1999; Momoh 2008). It was further observed by Momoh (2008) that women hardly attend trade union meetings, especially when the meetings are scheduled outside work hours and their residing environment. However, regular attendance at trade union meetings is one of the major tools for membership recognition.

5.3 Members' perceptions of trade union finances

COSATU's constitution is clear about the income and expenditure of the union's funds and at least one member from each affiliate is represented when making finance related decisions. No wonder a majority of COSATU members agreed that the affiliates have access to the federation's annual financial statement (COSATU Constitution, 1997). The federation also agreed with the fact that the operations of the union are totally dependent on funds that are generated from levies paid by affiliates. However, in the early days of trade unionism in Nigeria, some officials were charged with misuse of union funds. This led to the introduction of training and development programmes for union leaders and officials with the hope of obtaining the required knowledge on how to handle union affairs, especially finances (Egboh, 1971). Nigeria has been said to be one of the most corrupted nations in the world (Atkinson, 2009; Ademiluyi & Imhonphi, 2010), and the trade union federation is not an exempted from this assertion. More than half of Nigerian respondents in the present study stated that the union affiliates do not have access to the annual financial statement of the NLC.

5.4 Perceptions of political involvements

In most countries of the world, trade unionism has been regarded as anti-government owing to the fact that they act as the voice of the people to protest against any unreasonable action from the government (Ikelegbe 2001; Nwoko, 2009). With the erosion of Apartheid in South Africa, COSATU's alliance with the ruling ANC government has even made the union more powerful to an extent of determining workers' conditions of employment and having power to take note of market forces (Buhlungu, 2003). This is in fact part of the larger expectations of union membership. A majority of both South African and Nigerian respondents believed that the economic, political and social well-being of workers are the responsibilities of trade unions. In the course of protecting the interests of workers, the executive members are also expected to negotiate a befitting and conducive economic and political situation for the workforce.

Due to the alliance between the ruling ANC party, the SACP and COSATU, about twenty members of COSATU are now members of the South African parliament as part of the ANC. In this regard some of the political decisions that are not in favour of the workers, have been antagonized by these representatives in the parliament and the public owing to the fact that COSATU does gain firsthand information and even protest even before such bills are passed into laws (Tuman, 1994; Maree, 1998; Buhlungu, 2003; Beckman, 2009).

COSATU is basically part of the ruling government in South Africa owing to the tripartite alliance, but sometimes the members are not comfortable with the alliance thinking that the union could be a sell-out to workers and support their political alliance at their expense. COSATU has indeed recognized that there is no way that everyone's voice could be given the required attention, therefore, it emphasizes workplace representations through shop stewards who constantly update the executive committee about occurrences in the workplace and workers grievances (Maree, 1998; Bezuidenhout, 2000).

Even in Nigeria, where there is no alliance between the ruling party and the trade union federation owing to consistent disagreements between the union and the government, and the fact that the union believes that the government does not serve in the interests of the masses. The Nigerian Labour Party was later formed with the expectation of launching the political career of any trade union members who are interested in politics and presently, the party is ruling in some states and a handful of them are also members of the Nigerian parliament on the platform of the Labour Party (Fifth International, 2004).

Beckman (2009) and Nwoko (2009) both stated that "COSATU and the NLC are really fighting for the rights of the people and will defend their interests beyond official wage economy". The NLC has been involved in attacking the government on political issues that are not in favour of workers, as well as the public such as minimum wages, electoral reforms, globalization, Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), education related issues, increase in fuel pump prices, negotiating on workers' conditions of service, external debt, and

cost of living (Nwoko, 2009; Ademiluyi & Imhonopi, 2010; Oyelere & Owoyemi, 2011).

As much as the union has been fighting and protesting against unfavourable political decisions in Nigeria, Adewumi (2007) observes that “most of the political uprisings between government and labour could have been averted if only labour leaders gave their members the necessary feedback”. Usually, government does consult with union leaders before taking some political decisions, but the leaders were the ones who did not take into account members input before agreeing or disagreeing with the government, which then causes conflict and protest from union members.

On the whole, respondents in this present study revealed that it is not a crime for union officials both in South Africa and Nigeria, to participate in state politics, but it becomes annoying when union members are not carried along when political decisions are about to be made. Zammit and Rizzo (2002) assert the political alliance of the Malta Trade Union is one of the reasons why they are one of the strongest in Europe and have not been affected by declining union membership since the 1980s. It is also worthy to mention that union alliances with government do not constitute criminal action in as much as the executives are accountable to their members. Algeria, which is a unilateral politically-allied nation with only one trade union organization, namely the General Union of Algeria Workers, made it a point to include the union as part of the government’s decision making body (Branine *et al*, 2008) and just like COSATU and the NLC, the union was part of the movement that

fought for Algeria's independence; their members were also banned and arrested by colonialists.

5.5 Union members' perceptions of globalization

Okafor (2007) stated that "globalization has enriched the world scientifically, economically and culturally, especially developed countries, but the reverse has been the case in both the underdeveloped and developing countries of the world". Globalization can be said to have come to take the little in possession of the developing nations, and then add it to the already abundances of the developed ones. Lier and Stokke (2006) attest to the fact that the trade unions in South Africa, after fighting Apartheid and workplace discrimination, are now faced with another set of challenges, which include outsourcing, contracting, privatization, as well as poor service delivery.

Stinson (2004) reason that globalization is initiated by powerful global corporations with the aim of increasing their market shares and profits at the expense of workers, but workers are not relenting on their global network for solidarity against privatization and its likes. The present study also confirmed that privatization of public enterprises has had a great influence on the reduction of trade union membership both in South Africa and Nigeria. Adewumi (2007) asserts that "if trade unions in their large numbers with unity of purpose come together, they could be a powerful tool to fight whatever form of oppression government, employers, capitalist or multinational corporations want to use against them to undermine them".

Rust (2001) acknowledges that free trade agreement and privatization are also some of the external influences that affect the growth of trade union membership. The fact that the private sector now controls major parts of the economy has resulted in massive workers lay-off and reduction in the firmness of employment protective regulations. In the course of privatization of public own property, even water utility that was considered free for all has been privatized in some countries (Public Citizen, 2003). Water is projected to be the 21st century oil, which is gradually attracting global corporations. Diamond (1987) further mentions that “privatization is motivated as a result of individuals’ desire to establish own careers, acquire wealth and raise their social status at the expense of the masses”.

Accommodation of multinational companies in the name of free trade has placed enormous strain on small businesses from having access to raw materials, loans from financial institutions and even having employees. Suppliers of raw materials want to deal with bigger companies that make huge demands, while banks only want to give loans to established corporations with bigger collaterals and employees want to work for organizations that pay more wages and benefits. The multinational corporations are expanding rapidly at the expense of small scale businesses, even in European countries (Haworth & Ramsey, 2007; Mambula, 2002).

5.6 Limitations and challenges of the study

The study was conducted in certain parts of the two countries using two affiliates of COSATU and NLC each from twenty-nine and forty-two affiliates,

respectively. Hence, the results gathered from this study could not be said to represent the general opinions of members of COSATU and the NLC. More so, having used members of SAMWU and SADTU (Cape Town Branch), members of NULGE and NUT (Lagos State Branch), one can state that they represent a minimum percentage of a whole, hence their opinions cannot be wholly taken as representative of the general feelings of the union's membership. However, the results from this study can be used as a benchmark for future research direction into the exciting field of labour relations. Also, since the results cannot be regarded as binding on all the affiliate unions, this leaves room for further research in which all the affiliates in both trade union federations can be represented, and the results captured will represent the general opinions of the trade union federations.

Furthermore, in the course of data collection for this study, some union members were reluctant to participate based on fear of intimidation. Some respondents even gave excuses about a lack of time; while some were served the questionnaire with the promise of bringing it back completed the following day, but never did. Hence, this resulted in numerous trips to the research location time in order to ensure that the expected number of participants was recorded in order to have unbiased results within the study area.

5.7 Recommendations and Conclusion

Over the years most industrial actions embarked on by trade unions, especially in South Africa and Nigeria were a result of defaults or non-fulfilment of collective bargaining agreements between the state and the

unions (Nwadaïro, 2010). The International Labour Organization convention allows individual countries of the world to determine the kind of machinery of collective bargaining that will go well with the needs of their workforce, but there should be equal representation of employers and workers from the concerned industry (Tajudeen & Kehinde, 2007).

In light of the above, it can be concluded from this study that COSATU and NLC do represent the interests of their members in most crucial areas of trade unionism, but there is a problem in the area of communication and keeping members updated on latest trends before and after some crucial governmental decisions are taken. These have been a major concern for members who thought that they are being sidelined by their executives or rather the executives tend to pursue their own interest at the expense of members. This has in fact made them unwilling to show interest in the unions' activities as well as to encourage non-members to join. One would recommend that proportionate meetings with regard to feedback from central executive meetings, should be organized more with members to keep them updated.

Furthermore, perks and other incentives should be regularly given to members who attend meetings. In making the voice of the workforce more felt where governmental issues are concerned, the members should be encouraged to join union-aligned parties, actively campaign for candidates who are union members, and likewise vote for these members during elections, as seen in the case of the Labour Party in Nigeria.

With the recent growth rate in the unorganized sector of the economy and the fact that trade unionism has not really penetrated that sector, there is a need for both COSATU and the NLC to unionize the informal sector in order to increase their membership, since there is unity of purpose in large followerships.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A



MTech RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Topic: South African and Nigerian workers' perceptions of their trade union federations: a comparative analysis of Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC)

Introduction: This research questionnaire is mainly for academic purpose. Participant's identity will remain anonymous. Honest opinion of participants in filling this questionnaire will help the researcher understand the way and manner in which trade union federations represent the interest of their members. Please, feel free to ask for clarification on any of the questions. The scoring option ranges from 1-5 and as follows:

1= Strongly disagree

2= Disagree

3= Neutral

4= Agree

5= Strongly agree

Tick **X** wherever applicable and avoid being **Neutral** as much as you could.

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. **Gender:** Male Female
2. **Age:** 21-25 years 26-30 years 31-35 years 36-40 years
41 years and above
3. **Working experience:** 6-10 years 11-15 years 16-20 years
21-25 years 26 years and above
4. **Length of trade union membership:** 1-5 years 6-10 years 11-15 years
16-20 years 21 years and above

RESEARCH ITEMS

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Administrative set-up					
1. Conflicts of power and interest exists among the executives of trade unions					
2. Trade union administration is affected by nationality, creed and ethnicity					
3. Administrative board members are democratically elected with limited period of tenure					
Leadership style					
1. All members have equal rights to contest for any position during elections					
2. Union elections are democratically conducted					
3. The executives often take unilateral decisions					
4. Leadership skills should be augmented by education and training					
5. Full-time union officials are more committed and competent than part-time officials					
Finance					
1. Affiliated members have access to their unions' financial statements at the end of every financial year					
2. Members are consulted before levies are decided					
3. Trade unionism is being used to extort money from the government by the executives					
4. Funds allocated for union management is well-managed and accounted for					
Training of Workers					
1. Trade unions do organize training and development programmes for their members from time to time					
2. Technical competency among full-time union officials is ensured, while programmes to empower members and shop stewards are also embarked upon					
3. Trade unions were able to disabuse workers' mind					

about the concept of human resource management in the workplace					
Organization and recruitment					
1. Memberships of unions are increasing every year					
2. New employees are encouraged and motivated to join the trade unions					
3. Discrimination exists between white-collar and blue-collar workers in trade union organizations					
4. The objective of one union, one federation has been established					
Political Influence					
1. Trade unions has the responsibility of protecting workers economic, political and social well being					
2. Members vying for political offices often use the trade union as platform for campaigning					
3. Union officials are legally allowed to actively participate in the political activities of the state					
4. Government's economic and political reforms are negotiated by trade unions on behalf of the workforce					
Mobilization for industrial action					
1. Government only listens to trade union demands when threatened with (or when workers embark on) strike actions					
2. Trade union federations could get through to its affiliate bodies to embark on industrial action within a short period					
3. Trade unions should campaign against any measure that is aimed at reducing social service benefits					
Gender Issues					
1. Women participation is not encouraged at the executive level by the trade unions					
2. The trade union policies and activities are structured in a way that favour both genders					
Health and Safety					
1. Trade unions ensure that operational health and safety measures are adhered to in the workplace					
2. Trade unions are concerned about the welfare of the workers living with diseases such as HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and the like					
Collective bargaining					
1. Union members are protected from any form of exploitation by employer government					
2. Union membership has been regarded as an effective means of improving wages and securing good rewards from work					
3. Trade unions can be trusted to negotiate befitting remuneration and incentives from the employers or government on their behalf					

Globalization					
1. Privatization of public enterprises has led to reduction in trade union membership over the years					
2. Privatization has led to inequality between workers in terms of compensation and job satisfaction					
3. Emigration of skilled workers has led to brain-drain in the country					
4. Free trade between countries has led to reduction of local capacity utilization of both manpower and locally sourced raw materials					

Thank you for participating in this research exercise. If you would like to be informed of the outcome, please contact me through the details below:

Mrs. Christiana O. Kappo-Abidemi
Human Resource Management Department
Faculty of Business
Cape Peninsula University of Technology
Cape Town, South Africa
Cell Number: +27 (0) 72 809 4304
E-mail: 209142170@cput.ac.za

Appendix B



Wednesday 14th March, 2010

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

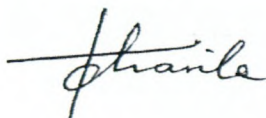
LETTER ON INTRODUCTION AND REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH – CHRISTIANA KAPPO-ABIDEMI (STUDENT NUMBER: 209142170)

The above-named is a post-graduate student under my supervision and is presently registered for the Master of Technology (MTech) degree in Human Resource Management at this institution. As requirement for the award to the intended qualification, the student is expected to conduct an academic research into an issue in society/industry (public or private sectors) with a view to improving understanding of that phenomenon. Her research is titled: **“South African and Nigerian workers’ perception of their Trade Union Federations: a comparative analysis of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC)”**. On behalf of the student, we kindly request your permission/consent for the research to be conducted within your organization.

This research and its findings are purely for academic purposes. The internal operational, financial and other information of the organization would not be divulged or made public for any other purpose. The results obtained from the investigation would be captured in an academic publication format (thesis, dissertation or journal article) whilst maintaining due respect for the anonymity of sources and the confidentiality of information gathered. At your request, such findings would be made available to you.

I hereby unreservedly recommend her to you for your confidence and assistance in whatever capacity. Please feel free to contact the under-signed should you require any further clarifications.

Yours faithfully,



Prof (Adv) Charles O. K. Allen-Ile
Internal Supervisor
Head: Human Resource Management Department

FACULTY OF BUSINESS, DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
Bellville Campus: Symphony Way (Off Modderdam Road), P. O. Box 1906, BELLVILLE 7535, Tel: +27 21 959 6422 / 6289, Fax: +27 21 959 6097
Cape Town Campus: Keizerskroon, P. O. Box 652, CAPE TOWN 8000, Tel: +27 21 460 3293 / 6019, Fax: +27 21 460 3716
Metropole of Cape Town, South Africa Website: <http://www.cput.ac.za> E-mail: allenilec@cput.ac.za

Appendix C

South African Democratic Teachers Union Western Cape



PLEASE ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE PROVINCIAL SECRETARY

PHYSICAL ADDRESS
"Don Pasquallie House"
33 Tallent Street
Parow
7500

POSTAL ADDRESS
P.O. Box 320
Parow, 7500
Tel: 021-9308391
Fax: 021-9308497
E-Mail: westerncape@sadtu.org.za

20 April 2010

To: Christiana Abidemi-Kappo

Dear Madam

We are hereby giving you authority to do your research/case study on SADTU.

Yours faithfully

Duly signed

Jonavon Rustin
Provincial Secretary

Boland Region	Coastal Region	Inland Region	Karoo Region	South Coast Region	West Coast Region
Tel. (021) 8593143	(021) 7037131	(021) 9517162	(044) 7631017	(044) 8802119	(021) 5720968
Fax (085) 0218593143	(021) 7039289	(021) 9517163	(044) 7631275	(044) 8802119	(086) 5401729
Cell (083) 6349207	(083) 6344463	(083) 6329856	(083) 6349212	(083) 6349214	(083) 6349213
E-mail jadam@sadtu.org.za	wcccoastal@sadtu.org.za	lrubusbe@sadtu.org.za	ubtrinkhous@sadtu.org.za	skwazi@sadtu.org.za	kwilbams@sadtu.org.za

Appendix D

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM



STELLENBOSCH
STELLENBOSCH • PNIEL • FRANSCHHOEK
MUNICIPALITY • UMASIPALA • MUNISIPALITEIT

Stellenbosch Municipality
Ecclesia Building, 3rd Floor
71 Plein Street
STELLENBOSCH, 7599

Tel 021 -808 8060
Fax 086 590 2330
ulrichc@stellenbosch.org

To:	Acting Director Corporate Services	From:	Ulrich Cupido
	Acting Municipal Manager	Date:	Thursday, June 03, 2010
Re:	Request to conduct research at Stellenbosch Municipality		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Urgent <input type="checkbox"/> For Review <input type="checkbox"/> Please Comment <input type="checkbox"/> Please Reply <input type="checkbox"/> Please Recycle			

Dear Director

Above matter refers to a research request from Christina Kappo-Abidemi.

The purpose of this memorandum is to obtain approval in order to allow the student to communicate with employees during work hours.

Above-mentioned student is enrolled at Cape Peninsula University of Technology for the Master of Technology (MTech) Degree in Human Resource Management. Her research is titled: "South African and Nigerian workers' perception of their Trade Union Federations: A comparative analysis of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC)".

Attached a copy of the

- Institution - Cape Peninsula University of Technology
- Research questionnaire of Christina Kappo-Abidemi

Recommendation

- that the student be allowed to complete the research questionnaire.

Human Resource Greetings

Ulrich Cupido
Acting Assistant Director: Human Resource Management

Supported/~~Not supported~~:

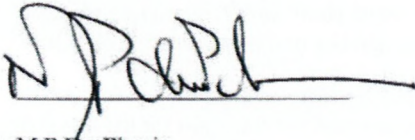


K. Ford
Acting Director: Corporate Services

Subject to the availability of employees and furthermore subject thereto that such interviews should not impact on the operational activities of staff.

9/6/2010

APPROVED/NOT APPROVED




M.P. Du Plessis
Acting Municipal Manager

9/6/2010

Date

Appendix E

N U L G E	NIGERIA UNION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES <i>Nulge, Badagry Local Government Branch</i>		Council Secretariat Ajara, Box 18, Badagry
	State Secretariat 143 Murtala Muhammed Way, Ebute-Mela, Lagos State ☎: Lagos 861859 Telegrams: NULGE-LAGOS		08033448388, 08052044159 (Chairman) 08077341270, 07041612426 (Secretary) 20 November, 2010
	Our Ref. _____	Date: _____	
	Branch Chairman, <i>Com. Balogun Mufutau S.</i>	Branch Secretary, <i>Com. Amosu Samuel S.</i>	

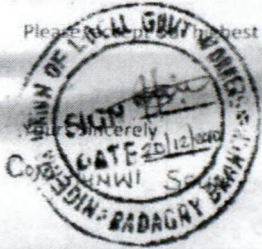
To: Mrs. Christiana O. Kappo-Abidemi

Dear Madam,

Your application for the inclusion of staff members of this institution as participants in your MTEC Human Resource Management research was received by this office and deliberated upon. From your submitted questionnaire, we understood the topic of the study was: "South Africa and Nigerian workers perception of their Trade Union Federations: a comparative analysis of Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC)".

Hence, you are hereby granted the requested permission to collect data from our staff members as long as it will not stop them from carrying out their responsibilities and duties. It is envisaged your study would serve as a platform for improved labour relations between management and staff members.

Please accept our best wishes in this endeavour.



Executives: Com. Balogun Mufutau S. (Chairman), Com. Odutola Senzani J. (Vice Chairman), Com. Amosu Samuel S. (Gen. Secretary), Com. Gbemis Ibilanke (A/Gen. Secretary), Com. Oduntan Femi (Treasurer), Com. Hunwi Oluwaseun (Auditor), Com. Numawon Samuel B. (Trustee)

All Correspondence should be addressed to the Branch Secretary

Appendix F



P.O. Box 1906 • Bellville 7535 South Africa • Tel: +27 21 442 6162 • Fax +27 21 447 2963
Symphony Road Bellville 7535

Office of the Chairperson Research Ethics Committee	Faculty: BUSINESS
--------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------

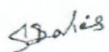
At a meeting of the Research Ethics Committee on 30 March 2011, ethics approval was granted to KAPPO-ABIDEMI, Christiana Omolayo (209142170) for research activities related to the MTech/DTech: MTech: Human Resource Management at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

Title of dissertation/thesis:	South African and Nigerian workers perception of their Trade Union Federations: a comparative analysis of Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) Supervisor: Prof C.O.K Allen-Ile
-------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Comments (Add any further comments deemed necessary)

Research activities are restricted to those detailed in the research proposal.

Please note that the following application was submitted to the Faculty of Business Research Ethics Committee (FBREC) on 29 September 2011. The proposal was ethically acceptable in principle, but required supporting documentation. The necessary documentation has been received and resubmitted.

	30 March 2011
Signed: Chairperson: Research Ethics Committee	Date

_____	_____
Signed: Chairperson: Faculty Research Committee	Date

Clearance Certificate No | FBREC0005

Appendix G

Gender * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Gender	Male	51	60	111
	Female	49	40	89
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.640 ^a	1	.200		
Continuity Correction ^b	1.296	1	.255		
Likelihood Ratio	1.642	1	.200		
Fisher's Exact Test				.255	.127
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.632	1	.201		
N of Valid Cases	200				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 44.50.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Age * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Age	21-25 years	8	9	17
	26-30 years	12	22	34
	31-35 years	25	25	50
	36-40 years	20	13	33
	41 years or above	35	31	66
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.727 ^a	4	.316
Likelihood Ratio	4.783	4	.310
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.061	1	.151
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.50.

Working experience * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Working experience	6-10 years	33	56	89
	11-15 years	21	8	29
	16-20 years	18	12	30
	21-25 years	18	11	29
	26 years or above	10	13	23
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.052 ^a	4	.005
Likelihood Ratio	15.359	4	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.746	1	.098
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.50.

Length of trade union membership * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Length of trade union membership	1-5 years	24	40	64
	6-10 years	23	21	44
	11-15 years	26	13	39
	16-20 years	17	8	25
	21 years or above	10	18	28
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.950 ^a	4	.007
Likelihood Ratio	14.183	4	.007
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.331	1	.249
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.50.

Conflict of power and interest exists among the executives of trade unions

*** Country**

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Conflict of power and interest exists among the executives of trade unions	Strongly disagree	6	8	14
	Disagree	12	9	21
	Neutral	20	0	20
	Agree	48	64	112
	Strongly agree	14	19	33
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.758 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	31.497	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.615	1	.106
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.00.

Trade unions administration is affected by nationality, creed and ethnicity

* Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Trade unions administration is affected by nationality, creed and ethnicity	Strongly disagree	3	8	11
	Disagree	19	34	53
	Neutral	21	6	27
	Agree	48	32	80
	Strongly agree	9	20	29
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22.224 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	22.988	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.315	1	.251
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.50.

Administration board members are democratically elected with limited period of tenure * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Administration board members are democratically elected with limited period of tenure	Strongly disagree	1	4	5
	Disagree	9	10	19
	Neutral	30	5	35
	Agree	46	41	87
	Strongly agree	14	40	54
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	32.516 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	35.133	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.796	1	.005
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.50.

All members have equal rights to contest for any position during election

*** Country**

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
All members have equal rightst to contest for any position during election	Strongly disagree	3	2	5
	Disagree	10	7	17
	Neutral	19	1	20
	Agree	50	37	87
	Strongly agree	18	53	71
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	36.125 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	40.499	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	18.751	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.50.

Union election are democratically conducted * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Union election are democratically conducted	Strongly disagree	0	1	1
	Disagree	4	11	15
	Neutral	27	3	30
	Agree	56	43	99
	Strongly agree	13	42	55
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	40.465 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	44.672	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.391	1	.004
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .50.

The executive often take unilateral decision * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
The executive often take unilateral decision	Strongly disagree	7	3	10
	Disagree	21	12	33
	Neutral	34	4	38
	Agree	32	57	89
	Strongly agree	6	24	30
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	45.561 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	49.920	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	25.659	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.00.

Leadership skills should be augmented by education and training * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Leadership skills should be augmented by education and training	Strongly disagree	2	1	3
	Disagree	4	8	12
	Neutral	16	6	22
	Agree	43	37	80
	Strongly agree	35	48	83
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.698 ^a	4	.069
Likelihood Ratio	8.911	4	.063
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.831	1	.176
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.50.

Full-time union officials are more committed and competent than part-time officials

*** Country**

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Full-time union officials are more committed and competent than part-time officials	Strongly disagree	9	2	11
	Disagree	22	10	32
	Neutral	25	9	34
	Agree	32	36	68
	Strongly agree	12	43	55
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	34.192 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	36.041	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	29.332	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.50.

Affiliated members have access to their unions' financial statement at the end of every financial year * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Affiliated members have access to their unions' financial statement at the end of every financial year	Strongly disagree	10	11	21
	Disagree	20	39	59
	Neutral	31	3	34
	Agree	32	26	58
	Strongly agree	7	21	28
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	36.846 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	41.064	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.003	1	.955
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.50.

Members are consulted before levies are decided * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Members are consulted before levies are decided	Strongly disagree	5	24	29
	Disagree	26	37	63
	Neutral	25	8	33
	Agree	33	24	57
	Strongly agree	11	7	18
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25.436 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	26.987	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.254	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.00.

Trade unionism is being used to extort money from the government by the executives * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Trade unionism is being used to extort money from the government by the executives	Strongly disagree	8	22	30
	Disagree	31	31	62
	Neutral	42	7	49
	Agree	13	30	43
	Strongly agree	6	10	16
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	39.254 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	42.450	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.032	1	.858
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.00.

Funds allocated for union management is well-managed and accounted for

*** Country**

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Funds allocated for union management is well-managed and accounted for	Strongly disagree	7	10	17
	Disagree	18	34	52
	Neutral	34	12	46
	Agree	31	29	60
	Strongly agree	10	15	25
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.041 ^a	4	.002
Likelihood Ratio	17.574	4	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	.704	1	.402
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.50.

Trade unions do organize training and development programmes for their

members from time to time * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Trade unions do organize training and development programmes for their members from time to time	Strongly disagree	10	7	17
	Disagree	13	24	37
	Neutral	29	13	42
	Agree	38	33	71
	Strongly agree	10	23	33
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.368 ^a	4	.004
Likelihood Ratio	15.719	4	.003
Linear-by-Linear Association	.890	1	.345
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.50.

Technical competency among full-time union officials is ensured, while programmes to empower members and shop stewards are also embarked upon * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Technical competency among full-time union officials is ensured, while programmes to empower members and shop stewards are also embarked upon	Strongly disagree	5	6	11
	Disagree	14	21	35
	Neutral	30	19	49
	Agree	43	46	89
	Strongly agree	8	8	16
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.061 ^a	4	.398
Likelihood Ratio	4.092	4	.394
Linear-by-Linear Association	.169	1	.681
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.50.

Trade unions were able to disabuse workers' mind about the concept of human resources management in the workplace * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Trade unions were able to disabuse workers' mind about the concept of human resources management in the workplace	Strongly disagree	8	11	19
	Disagree	23	22	45
	Neutral	36	15	51
	Agree	25	50	75
	Strongly agree	8	2	10
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.076 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	21.757	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.271	1	.603
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.00.

Memberships of the unions are increasing every year * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Memberships of the unions are increasing every year	Strongly disagree	8	12	20
	Disagree	12	18	30
	Neutral	17	3	20
	Agree	52	41	93
	Strongly agree	11	26	37
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.182 ^a	4	.001
Likelihood Ratio	20.395	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.082	1	.775
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.00.

New employees are encouraged and motivated to join the trade unions * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
New employees are encouraged and motivated to join the trade unions	Strongly disagree	1	2	3
	Disagree	8	12	20
	Neutral	17	6	23
	Agree	58	50	108
	Strongly agree	16	30	46
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.248 ^a	4	.024
Likelihood Ratio	11.550	4	.021
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.130	1	.288
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.50.

Discrimination exists between white-collar and the blue-collar workers in the trade unions organisations * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Discimination exists between white-collar and the blue-collar workers in the trade unions organisations	Strongly disagree	4	9	13
	Disagree	21	19	40
	Neutral	29	12	41
	Agree	36	41	77
	Strongly agree	10	19	29
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.190 ^a	4	.016
Likelihood Ratio	12.504	4	.014
Linear-by-Linear Association	.857	1	.355
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.50.

The objective of one union, one federation has been established * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
The objective of one union, one federation has been established	Strongly disagree	7	6	13
	Disagree	15	24	39
	Neutral	38	12	50
	Agree	30	46	76
	Strongly agree	10	12	22
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.224 ^a	4	.001
Likelihood Ratio	19.955	4	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	.701	1	.402
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.50.

Trade unions has the responsibility of protecting workers economic, political and social well being * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Trade unions has the responsibility of protecting workers economic, political and social well being	Strongly disagree	4	4	8
	Disagree	4	3	7
	Neutral	11	2	13
	Agree	47	50	97
	Strongly agree	34	41	75
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.120 ^a	4	.130
Likelihood Ratio	7.750	4	.101
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.741	1	.187
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 4 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.50.

Members vying for political offices often use the trade union as platform for campaigning * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Members vying for political offices often use the trade union as platform for campaigning	Strongly disagree	3	11	14
	Disagree	16	18	34
	Neutral	27	3	30
	Agree	39	46	85
	Strongly agree	15	22	37
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25.790 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	28.971	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.032	1	.857
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.00.

Union officials are legally allowed to actively participate in the political activity of the state * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Union officials are legally allowed to actively participate in the political activity of the state	Strongly disagree	0	5	5
	Disagree	10	15	25
	Neutral	29	21	50
	Agree	42	46	88
	Strongly agree	19	13	32
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.587 ^a	4	.072
Likelihood Ratio	10.537	4	.032
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.734	1	.098
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.50.

Government's economic and political reforms are negotiated by trade unions on behalf of the workforce * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Government's economic and political reforms are negotiated by trade unions on behalf of the workforce	Strongly disagree	2	9	11
	Disagree	13	11	24
	Neutral	29	8	37
	Agree	44	45	89
	Strongly agree	12	27	39
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22.321 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	23.576	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.498	1	.221
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.50.

Government only listens to the trade union demand when threatened with (or when workers embarked on) strike actions * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Government only listens to the trade union demand when threatened with (or when workers embarked on) strike actions	Strongly disagree	7	4	11
	Disagree	24	11	35
	Neutral	14	4	18
	Agree	29	33	62
	Strongly agree	26	48	74
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18.001 ^a	4	.001
Likelihood Ratio	18.557	4	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	13.960	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.50.

Trade unions federation could get through to its affiliates bodies to embark on industrial action within a short period * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Trade unions federation could get through to its affiliates bodies to embark on industrial action within a short period	Strongly disagree	2	3	5
	Disagree	18	9	27
	Neutral	27	14	41
	Agree	41	44	85
	Strongly agree	12	30	42
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.142 ^a	4	.004
Likelihood Ratio	15.529	4	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.890	1	.002
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.50.

Trade unions should campaign against any measure that is aimed at reducing social service benefits * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Trade unions should	Strongly disagree	2	4	6
campaign against any	Disagree	10	8	18
measure that is aimed at	Neutral	23	6	29
reducing social service	Agree	43	57	100
benefits	Strongly agree	22	25	47
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.006 ^a	4	.011
Likelihood Ratio	13.694	4	.008
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.649	1	.199
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.00.

Women participation is not encouraged at the executive level by trade unions

*** Country**

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Women participation is not encouraged at the executive level by trade unions	Strongly disagree	14	29	43
	Disagree	32	32	64
	Neutral	22	2	24
	Agree	19	29	48
	Strongly agree	13	8	21
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25.173 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	28.148	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.559	1	.110
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.50.

The trade union policies and activities are structured in a way that favours both gender * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
The trade union policies and activities are structured in a way that favours both gender	Strongly disagree	5	24	29
	Disagree	13	35	48
	Neutral	30	5	35
	Agree	36	26	62
	Strongly agree	16	10	26
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	43.386 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	46.840	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	20.294	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.00.

Trade unions ensure that operational health and safety measure are adhered to in the workplace * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Trade unions ensure that operational health and safety measure are adhered to in the workplace	Strongly disagree	6	6	12
	Disagree	13	18	31
	Neutral	23	11	34
	Agree	42	40	82
	Strongly agree	16	25	41
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.066 ^a	4	.132
Likelihood Ratio	7.178	4	.127
Linear-by-Linear Association	.453	1	.501
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.00.

Trade unions are concerned about the welfare of the workers living with diseases such as HIV/Aids, tuberculosis and the likes * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Trade unions are concerned about the welfare of the workers living with diseases such as HIV/Aids, tuberculosis and the likes	Strongly disagree	5	20	25
	Disagree	7	39	46
	Neutral	22	12	34
	Agree	46	21	67
	Strongly agree	20	8	28
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	48.673 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	52.028	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	38.149	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.50.

Union members are protected from any form of exploitation by employer/government

*** Country**

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Union members are protected from any form of exploitation by employer/government	Strongly disagree	10	4	14
	Disagree	14	13	27
	Neutral	22	9	31
	Agree	38	57	95
	Strongly agree	16	17	33
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.890 ^a	4	.018
Likelihood Ratio	12.174	4	.016
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.532	1	.033
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.00.

Union membership has been regarded as an effective means of improving wages and securing good rewards from work * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Union membership has been regarded as an effective means of improving wages and securing good rewards from work	Strongly disagree	5	2	7
	Disagree	14	15	29
	Neutral	24	9	33
	Agree	43	46	89
	Strongly agree	14	28	42
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.906 ^a	4	.012
Likelihood Ratio	13.296	4	.010
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.619	1	.018
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.50.

Trade unions can be trusted to negotiate befitting remuneration and incentives from employers and government on their behalf * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Trade unions can be trusted to negotiate befitting remuneration and incentives from employers and government on their behalf	Strongly disagree	8	2	10
	Disagree	13	16	29
	Neutral	30	8	38
	Agree	40	45	85
	Strongly agree	9	29	38
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27.468 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	29.101	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.926	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.00.

Privatization of public enterprises has led to reduction in trade union membership over the years * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Privatization of public enterprises has led to reduction in trade union membership over the years	Strongly disagree	7	3	10
	Disagree	13	19	32
	Neutral	33	18	51
	Agree	38	48	86
	Strongly agree	9	12	21
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.728 ^a	4	.068
Likelihood Ratio	8.850	4	.065
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.513	1	.219
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.00.

Privatization has led to inequality between workers in terms of compensation and job satisfaction * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Privatization has led to inequality between workers in terms of compensation and job satisfaction	Strongly disagree	1	4	5
	Disagree	15	12	27
	Neutral	29	6	35
	Agree	39	54	93
	Strongly agree	16	24	40
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.267 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	22.752	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.759	1	.053
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.50.

Emigration of skilled workers has lead to brain-drain in the country * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Emigration of skilled workers has lead to brain-drain in the country	Strongly disagree	2	9	11
	Disagree	17	20	37
	Neutral	26	9	35
	Agree	37	41	78
	Strongly agree	18	21	39
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.391 ^a	4	.010
Likelihood Ratio	14.115	4	.007
Linear-by-Linear Association	.182	1	.670
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.50.

Free trade between countries has lead to reduction of local capacity utilization of both manpower and locally sourced raw materials * Country

		Country		Total
		South Africa	Nigeria	
Free trade between countries has lead to reduction of local capacity utilization of both manpower and locally sourced raw materials	Strongly disagree	3	5	8
	Disagree	15	19	34
	Neutral	26	15	41
	Agree	31	39	70
	Strongly agree	25	22	47
Total		100	100	200

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.028 ^a	4	.284
Likelihood Ratio	5.073	4	.280
Linear-by-Linear Association	.138	1	.710
N of Valid Cases	200		

a. 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.00.

