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**Dedicated to my son and daughter,
Chinedu and Nkiruka**

**CULTURE AND JOB REGULATION: a comparative study of
cultural influences on workplace industrial relations in Hausa and Ibo textile factories in Nigeria.**

by

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the
University of Aston in Birmingham.

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CULTURE AND JOB REGULATION: a comparative study of cultural influences on workplace industrial relations in Hausa and Ibo textile factories in Nigeria.

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The objective of this study is to examine the extent to which the cultural attitudinal characteristics and customary practices of the members of a cultural group, influence the pattern of job regulation at the workplaces of the cultural group. The main assumption of the study is that the patterns of expectations and perceptions of workers and managers are based on their attitudes, which are themselves culture-bound.

The Hausa and the Ibo tribal groups in Nigeria, which were identified as distinct cultural groups, were chosen for the study. Because the study is fundamentally an exploratory one, as no study of cultural influences on workplace industrial relations in any cultural group in Nigeria has previously been carried out, the case study method was adopted. Basing the study on two cultural groups within one national boundary, made it possible to carry out the empirical part of the study in two Hausa and two Ibo workplaces that were under the influence of the same political, legal and general macro-economic systems. The four workplaces were also matched for technology and size.

The results of the study establish that strong relationships exist between certain cultural attitudinal characteristics of members of a society and the pattern of job regulation at the workplaces of that society. Workers' attitude to unions, the extent to which grievance and disputes settlement procedures are formalised and the extent to which third-parties are used in settling disagreements between unions and management, are strongly influenced by the degree to which a culture emphasizes interpersonal relationships among its members. The extent to which unions apply sanctions in enforcing their demands, the type of rule-making process that is dominant at the workplace, and the extent of formalisation of the rules of job regulation, are influenced by the traditional attitude to authority and social class, of members of a society. The nature of management industrial relations policies are largely influenced by the society's traditional way of dealing with subordinates, and its traditional system of political administration. The nature of a society's cultural attitudes to risk-taking and individual achievement, the desire to acquire wealth, and the general reaction to change, bear significant influences on the pattern of other aspects of job regulation at the workplace.

Industrial relations

Nigeria

Cultural influences

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. CROSS-NATIONAL STUDIES OF WORK-PLACE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

The study of the origins of the diversities in the patterns of workplace industrial relations across societies, has not hitherto received much attention from researchers in the field of Industrial Relations or in the Social Sciences generally. Kerr et al's book entitled 'Industrialism and Industrial Man', which was first published in 1960, was probably the first major work to give attention to the factors which are likely to be responsible in shaping the systems of industrial relations in different societies. The authors argued that "diversities in industrial relations systems derive from the significantly different or unique backdrops against which they are fashioned" (Kerr et al: 1973, p.227). They then went on to identify those 'unique backdrops' as the different historical periods at which each particular industrial relations system was designed and the degree of economic backwardness in which the society was at that time; the policies and plans of the industrializing elites in spearheading the industrialisation process in the society; and the pre-industrial culture (ibid. p.227).

Although Kerr et al did not elaborate much on how each of the above factors can influence the industrial relations systems of societies, they seemed to conceive of a strong relationship between the initial shape of a society's industrial relations system and the historical period at which industrialisation started in the society together with the

type of elitist group that led the process. The authors argue that the different policies of the five types of industrializing elites in societies - the middle class, the dynastic leaders, the colonial administrators, the revolutionary intellectuals and the nationalist leaders, do account for the differences in the nature of the systems of industrial relations adopted in societies at their early stages of industrialisation. They indicated that the direct influence of culture on the industrial relations system is very likely to be noticed only at the early stages of industrialisation, in relation to the settlement of disputes, as they argued that:

"In the earliest stages of industrialisation, the development of dispute-settling machinery frequently utilizes the pre-existing tribal and family system among the work force. In the course of development, procedures for handling disputes create neutrals (often government representatives) who have final authority to certain disputes. The emergence of neutrals is a necessary corollary to the limitation on conflict" (ibid. p.251).

Kerr et al argued that economic growth has a dominant impact on the substantive rules of the workplace and the general shape of the industrial relations system in a society, irrespective of the influence of culture and that of the policies of the elitist group that leads the industrialisation process, because the nature of the rules of the workplace and the general shape of the industrial relations system of a society:

"tend to respond to changes in technology and competitive conditions and to be adapted to other changes associated with the stage of economic development....rules which are substantively conditioned by technology and competitive conditions will tend to be similar in different industrial relations systems" (ibid. p.257).

The authors therefore, suggest that the 'unique backdrops' of societies mentioned earlier, will only have a temporary influence

on the industrial relations systems, because as industrialisation progresses, technology which will be the main force in economic development, will play a central role in shaping the industrial relations systems of industrial societies.

Kerr et al focused mainly on the national systems of industrial relations, and theirs was a general global comparison of national industrial relations systems. Dore (1973) who focused on industrial relations at the workplace, attributed a much less central role to technology. From his study of two British and two Japanese factories that were matched for technology and size, Dore concluded that the differences between the British and the Japanese systems are mainly due to two factors - the circumstances present during the periods at which the industries in the respective societies were established, and the effects of the 'late development' of the Japanese industries on their system. Dore argued that at the time Japanese industries developed, certain evolutionary changes in management approaches had occurred, which made the old 'market-oriented' form of managing the workplace to give way to social or 'organisation-oriented' approach. He also argued that the fact that Japanese industries started late, made it possible for the Japanese to learn from the mistakes of the early starters, and this affected the way they designed their industrial relations system and their general employment system.

Dore certainly recognised that culture was likely to have influences on workplace industrial relations and on the general mode of work organisation, because referring to his main points mentioned above, he argued that:

"these factors are a partial though not a complete explanation of the differences between British and Japanese ways of organising the world of work....."

There remains a good deal of the differences between Japan and Britain which it seems only reasonable to ascribe to their different cultural traditions or to the particularities of their respective histories" (ibid. pp.12-13).

But his general treatment of culture in his study shows that Dore does not consider that culture deserves being given a prominent place in accounting for differences in the patterns of workplace industrial relations across societies. By implication, this view seems to be shared by Clegg (1976), who in his study of trade unionism in six countries in which he purported to be building up theories on the patterns of trade union organisations in the different societies, totally ignored the probable influence of culture on the patterns of trade union organisation in the six societies.

Such practice of giving a low regard to, or attempting to ignore totally the cultural influences on industrial relations and on the general mode of the organisation of work and employment relationships in cross-societal studies of the workplace, implies, as pointed out by Child (1981, p.307):

"a theoretical position in which one assumes either (1) that societies do not have a cultural aspect (which very few would accept), or (2) that culture has no consequence for organisational variables, or (3) that different cultural systems have the same consequence for these variables".

Obviously, the implication (1) in the above statement is not true, because Cultural Anthropologists have strongly established that societies exist in cultural groups with distinctly different cultural characteristics. Implications (2) and (3) can only be valid, if it can be shown that there are no differences in workers and managers' patterns of attitudes and behaviours at the workplace in different societies. But a great deal of evidence exists which strongly suggests that the

attitudes and behaviours of workers and managers at the workplace differ across societies. For example, Haire et al (1966) in their study of attitudes and need satisfaction of about 3,600 managers in fourteen countries, have suggested that variations exist in managerial behaviour patterns in different cultural contexts, and McClelland (1961) has shown that people in different societies possess different levels of need for achievement, and that a society's level of need for achievement is culturally determined and is rooted in the society's child-rearing practices and religious values.¹

Regrettably, the way in which these established differences in cultural attitudes influence the patterns of workplace industrial relations in different societies, has hitherto been given little or no attention by researchers in the field of Industrial Relations. The only study at present that, among other contributions, pointed at some cultural influences on workplace organisation of unions, was the one carried out by Gallie (1978), in which he studied "the implications of advanced automation for the social integration of the work force within the capitalist enterprise" (ibid. p.295). In his study, which was based on two British and two French Refineries, Gallie found differences in the level of expectations of workers between the British and the French workplaces, which suggested a positive relationship with the different types of unionism

1. See also De Bettignies' (1973) study of Japanese workers, Crozier's (1964) study of the French organisational system, Kelley and Reeser's (1973) study of managerial attitudes in Hawaii, and Graves (1972) study of British and French managers.

It is however worth noting here that there has recently been severe criticisms of McClelland's claim that the differences in the levels of need Achievement was due to differences in child-rearing practices (Maehr and Nicholls: 1980, pp.221-267).

that existed in the British and the French workplaces. The differences in attitudes and levels of expectation between the British and the French workers were found to be as follows:

- "1. The French workers were dissatisfied with their salaries and standard of living, whereas the British workers were relatively satisfied.
2. The French workers were considerably more militant over common problems emerging from the work process - namely shift work and manning.
3. The French workers were considerably more critical of the state of social relations between management and the work force. They saw relations as dichotomous and socially distant, whereas the British workers saw them as relatively friendly.
4. The French workers had an 'exploitative' image of the firm, whereas the British workers had a co-operative image.
5. The French workers regarded the formal structure of power in the firm as illegitimate, whereas the British workers regarded it as legitimate" (ibid. p.300).

Gallie also described the sort of unionism he found to exist in the British and the French workplaces in this way:

"The French unions saw their task as one of heightening the consciousness of the work force so that it would understand the extent of its alienation within capitalist society and seek a major transformation of the basic institutional structures of society. Their strategy for achieving this was essentially one of sustained ideological warfare in the context of steadily escalating action over concrete disputes with management... The British unions, on the other hand, conceived of their role in the factory as primarily one of representation. They saw their job as one of forwarding objectives that were consciously and explicitly desired by the work force. Their strategy was to achieve their ends through negotiation backed up by a powerful, well-disciplined, and cohesive organisation that would

represent such a potential threat in the event of conflict that management was unlikely to risk being unduly unreasonable in negotiation" (ibid. p.313).

On the basis of the seemingly positive relationship between the differences in the attitudes and expectations of the workers and the differences in the ideologies and the general objectives of the British and the French unions and the strategies they adopt in pursuing the objectives, Gallie concluded that:

"the nature of the technology per se has, at most very little importance for these specific area of enquiry.... Instead, our evidence indicates the critical importance of the wider cultural and social structural patterns of the specific societies for determining the nature of social interaction within the advanced sector" (ibid. p.295).

It seems that because Gallie (ibid.) and Dore (op. cit.) did not set out originally to study the influences of culture on the organisation of activities and relational processes in those workplaces, they have tended to treat culture as "a residual factor which is presumed to account for national variations that have neither been postulated before the research nor explained after its completion" (Child: 1981, p.306). Although he finally attributed the differences in the union objectives in the two societies to cultural differences, Gallie did not at the begining provide any evidence of differences in culture which was independent of the data collected from the four workplaces. This limits the extent to which he can claim that the differences he found in those workplaces were due to the influences of the societal culture, because it could be possible that the differences he found were due to what Evan (1975, p.104) has called the 'organisational subculture'.

The focus of our present study therefore, is the examination of the extent to which the specific cultural attitudinal

characteristics and customary practices that are based on the societal culture, influence the pattern of job regulation at the workplace. The aim is to study the extent to which culture does account for differences in the patterns of workplace industrial relations in different cultural contexts. The studies of Dore and Gallie discussed above, were comparing organisations that were in different countries and as such were under the influences of different political, legal and general macro-economic systems. In industrial relations study, it is difficult to ignore the influence of these factors. So, it was not enough for Dore and Gallie to carry out their studies in organisations that were matched for technology and size, it was also necessary that these researchers produced evidence of similarities and differences in the societies concerned in relation to the environmental systems which undoubtedly impinge on people's behaviours and expectations (Craig: 1975, p.19). In order to guard against such limitation in research design, we based our present study on two cultural (tribal) groups in Nigeria. This made it possible for the field-work for the study to be carried out in textile factories (using a similar technology) that were under similar political, legal, and general macro-economic influences; the only discriminating influence being the different tribal cultures.

2. RESEARCH ON NIGERIAN WORK-PLACE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

One of the difficulties encountered in our present study was that we had to start the study on a clean slate, since in addition to the fact that little or no comprehensive cross-cultural study of industrial relations at the workplace had hitherto been carried out, empirical research on Nigerian

workplace industrial relations was very meagre or virtually non-existent. Most studies of Nigerian industrial relations have been at national level, and have tended to focus mainly on trade unions. Such studies as the ones carried out by Egboh (1967), Berg (1969), Kilby (1973), Ananaba (1969) and Diejomaoh (1979) gave greater attention to the historical development of trade unions and the practice of collective bargaining at national level in Nigeria, and did not give any attention to workplace industrial relations. The work of Yesufu (1962) which could be said to be the first systematic study of the general features of the national system of industrial relations in Nigeria, was more concerned with the description of the development of the structures and policies of the parties in Nigerian industrial relations - the state, the employers associations and the unions, and the identification of the major problems regarding the way the unions and the employers associations were organised, and did not give much attention to the actual processes and systems of rule-making and administration.

The only study of Nigerian industrial relations, to the best of our knowledge, which was based on the workplace, was the one carried out by Akpala (1976) in which he examined the part played by management in the development of the system of industrial relations in Enugu Collieries in the Ibo area of south-eastern Nigeria. Although he claimed to be studying what he called the 'structure and pattern' of industrial relations at the workplace, he gave greater attention to certain developments in the relationship between management and unions, as he intended mainly to test some generalisations made by some economic development theorists, on the effects of developing countries' policies for economic development on trade union

movement, particularly Galenson's (1959) propositions regarding the possibility for developing countries to pursue suppressive policies on trade union movements. Although he discussed the effort made towards the establishment of effective collective bargaining system in the Colliery workplace, Akpala did not give any attention to the nature of rules and other day-to-day formal and informal rule-making processes, which in a newly industrialising society needed greater attention in order to explore fully the 'structure and pattern' of industrial relations at the workplace.

What seems to have been responsible for the fact that most of the studies hitherto carried out on Nigerian industrial relations have concentrated mainly on trade union and collective bargaining, may be the awareness of the influence of the British industrial relations tradition on the Nigerian system. As the system of industrial relations in Nigeria was originally modelled by the British Colonial Administrators in line with the British system, a great deal of emphasis was placed on the establishment of collective bargaining as the most desirable process of rule-making. Consequently, writers on Nigerian industrial relations have focused their attention on trade unions and collective bargaining. Writers do not seem to have given much thought to the fact that trade unionism and collective bargaining were alien institutions introduced into Nigerian society, and that Nigerian workers would need time to assimilate the ramifications of such institutions and to cultivate the necessary attitudes and social skills required to cope effectively with them. When writers like Kilby (op. cit. pp.236-237) argue that collective bargaining has failed in Nigeria, one feels like asking the questions - Did effective collective bargaining systems ever exist in any workplace in Nigeria

before this time? Were workers ever well-organised and equipped with the necessary skills to be capable of 'bargaining' with their employers? The obvious answer to these questions is 'No'. So, instead of saying that collective bargaining has failed, it seems more appropriate to say that the effort made towards the establishment of an effective system of collective bargaining has failed. Even government employees have always had their salaries fixed and reviewed through Government appointed Commissions of Enquiry, which have numbered up to nine, from the Tudor Davies Commission of 1945 to the Udoji Commission of 1974.

Although the effort to establish collective bargaining in Nigerian workplaces is said to have failed, these industrial workplaces still operate normally and the usual 'web of rules' (Kerr et al: 1973) exist in the workplaces to regulate the employment relationships. It then becomes necessary to divert attention from a national approach to the study of industrial relations in Nigeria, which has hitherto been the practice, and focus on the workplace as this is the only way the actual system of industrial relations in Nigerian workplaces can be empirically established. Such study will enable the actual pattern of organisation of worker collectivities at the workplace and their relationships with management; the policies of management on the handling of industrial relations issues; the way the rules of job regulation at the workplace are made and administered; and the nature and manner of operation of those rules, to be explored. Cultural influences on activities in the Nigerian political and social scenes have been noted by Seibel (1967, p.217), and this suggests a likelihood of there being corresponding cultural influences on the

pattern of workplace industrial relations in Nigeria.

3. THE STRATEGY OF THIS RESEARCH

The study started with an identification of certain attitudinal variables which were considered to be related to job regulation, and for the purpose of the study, a definition of job regulation based on that given by Bain and Clegg (1974, p.95) was adopted, by which job regulation was conceived as including all formal and informal structures and processes involved in the making and the administering of the rules that regulate employment relationships at the workplace. The major assumption of the study was that the twelve attitudinal variables¹ considered to relate to job regulation are culturally-defined in different societies; and culture was conceived as the pattern of values, beliefs and customs of a people which form the basis of their characteristic attitudes, from which their pattern of social behaviour emanate. As the study was based on the textile factories in the Hausa and the Ibo cultural groups of Nigeria, the nature of the twelve attitudinal variables in relation to the Hausa and the Ibo societal cultures were identified. It was not considered necessary to find out the organisational subculture of the particular workplaces involved in the study so as to compare it with the identified societal culture, as suggested by Evan (1975, p.104), because our primary aim was to study the influences of the societal culture on job regulation, and moreover in the Nigerian context, because active industrialisation is barely twenty

1. The nature of these attitudinal variables are discussed in Chapter Two latter. The pattern of the attitudes in relation to Hausa and Ibo cultures are described in Chapter Three.

years old, one can hardly expect the existence of identifiable well developed subcultures in Nigerian industrial workplaces.

Having identified the relevant culturally-based attitudinal characteristics of the Hausa and the Ibo societies, regarding job regulation, we conducted an empirical investigation to ascertain the patterns of job regulation in the selected Hausa and Ibo workplaces. The observed differences in the patterns of job regulation between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces were then accounted for by relating them to the relevant culturally-based attitudinal characteristics already identified. Throughout the research process, a set of questions that indicate the scope intended to be covered, were borne in mind as a guide. The questions were as follows:

1. Are there differences in workers' general attitudes to trade unions between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, as measured by the density of union membership and the general reactions of workers to union activities at the workplaces?
2. Are there differences in the sort of trade unions that exist in the workplaces of the two cultural groups, in terms of the objectives of the unions and the methods they adopt in pursuing them?
3. Are there differences between the type of industrial relations policies adopted by the managements of the Hausa workplaces and those adopted by the managements of the Ibo workplaces?
4. Are there differences between the dominant rule-making processes adopted in the Hausa workplaces

and the ones adopted in the Ibo workplaces?

5. Does Social Regulation exist in those workplaces; if it does, are there differences in the extent to which rules resulting from such process, are regarded as legitimate between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces?
6. Do the rules of job regulation differ in extent of formalisation between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces?
7. Which specific cultural attitudes and customary practices among the ones already identified, are considered to influence specific aspects of job regulation in relation to each of the differences found to exist between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces from the analysis of data in answer to questions 1 to 6 above; and what are the results of such influences on the pattern of the specific aspects of job regulation in the particular cultural contexts?

4. OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

The Thesis is arranged in three parts. The first part provides the general and theoretical background necessary for understanding the analyses and discussion of empirical data presented in the second part. Chapter Two reviews the relevant literature on Industrial Relations theory, presents the definition and the model of job regulation which is adopted in the study, and explains the twelve attitudinal variables

considered to be related to job regulation. Chapter Three also reviews the relevant literature on the meaning of culture and presents the definition of culture that is adopted in the study. The general features and the specific cultural characteristics of the Hausa and the Ibo societies are described in this chapter, and finally a comparative description of the nature of the twelve attitudinal variables in relation to the Hausa and the Ibo cultural characteristics, are presented. Chapter Four presents a short description of some relevant features in the historical, political and economic development of Nigeria, the purpose of which is to introduce the reader to the general contexts of the two societies on which the study is based. The first part of the Thesis ends with Chapter Five which describes the strategy and methods adopted in the research process.

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Part two is made up of four chapters which present the analyses and discussions of the results of the empirical investigation. Chapter Six deals with the workplace organisation of union, while Chapter Seven looks at the management's industrial relations policies. Chapter Eight deals with the rule-making processes, while the final chapter in that part (Chapter Nine) examines the rules of job regulation in those workplaces.

The final part of the Thesis makes up Chapter Ten, in which the conclusions of the study are presented. The chapter discusses the practical implications of the conclusions and recommends the possible ways of coping with certain critical situations unravelled by the findings of the study regarding the system of workplace industrial relations found to exist in the Nigerian workplaces. The theoretical indications that

emerged from the conclusions, are presented and this is followed by a short evaluation of the study and some suggestions for further research.

PART ONE:**THEORETICAL AND GENERAL BACKGROUND**

CHAPTER TWO

MEANING AND SCOPE OF JOB REGULATION

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A GENERAL THEORY OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

Kerr et al (1973, p.227) have argued that industrialisation results in the creation of managers, industrial workers and labour organisations. The existence of these parties necessitates the development of what they called 'an industrial jurisprudence', the purpose of which is to define power and authority relationships among the parties as well as regulating all other aspects of employment in the workplace and in the work community. Kerr et al argue that the 'web of rules' which emerges from this system of industrial jurisprudence, forms a universal feature of the industrialisation phenomenon, and that the rules become more explicit and formally constituted in the course of industrialisation. Tannenbaum (1964) has made a similar point when he argued that the original organisers of the trade union movement were the shops, the factory, the mine and the industry generally, and that the trade union leaders merely announced the already existing fact. What these authors are pointing at generally, is that the issues which form the subject-matter of Industrial Relations as a field of study, develop from the process of industrialisation.

Any attempt at a historiography of Industrial Relations theory in Britain and the United States of America would most probably start from the work of Dunlop (1958). This is because, although earlier work in fields of Social Science had shown interest in labour relations issues, their attention

had mainly been directed towards trade unions. In the 1860s Karl Marx wrote about trade unions, in which he linked the rise of unions with the development of industry and the purported miserable position of the proletarians vis-a-vis the bourgeoisie. In Britain the Webbs' (1896 and 1902) publications focused on the historical development and the analysis of the organisation of British trade unions. Other writers among whom were Commons (1925), Perlman (1928), Ross (1948), Galenson (1952), Norgren (1941), Selekman (1949), Kaufman (1951), Kerr (1948) and Harbison and Coleman (1951), majority of whom were from the United States, applied their Economics and Political Science concepts in analysing trade union organisations and wage determination which was considered by most of the writers as the primary function of the unions. Following Stinchcombe's (1968, p.15) simple definition of a 'theory' as a statement "which says that one class of phenomena will be connected in a way with another class of phenomena", these early writings only produced, what Walker (1977, p.30) has called 'partial theories' of industrial relations, because they were merely concerned with only certain aspects of industrial relations and the approaches adopted in analysing issues were based largely on the individual writer's original basic disciplines. Dunlop's work entitled 'Industrial Relations Systems' in which he applied Systems thinking in developing an integrating conceptual model of industrial relations, was probably the first major contribution towards the development of general theory in Industrial Relations.

Dunlop's main thesis was that an industrial relations system at any one time in its development comprised certain actors, certain contexts, an ideology which bound the industrial relations system together, and a body of rules created

to govern the actors at the workplace and the work community. He saw the creation of rules as the central aim of the industrial relations system. Parson's (1951) 'social systems theory',¹ which influenced Dunlop's thinking in this regard, led him to conclude that an industrial relations system was an analytical sub-system of the industrial society, on the same logical plane as an economic system. He then went on to argue that as the industrial relations system was part of the larger society, the important features of the environment of the system were determined by the society and its other sub-systems, and not explained within the industrial relations system. Dunlop recognised that each of the actors in the system could have different individual ideologies, but he argued that the proper functioning of the system required that these ideologies should be sufficiently compatible and consistent, as to permit a common set of ideas which would make the delineation of actors' roles possible, and also limit their conflict of interest.

Dunlop's work has greatly stimulated the thinking of many academics in the field of Industrial Relations and other related fields. Among those who found Dunlop's framework a useful device was Gill (1969, p.270), who argued that the model could be used to improve the teaching of Industrial Relations by developing it around the notion of industrial relations system, as the analytical classifying device which the 'systems approach' provides, would enable the student to reach a deeper understanding of the nature and circumstances of the issues being considered. Despite his reservations, Eldridge (1968) still recognises that the systems approach

1. Parsons and Smelser defined a 'social system' as "the system generated by any process of integration on the socio-cultural level, between two or more actors. The actor is either a concrete human individual or a collectivity of which a plurality of persons are members" (1956, p.8).

can be useful in the analysis of industrial conflict, as it draws attention to the "whole range of factors that have to be considered in attempting to explain strikes". Walker (1967 and 1969) has used the systems approach in developing his elaborate conceptual framework for the international comparative study of industries, and has commented that he found Dunlop's model to be sufficiently useful in international comparative studies of industrial relations systems.

The approach introduced by Flanders (1965) in his book entitled 'Industrial Relations: What is Wrong with the System?' was influenced by the work of Dunlop. To Flanders, "a system of industrial relations is a system of rules". He argued that industrial relations was concerned with certain 'regulated or institutionalised relationships' in industry. He did not give any precise explanation of what these institutionalised relationships were, but only indicated that:

"one way of identifying these relationships is to place them in their legal setting. They are all either expressed in or arise out of contracts of employment (or service), which represent, in common speech, jobs. The study of industrial relations may therefore be described as a study of the institutions of job regulation" (1965, p.7).

Flanders argued that industrial relations was only concerned with the employment aspects of business, and as such, personal or unstructured relationships were outside the scope of a system of industrial relations.

The systems approach of Dunlop and what could be called the 'institutional approach' of Flanders, have recently started to be referred to by some Industrial Relations writers as the foundations of the 'Rules School' (Goodman et al: 1975). Using algebraic notations as in Equations 1 and 2 below, the areas of similarity and dissimilarity between the approaches of

Dunlop and Flanders, as pointed out by Blain and Gennard (1970, pp.394-396), could be more easily identified:

Equation 1 (Dunlop) $r = f(a, t, e, s, i)$

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Equation 2 (Flanders) $r = f(b)$ or $r = f(c)$

where: r = the rules of the industrial relations system
 a = the actors
 t = the technical context of the workplace
 e = the market context or budgetary constraints
 s = the power context and the status of the parties
 i = the ideology of the system
 b = collective bargaining
 c = conflict resolved through collective bargaining.

It could be seen from the above equations that the main area of similarity between the two models, is their common focus on rules as the dependent variable, while their difference lies only in the range of independent variables which interact to determine the dependent variable. But Goodman et al (1975) have offered an explanation of the sources of the observed dissimilarity when they commented that:

"the theoretical frameworks underlying their work are essentially similar. Differences in their work seem to reflect the different socio-cultural contexts in which they worked, and the different foci of their written work. Dunlop... is essentially concerned with comparative national analysis, while Flanders' attention largely centred around collective bargaining" (ibid. p.17).

The Rules approach to Industrial Relations, especially the work of Dunlop, has received a great deal of criticism and comment from academics. Most of these comments have served the useful purpose of developing the scope of the discipline

of Industrial Relations by drawing attention to specific range of issues that should come within the scope of the discipline, and by drawing boundaries between the subject area of Industrial Relations and other disciplines. Some of such comments are the ones that draw attention to the place of conflict in industrial relations. Margerison (1969) commenting on Flanders institutional approach, argues that:

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"The traditional concept of industrial relations has only tackled half the problem. It has occupied itself with the problem of conflict resolution at the expense of the problem of conflict generation" (p.275).

He makes his stand clear on the issue by suggesting emphatically, that "conflict is the basic concept that should form the basis of the study of industrial relations". Hyman (1978) has argued along these lines by pointing out that the definitions of industrial relations offered by Dunlop and Flanders were much too restrictive and therefore had undesirable implications. He argued that:

"The implication is that what industrial relations is all about is the maintenance of stability and regularity in industry. The focus is on how any conflict is contained and controlled, rather than on the processes through which disagreement and disputes are generated" (ibid. p.11).

Hyman then emphasized that the definition of Industrial Relations has to be broadened to include sources of industrial conflict. Shalev (1980, p.26) has also stressed that 'conflict and change' should not be regarded as aberrations, but rather as "central characteristics of the relations between workers and employers".

An issue which did not seem to have received appropriate treatment in Dunlop's model was the place of 'power' in industrial relations. Dunlop regarded what he called 'the locus

and distribution of power' as one of the aspects of the environment of the Industrial Relations system, ranking it with technology and the market. But earlier on in his book, Dunlop had included contexts as being within the Industrial Relations system, when he stated that an "industrial relations system... is regarded as comprised of certain actors, certain contexts.." (1958, p.7). His statement in a later work where he was discussing the effects of Political systems on industrial relations, confirms what his position is regarding the place of 'power' in industrial relations analysis:

"For the specialist in industrial relations these exterior power relations or exterior political systems are given, not to be explained, and the intellectual task is to depict the industrial relations arrangements established by each political system and the character of the dynamic interaction between external political power and labour-management-government relations" (1972, p.104).

So, to Dunlop, power is located in the political system, and is therefore regarded as forming part of the external environment of industrial relations system and not within the system. But Wood et al (1975, p.302) have pointed out that Dunlop's view about power, must have been due to the fact that he was mainly concentrating on national industrial relations systems. The authors then argued on the contrary that "power constitutes a fundamental element of the industrial relations system itself".

What seems to be the major criticism of the Rules approach is that the approach in its original form, does not make any provision for the processes whereby the rules of the industrial relations system are made, which makes it difficult for the behaviour of the actors to be predicted. Blain and Gennard (1970, pp.402-403) argue that the approach:

"does not give an analysis of the processes whereby the rules of the system are made. The focus is on the structure of an industrial relations system and ignores the processes which are the behavioural dynamics of the system".

The authors also drew attention to personality factors because of their effects on the processes, and this has led them to suggest a way of refining the systems model by incorporating the process variables and the personality factors. Somers (1969, p.43) has also argued that Dunlop's systems model "may be able to show a relationship between certain types of environmental contexts and certain rules and decisions at the workplace, his system does not trace any sophisticated process by which the inputs must result in the outputs". He then advocated the application of 'Exchange Theory' in industrial relations, as that would be more useful in analysing interactions at the workplace, and moreover the theory could be relevant in trying to understand the channel of interaction between the external forces of the market and the internal plant behaviour. Craig (1975) has attempted to make up for this difficiency of the systems approach, by developing a framework in which he incorporated processes such as collective bargaining, conciliation and arbitration. However, Craig has been criticised for merely listing operational processes and not conceptualising them (Walker: 1977, p.313). But a conceptualisation of negotiations in industrial relations produced earlier by Walton and Mckersie (1965) could be regarded as a step towards filling this gap.

Dunlop and Flanders saw industrial relations as being mainly concerned with structural variables, structured relationships, institutions and rules of employment, and conflict resolution. But a review of the criticism and comment made

on the works of the authors presented above, suggest that behavioural variables, unstructured relationships, processes of rule-making and conflict generation should also form part of the subject-matter of Industrial Relations. A recognition of this situation has led Bain and Clegg (1974) to suggest that academics in the field of Industrial Relations should make "the study of all aspects of job regulation" their main focus of attention. They defined 'Job Regulation' as "the making and administering of the rules which regulate employment relationships - regardless of whether these are seen as being formal or informal, structured or unstructured" (ibid. p.95). Considering the line of argument which the authors took before they arrived at this definition, their phrase "all aspects of job regulation", certainly refers to both structural and behavioural variables, both structured and unstructured relationships, both the institutions and rules of job regulation and the rule-making processes, both conflict generation and conflict resolution. This is because, as they argued:

"In trying to explain the various aspects of job regulation, it is not possible to look simply at what might be narrowly conceived to be 'industrial relations variables'. Rather all aspects of human behaviour and the environment in which it occurs must be treated as being potentially related to job regulation, and what is actually related to it in any specific context must be ascertained by empirical investigation rather than by a priori reasoning" (ibid. pp.95-95).

The meaning of job regulation adopted in our present study is based broadly on the above definition given by Bain and Clegg. Job regulation is being conceived here as involving all formal and informal structures and processes that relate to the making and administering of rules which regulate employment relationships. We prefer to adopt the term 'job regulation' rather than 'industrial relations' because the term 'industrial

relations' tends to carry a somewhat illusive meaning, as if it has to do with all relationships at the industrial workplace. As a consequence of this woolly meaning of industrial relations, differences are likely to exist between societies and even workplaces in the same society, in the actual issues that are treated under the term. But the term 'job regulation' carries a definite connotation and focuses one's attention on the variables that are related to the regulation of employment relationships. The study of the regulation of employment relationships involves the study of three sets of variables: (1) variables that lead up to or necessitate the making of employment rules, such as behavioural and relational variables that form the likely sources of conflict; (2) those variables that have to do with the actual making of the rules, such as the institutions and the processes and methods adopted in making rules, including the power relations between the parties involved in rule-making; and (3) the variables relating to the nature and effects of the employment rules themselves and their administration, in the resolution of conflict. We shall now examine the nature and scope of the major key variables in the study of job regulation.

2. VARIABLES OF JOB REGULATION AT THE WORKPLACE.

The argument adduced above, that in treating job regulation issues, all aspects of human behaviour and the environment in which it occurs should be considered (Bain and Clegg: op. cit.), makes the task of choosing the variables to be included in an Industrial Relations study, a difficult one, because as argued by Heneman (1969, p.4), "the basic problem may be traced to the complex nature of industrial relations

with an almost limitless number of variables, and inter-relationships of variables". One way of coping with this problem, is by conceiving job regulation as being at different levels, and according to Wood et al (1975, p.298) it could be at national, industry, company or workplace level. In as much as this sort of distinction helps to limit the range of variables to be considered at a time, it helps to create a demarcation between internal and external environments regarding the industrial relations issues being treated. For example, what could be regarded as external environment in a workplace system of industrial relations, could become parts of the internal environment at a national level, and the effects and significance of that same environment will be different at each level. Because our present study is carried out at workplace level, the discussion that follows, regarding the nature and scope of the variables to be covered in the study of job regulation, will focus on job regulation at the workplace.

One group of variables is 'rules', and the problem is how to determine which rules are the relevant ones to be included in the study of job regulation. Cox (1971, pp.141-142) has argued that "the content of the decisions themselves are relevant to the study insofar as they throw light upon the power relations among the actors in an industrial relations system and upon how the system determines the allocation of rewards". Both Dunlop (op. cit. p.14) and Flanders (op. cit. pp.11-12) had earlier made a distinction similar to each other's, between substantive and procedural rules. Flanders argued that substantive rules defined jobs and sanctions attached to them thereby indirectly regulating individual members of work organisation, whereas procedural rules regulated

the making and administration of the substantive rules. Goodman et al (1975) seem to extend this argument by differentiating between the industrial relations system and the production system, and arguing that the substantive rules together with the 'non-creative' components of rule-administration (i.e. enforcement and information) are the outputs of the industrial relations system, which go to regulate activities in the production system, whereas the procedural rules and the creative component of rule-administration (i.e. interpretation) govern action in the industrial relations system. The authors are therefore implying that the procedural rules and the creative component of rule-administration alone are to be considered while studying job regulation at the workplace. But Lumley (1980) has suggested that the content of substantive and non-creative procedural rules, should not be entirely left out in Industrial Relations study, because such rules are:

"important as forming part of the environment influencing job regulation... It is the influence of such rules which is the concern of industrial relations, and not the explanation of their technical content" (p.53).

One of the major criticisms of the systems approach which was made by Blain and Gennard (1970, p.403), was that the model views actors in industrial relations:

"in a structural rather than a dynamic sense. Although they are the 'doers or reagents' they are presented as formal or informal organisational hierarchies, rather than behavioural mechanisms that are themselves in a continuous state of change".

This statement suggests strongly that the behaviour of parties should be regarded as of prime importance in industrial relations. But Wood et al (1975, p.295) suggest that attention should only be given to those aspects of behaviour which are

directed towards rule-making, which they called 'rule-making action'. This argument implies, as pointed out by Lumley (op. cit.), that individual as well as collective behaviour of workers are of concern in industrial relations study, so far as those behaviours "may stimulate employers to make certain changes in rules". This issue of behaviour is connected to the question of the place of attitudes in industrial relations study, because as explained by Allport (1962) the major source of influence on behaviour is from attitudes, so much that behaviour can be seen as overt attitude. Reeves (1967) has even thought that the difference between behaviour and attitude is not much, and decided to use the word 'behaviour' to include both thoughts and attitudes. Lumley (op. cit.) suggests that attitudes should be included in industrial relations study, but that this should be limited to those attitudes which relate basically to the goals, values and expectations of the actors, which are related to job regulation in their current work situation. He takes the view that such study of attitudes will help in understanding rule-making behaviour, since behaviour "is seen not as a reflection of the characteristics of a system which is external to the actors, but rather, actors' definition of reality and their goals and expectations are adopted as an initial basis for the explanation of their behaviours (ibid. p.51).

The main need for identifying the nature and scope of the key variables relevant in the study of job regulation, is that it enables one to map out the important areas which require specific attention, while constructing the analytical framework and organising the research process generally. The nature and scope of the key variables covered in our present study,

will be discussed below while describing the model of job regulation adopted in the study. But first, we shall review previous attempts at developing a general model for the study of job regulation at the workplace.

3. A MODEL OF JOB REGULATION AT THE WORKPLACE

Some writers have attempted to develop a general model of workplace industrial relations. Those writers have concentrated on what they considered to be the 'strategic factors' in workplace industrial relations, which Walker (1969, p.201) has described as "those factors which, when they vary substantially, produce significant changes in industrial relations patterns". To Poole (1976), the major strategic factor in the analysis of workplace industrial relations, is power. He developed a framework to be adopted in explaining the patterns of labour relations at workplace level, focusing mainly on the power relations between the parties engaged in the process of domestic bargaining. The usefulness of this framework lies only in its strength in highlighting the place of power as one of the variables impinging on the conduct of industrial relations at the workplace. Gill and Concannon (1976) have put up a scheme for examining the effectiveness of an organisation's industrial relations policies. The authors adopted the scheme of the 'Aston Contingency Approach' to organisation studies, developed by Pugh and Hickson (1968), to produce four clusters of variables under the headings of Contexts, Industrial Relations policy features, Quality of Industrial Relations and Industrial Relations policy content. The authors' failure to give any indications as to the relationships between the four clusters of variables, prevents the framework from being

significantly useful in the analysis of industrial relations issues.

Parker and Scott (1971) suggested a model in which they linked five groups of variables, showing how Organisation of Production variables, Development of Industrial Relations system, Attitudes/Behaviours of parties, and outside influences, result in the Quality of industrial relations in the workplace. They then used the model to generate a number of testable hypotheses. This model appears to have general utility although its usefulness has not been tested in an empirical study. But the fact that the model enables one to generate testable hypotheses, lends support to its validity. The major weakness of this model is that it does not give sufficient attention to the rules that regulate employment relationships and the processes through which the cluster of variables presented in the model, interact to result in the rules of the workplace. The authors did not recognise the fact that the quality of industrial relations which their model seems to be focusing on, is largely a function of the perceptions and reactions of the individuals and groups in the workplace, toward the rules of the workplace.

The model developed by Lumley (1980) has been found to be especially useful in analysing industrial relations issues at the workplace level. The model shows the effect of the actors' biographical characteristics on their attitudes and how the attitudes as well as the workplace environment affect the behaviours of the actors. The model defines the range of variables to be included within the four clusters, by limiting them emphatically to those related to job regulation. The model shows the link between behaviour and the rules of job

regulation. A particularly useful part of the model is the author's inclusion of the 'perception' process as a link between the rules and the attitudes of actors. But one important point which makes Lumley's model partially unsuitable for this present study is that it does not separate rule-making processes from the rules themselves. This seems to be due to the fact that in Britain, in which the workplaces on which Lumley based his model were located, collective bargaining is generally regarded as the dominant rule-making process in most workplaces. This situation seems to make British writers on Industrial Relations regard collective bargaining as given while analysing industrial relations issues in most cases. The Webbs (1897) emphasized collective bargaining as the most effective means through which unions could achieve their economic objectives. Flanders focused a lot of attention on collective bargaining, so much that most of his writings are on aspects of collective bargaining. Lumley has even argued that in a situation where there are no trade unions as to make it possible to have some sort of collective bargaining process, it will be unnecessary to include rule-making processes within the scope of industrial relations study in such situation, because, as he argued:

"In the absence of any organised countervailing force operating outside an employing organisation's managerial hierarchy to provide a check on unilateral managerial decision making over employment relations, the study of the process of rule-making and interpretation is one of the administrative procedures and managerial decision making processes. This falls within the field of study for Organisational Behaviour" (op. cit. p.53).

The situation in the British workplaces on which Lumley's argument is based is certainly different from that of the Nigerian workplaces, because as pointed out by Kilby (1973, p.236), collective bargaining as written of by the Webbs and Flanders,

does not feature as the dominant rule-making process in Nigeria as it does in Britain. Other writers on Nigerian industrial relations including Egboh (1972), Akpala (1971), Cohen (1974) and Sonubi (1973) have indicated the likelihood of there being a variety of other rule-making processes operating in Nigerian workplaces, and it is only through empirical investigation that their true nature and manner of operation can be fully ascertained. But this has not hitherto been done. So, in order to establish the nature of the rule-making processes that are adopted in the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces involved in this study, and to identify the cultural influences on those processes as part of job regulation which is the object of this study, the processes have to be treated separately from the rules themselves.

The model which is adopted in this study is shown on Figure A on the next page. The framework is based broadly on the definition of job regulation adopted here as stated earlier, and incorporating the interpretations and restrictions noted above in relation to the variables included in the model. The framework is developed on the basis of the unique circumstances of industrial relations in Nigeria as found from a review of literature on Nigerian industrial relations and as experienced personally by the present author during his eight-year period of full-time employment in both private and public sector organisations in Nigeria prior to the commencement of this research. The suggestion made by Bain and Clegg (op. cit.) that the actual variables that should be treated as related to job regulation in any specific context should be ascertained by empirical investigation rather than by a priori reasoning, should be regarded as "an ideal rather than a practical possibility" (Lumley: op. cit.), because in a study of this

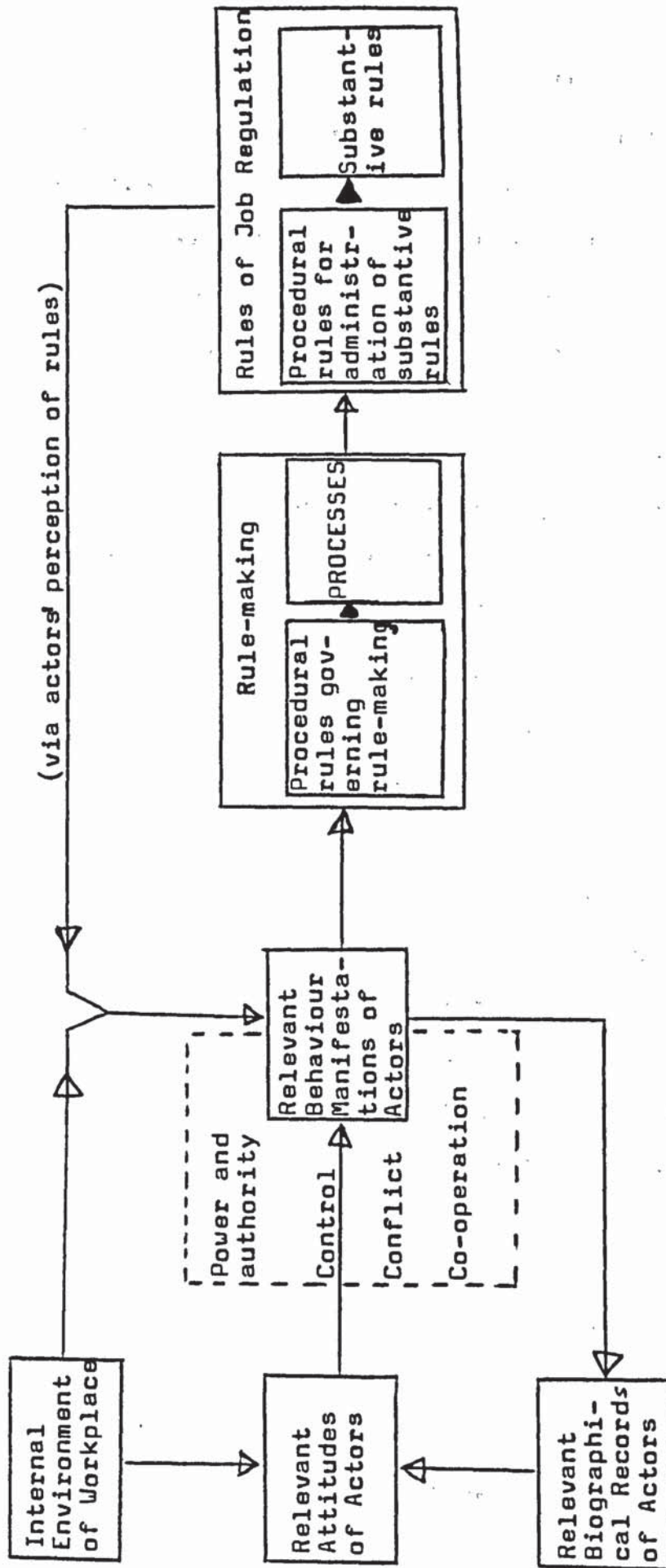


Figure A. A MODEL OF JOB REGULATION AT WORKPLACE LEVEL.

nature, it is useful for the researcher to have at the least, a tentative working model, which at the beginning will act as a guiding instrument in the planning of the research process, and later as a framework for the analysis of empirical data. Bain and Clegg (op. cit. p.96) themselves did point out that a definition, and in this case, a model, "cannot by its very nature be 'right' or 'wrong'. It can only be more or less useful for purposes of analysis". The important thing is for the researcher adopting any model, to keep an open mind and to be prepared to adjust the framework in the course of his research where necessary. This is what is done in this study.

The model presents rule-making processes as the means through which the relevant behaviour manifestations of actors, result in the rules of job regulation. A distinction is made between the procedural rules that govern rule-making processes and the ones which are applied in the administration of the substantive rules. Actors' individual or collective perceptions of the implications of the rules in the light of their goals and aspirations, are shown to affect the behaviour manifestations of the actors. Behaviour is conceived as including all observable actions and reactions to events and situations, by actors, either individually or collectively which are related to job regulation. So, union structure, institutional goals, ideologies and mode of organisation are regarded as aspects of union behaviour, for as pointed out by Clegg (1976, p.x), "all that we can observe of unions is their behaviour, what we call their structure can be no more than certain pattern of behaviour". Management's industrial relations policies also come within the scope of behaviour manifestations. The nature of behaviour manifestations of actors is based on the

actors' conceptions and dispositions towards power and authority, control of the enterprise, co-operation with others and conflict in the workplace. The nature of these four underlying variables impinging on relations between actors, need brief explanations here.

Power is the ability of its holder to exact compliance or obedience of other individuals to his will, on whatsoever basis.¹ In Weber's (1968, p.53) words, power is:

"the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests".

Weber's definition points to two things, one of which is that power is a property of a relationship and not of an individual or group; another point being that the recipient in a power relationship acts against his will. But Dahrendorf (1959, p.263) has shown a contrary view to the first point, by suggesting that power should be seen as a contingent property, a property of individuals rather than of social structures, thereby implying that power may be attributed to a group or individual. In the context of workplace industrial relations, Poole (op. cit. p.33) has identified three important issues in the actual exercise of power in industrial relationships, namely, "the levels at which decision-making takes place; the range and scope of issues influenced by the respective parties; and the outcome of particular power conflicts in which sanctions are employed".

1. This is one view of the concept of power; there are other views which we do not deem necessary to review here. See Clegg S (1975, chap.2-4, and 1979) and Walsh et al (1981), for a more comprehensive treatment of the concept of power in the sociology of organisations.

Authority, on the other hand, has been described as 'institutionalised power' (Bierstedt: 1964). Authority lies in the right to expect and command obedience. Simon (1957, p.11), arguing along similar lines as Barnard (1938, p.163), regards authority as the power to make decisions which guide the actions of another, as the superior "frames and transmits decisions with the expectation that they will be accepted by the subordinate", and the subordinate responds accordingly, thereby allowing his conduct to be determined by the superior's decisions. Fox (1971) commenting on the fundamental differences between authority and power, argues that:

"In the former, subordinates legitimize the order-giving role of the superior and although sanctions are deemed necessary to deter or punish transgression, these too are legitimized. In the latter situation, sanctions are used to impose upon others norms of both substantive and procedural kinds which they do not legitimize, and since this behaviour is forced upon them without their 'consent' they are more likely to experience this pressure or coercion as power" (p.37).

The concept of 'control' as applied in the model means the act of determining how the affairs of the workplace are to be organised, particularly where they affect the terms of the relationship between management and workers. James (1976, p.12) has suggested that 'control' involves at least three requirements: firstly, a means whereby the wishes of the controller may be made known to the controlled; secondly, a means whereby the controller can monitor the actions of the controlled generally as much as possible; and thirdly, a means whereby the controller can enforce compliance with his wishes. Tannenbaum (1968) has argued that it is wrong to regard the amount of control that is available to an organisation as a fixed sum to be differentially distributed between its members, so that the more that goes to management, the less is available

for workers. He argued that the total amount of control can be increased so that "the total amount of power in a social system may grow and leaders and followers may therefore enhance their power jointly" (ibid. p.12). Tannenbaum's argument seems to rest on the assumption that management and workers have similar interests, because in circumstances where interests differ, an increase of control for the one is certainly likely to result in a decrease for the other.

The economic concept of 'Division of Labour' which underlies the organisation of activities in an industrial workplace, necessitates co-operation of some sort between workers and managers. Co-operation here involves being willing to recognise, solicit for and accept other people's contributions and support towards the achievement of the general objective. In such situation, the achievement of the general objective is perceived by members as resulting in the fulfilment of their individual objectives.

Industrial conflict occurs when there is disagreement within or between workers and management, based on differences in interests and values (Fox: op. cit.). Whenever industrial conflict is mentioned the word 'strikes' is normally called to mind; this is because, among the numerous forms of manifestations of conflict which take place in the workplace, strikes are probably the most visible in the eyes of the public (Kornhauser et al: 1954). A distinction can be made between organised and unorganised forms of conflict. The organised forms of conflict which are essentially group behaviour, usually between unions and management, include strikes and lock-outs, output restrictions, removal of plant and conflicts in contract negotiations. The unorganised forms include labour turnover,

and deliberate mishandling of tools. Conflict is not always manifest in employee behaviours, as might be implied by merely regarding industrial conflict as almost synonymous with strikes; conflict can just as easily be manifest in employer behaviour, such as lock-out and the removal of plant (Griffin: 1939, Scott et al: 1963, Kuhn: 1961). The factors which have been thought to generate conflict in industry include unequal income distribution (Allen: 1966, p.113), changes and decisions on the use of technology which result in the displacement of workers from their jobs (Schneider: 1969, pp.221-223; Hyman: 1977, p.90). But the Marxist school of thought that subscribes to the idea of the inevitability of conflict in industrial society, views industrial relations as essentially occurring "within a dynamic conflict situation which is permanent and unalterable, so long as the structure of society remains unaltered" (Allen: 1971, p.39).

Another two groups of variables in the model are the internal environment of the workplace and the relevant biographical records of actors. The internal environment of the workplace include technical and economic contexts, and general management systems such as budgetary constraints. Relevant biographical records relate to past experiences and events in the relationships between the actors. This also includes such variables as age profile and size of the organisation, and the historical development of the union and the workplace. These two groups of variables affect attitudes which themselves bear a predominant influence on the behaviour of the actors.

The final major group of variables are the relevant attitudes of actors. Attitude as defined by Allport (1962) is "a mental and neural state of readiness organised through

experience and exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related". Attitude has its existence only in the mental consciousness of the individual or group, while behaviour is the observable response which the individual gives to situations. The link between attitude and behaviour as explained by Allport in the above definition, is that attitude exerts a directive or dynamic influence on behaviour. It is worth emphasizing here that attitudes are to be studied only to the extent that they help in the understanding of the source of relevant behaviour manifestations of the actors. It is therefore necessary in trying to understand the behaviour of actors, to identify the particular attitudes of the actors which are related to the specific behaviour manifestations of the actors. Twelve such attitudinal variables which are used in this present study are the actors' attitudes to:

Business enterprise

Authority

Subordinates

Social class or status

Interpersonal relations

Individual achievement

Formal education

Acquisition of wealth and material
benefits

Risk-taking

Change

Work

Wage employment.

The choice of the above attitudinal variables is largely based on a review of literature and the present author's

working experience in Nigeria. For example, Richman (1965) included attitudes to business enterprise, authority, subordinates and formal education among the list of factors he suggested affect management processes, while Negandhi and Estafen (1965, pp.309-318) regarding management philosophy as an aspect of management's attitudes, have emphasized its influence on management processes and effectiveness which are aspects of management's behaviour. In his study of French organisations with particular reference to their administrative systems, Crozier (op. cit. p.222) argued that the nature of the French attitudes to interpersonal and intergroup relations was one of the cultural variables that influence the French system of workplace administration; while Bain, Coates and Ellis (1973) have suggested that workers' perceptions of social class may influence the character of the unions. McClelland (op. cit.) has suggested that the behaviours of individuals at work could be understood by identifying their level of disposition towards individual achievement, through their levels of 'Need-achievement motivation', which he defined as the dominant motive to "excel, to work hard, to take calculated risks, to plan ahead, to set goals and to rely on periodic feedback"; while Goldthorpe et al (1968) have argued that workers' instrumental orientation to work towards the acquisition of wealth, affect their work behaviour. The list of attitudinal variables that could be included here in this attitudes cluster in the model, is by no means exhaustive, but the choice and the weight to be attached to the individual variable, will depend on the particular issue under consideration and the relevant contexts of the workplace.

When studying job regulation in a particular workplace, the focus will be on the behaviour manifestations of the actors

as reflected in the nature of the existing:

Workplace union organisation

Management' industrial relations policies

Rule-making processes

Rules of job regulation.

The attitudes of actors in such situation, will only be identified and treated as given, rather than as variables to be explained. But in a cross-cultural comparative industrial relations study of the workplace or industry, such as the type mentioned by Walker (1967, pp.105-132; and 1969, pp.187-209), differences in the relevant attitudes of the actors are to be seen as variables to be explained, rather than being taken as given, because numerous evidence suggests that these attitudes related to job regulation differ across cultures (Knox: 1964, Cortis: 1962, McMillan: 1965, Whitehill: 1964). What has not hitherto been done is to recognise and justify the inclusion of 'culture' as an important variable in such cross-cultural studies, by showing how it influences job regulation. This is the object of this study, the major assumption being that the attitudes of actors in the industrial relations arena are culture-bound. The meaning and scope of 'culture' and the nature of the relevant culturally-based attitudinal variables of the Hausa and the Ibo peoples of Nigeria on which the empirical part of the study is based, constitute the subject of discussion of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

MEANING OF CULTURE AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE HAUSA AND THE IBO CULTURES

Introduction

As stated towards the end of the last chapter, the major assumption underlying our present study is that the basic attitudes of workers and managers which influence their behaviours at the workplace, are culture-bound. In the present chapter we intend to establish the meaning we attach to the term 'culture' in this study and examine the nature and characteristics of the Hausa and Ibo cultures. Finally, a description of the nature of the twelve attitudinal variables identified in the last chapter as being relevant to job regulation, regarding the Hausa and the Ibo peoples, which are based on empirical evidence supported by anthropological literature sources, will be presented.

1. MEANING OF CULTURE

Many social scientists especially anthropologists, have given a great deal of attention to the study of 'culture', and yet there is hardly a generally accepted definition of what culture really is. What we have is a plethora of definitions. Jacobs (1964) has commented that "the glosses on the global diversity and common characteristics of culture are comically various and too numerous for citation". The diversities of view as to the exact meaning of culture seem to make some writers feel that it is fruitless undertaking the task of

defining it. Hall (1959, p.37) has suggested that the best way of dealing with the problem would be to simply treat culture in its entirety and regard it merely as a 'form of communication'. Some psychologists do not even attempt to address themselves to the problem, because they view culture as a vague entity which should be cast merely as an independent variable and forgotten (Wesley and Karr: 1966). Negandhi (1974) has concluded that culture's identity is so obscure that it should only be left to the reader's imagination. But what these social scientists do not seem to recognise is that, for any cross-cultural study to be meaningful, whatever conception of culture one has in relation to the study being undertaken, has to be defined, for as rightly argued by Roberts (1977, p.63) "without this definition, a theory of culture is impossible to derive. Without some theoretical notions explaining culture and predicting its effects on other variables, we cannot make sense of cross-cultural comparisons". This is because, what is being done in cross-cultural studies is to explain the effects of culture on behaviour, and not to make inferences about behaviour inspite of culture.

Tylor (1924) is widely regarded as the first to give a definition of culture, in which he explained that culture was "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and all other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". This definition implies that culture emerges when a set of individuals come together to form a group and consciously or unconsciously make decisions regarding their environment. From Tylor to the present time, there has emerged what Terry (1979, p.19) has described as 'a legion of definitions'. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) made

a detailed study of these definitions of culture and were able to identify 164 of them. The authors gave a general definition in which they attempted to incorporate all aspects of the central idea of culture as gathered from the several definitions of culture which they came across in their review of literature:

"Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour, acquired and transmitted by symbols constructing the distinctive achievement of human groups including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional....ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of future action" (ibid. p.181).

This definition makes the concept of culture assume a very wide dimension, covering almost all aspects of behaviour. This sort of all-embracing approach to defining culture, does not appear particularly fruitful for identifying those features of culture which may be particularly enlightening with regard to cross-cultural differences in organisational processes (Child: 1981, p.324). Kroeber and Parsons (1958, pp.582-583) have made a useful contribution in this regard by distinguishing between 'culture' and 'social system'. The authors suggested that the concept of culture should be limited to "transmitted and created content and pattern of values, ideas and other symbolic meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behaviour", whereas the term 'social system' should be used to "designate the specifically relational system of interaction among individuals and collectivities". This distinction confines the concept of culture to those things which form the root or constitute the source of the acceptable patterns of behaviour for people in a cultural group, whereas the results of the interactions between the behaviour of people

are regarded as social rather than cultural aspect of a society. Parsons (1973, p.36) has explained this distinction better by saying that whereas "the cultural system...is specifically concerned with systems of meaning, the social system is a way of organising human action which is concerned with linking meaning to the conditions of concrete behaviour in the environmentally given world"

One way by which the nature of culture can be more easily understood is by becoming aware of what can be considered as its major attributes, as could be gathered from a review of anthropological literature. One of such attributes is that culture is learned and not genetically inherited or biologically transmitted. Beals et al (1977, p.28) have defined culture as being made up of "a set of learned ways of thinking and acting that characterises any decision-making human group". The emphatic word in this definition is 'learned', for as culture is most visible as the characteristic behaviours of a particular group of people, based on commonly held ideas and understandings by all members of the group, children that are born into the group assimilate the culture almost unknowingly. This learning process goes on unconsciously, making culture pass from one generation to the other almost unnoticed. As soon as a cultural trait is not passed on to another generation through this unconscious learning process, it will drop off the culture stream, for as remarked by Herskovitz (1963, p.313), "what forms may compose culture, they must be acquired by succeeding generations if they are not to be lost". Through this unconscious learning process, members of a cultural group become, to use Hofstede's (1980) expression, 'collectively mentally programmed' to think, perceive, act and react to situations in particular way. Hofstede argues that:

"When we speak of the culture of a group, a tribe, a geographical region, a national minority, or a nation, culture refers to the collective mental programming that these people have in common, the programming that is different from that of other groups, tribes, regions, minorities or majorities, or nations. Culture in this sense of collective mental programming is often difficult to change...because it has become crystallized in the institutions these people have built together..." (ibid. p.43).

Culture is historically developed, as it is based on the common past experience of the members of a cultural group. It is the historical foundation of an aspect of people's way of living that validates its position as part of the culture of that group of people, because as pointed out by Benedict (1936 p.167), "the behaviour under consideration must pass through the needle's eye of social acceptance, and only history in its widest sense can give an account of these social acceptances and rejections". In trying to understand the culture of a people, the history of the people will form a very good source of information, because history records human activities, and these activities are seen as behaviours, which are also the visible manifestations of the acceptable norms, values, beliefs and ways of thinking of the people. All these, form part of the people's culture. For example, cultural traditions, as explained by Beals et al (op. cit. p.30) are made up of historically accumulated decisions of members of a cultural group, as traditions of a people normally draw their source from their ancestors as they are passed from one generation to the other.

Culture is both stable and dynamic. Herskovitz (1963) emphasizes that:

"Culture is both stable and everchanging. Cultural change can be studied only as part of the problem of cultural stability;

cultural stability can be understood only
when change is measured against conservatism"
(p.308).

The stable nature of culture makes it possible for one to distinguish one culture from the other. It seems that the most characteristic feature of culture is language. The language of a cultural group is largely stable, at least over a reasonably long period, and even when change occurs in a language, the roots of words and expressions could still be traced to the original language. But culture is at the same time dynamic. A study of female dress fashions made by Kroeber and Richardson which is referred to by Terry (1979), found that changes in fashion took place in a relatively regular sequence that seemed to transcend any factors due solely to chance. From their findings, the researchers concluded that "man is swept along by the stream of his culture and while he may make choices within the bounds of that culture, he must follow the stream whether he likes it or not" (Terry: op. cit. p.33). The historical basis of culture and the fact that culture is passed from one generation to another through the unconscious learning process as explained earlier, do not negate the argument regarding the dynamic nature of culture. This is because, culture carries with it, a momentum which guides and patterns change, for as argued by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (op. cit.);

"There is a momentum quality to cultural systems. The performance of a culturally patterned activity appears to carry with it implications for its own change which is by no means altogether random".

Culture is abstract in nature but exists in an organised and structured form. An examination of how anthropologists go about their work of studying a culture, throws light on

the abstract nature of the concept of culture. When anthropologists have gathered their data by talking to people and observing their way of living and their environment, they then sit back, as explained by Herskovitz (1963), to:

"reify, that is objectify, and make concrete the experiences of individuals in a group at a given time. These we gather into a totality we call their culture. And for the purposes of study, this is quite proper" (p.315).

The materials we see are not the culture, rather they are objects from which culture is derived. In spite of the abstract nature of culture, it still exists in a structured form. The beliefs, traits, norms and values of a cultural group are organised. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (op. cit. p.62) emphasize that "culture is a design or system of designs for living; it is a plan, not the living itself; it is that which selectively channels men's reactions, it is not the reactions themselves".

A particularly important attribute of culture in the context of the present study is that behaviour is the means through which culture is made manifest, and as such culture constitutes a dominant causal factor in the formation of attitudes which form the basis of behaviour. This is why anthropologists study culture through observable behaviour,¹ for as explained by Kluckhohn (1957):

"Culture is a way of thinking, feeling, believing. It is the group's knowledge stored up (in memories of men, in books and objects) for future use. We study the products of this 'mental' activity: the overt behaviour, the speech and gestures and activities of people, and the tangible results of these things such as tools, houses cornfields and

1. An exception in this case is in the study of 'dead cultures', where anthropologists merely attempt to reconstruct the behaviour patterns of the people, by studying their artifacts and their environment.

what not. It has become customary in lists of 'culture traits' to include such things as watches or law books. This is a convenient way of thinking about them, but in the solution of any important problem we must remember that they, in themselves, are nothing but metals, paper, ink. What is important is that some men know how to make them, others set values on them, are unhappy without them, direct their activities in relation to them, or disregard them" (pp.24-25).

One important point to note regarding the connection between culture and behaviour, is that it does not necessarily mean that there will be no variations from the cultural patterns, in the behaviour of some individuals in the cultural group. What is important is that there are always identifiable patterns of behaviour, which could be observed among the greater proportion of members of the cultural group. Gorer (1948, p.7) expressed this in the following way:

"All that is claimed is that the concentration of characteristics and patterns of behaviour ascribed to a group are exhibited by a significant number of the members of that group, and are approved of, or are assented to, by most of the remainder; and that this concentration of characteristics, these patterns of behaviour, have been the most influential in determining the shape of the institutions in which the whole society lives".

In addition to being aware of the attributes of culture, it is also useful to focus ones attention on what can be considered as the major components of a cultural system, while trying to understand the meaning and scope of 'culture'. Beals et al (op. cit. p.30) have identified the main components of culture to include: (1) a group or society consisting of a set of members; (2) an environment within which the membership carries out its characteristic activities; (3) a material culture consisting of the equipment and artifacts used by the membership; (4) a cultural tradition representing the historically accumulated decisions of the membership; and (5) human

activities and behaviours emerging out of complex interactions among the membership in relation to the environment, the material culture and the cultural tradition. In as much as this framework helps to draw one's attention to the important aspects of the concept of 'culture', it is also useful in cross-cultural studies, to conceptualise and define culture in terms of the particular problem being studied.

In view of the foregoing discussion on the meaning of culture, and considering the object of this study, culture is conceived here as the historically developed and learned pattern of beliefs and customs of a people which form the basis for the formation of attitudes from which the people's patterns of social behaviour emanate. It should be noted that special emphasis is placed on the word 'pattern', because it is not expected that the identified beliefs and customs of the cultural group will necessarily be the same as that of every individual member of the group. What is regarded as the pattern of beliefs and customs, are those that are dominant in the particular cultural group, which Sutton (1974) argues, tend to eliminate the non-conforming traits under his assumption of 'cultural consistency'. This is the definition of culture that is adopted in this study.

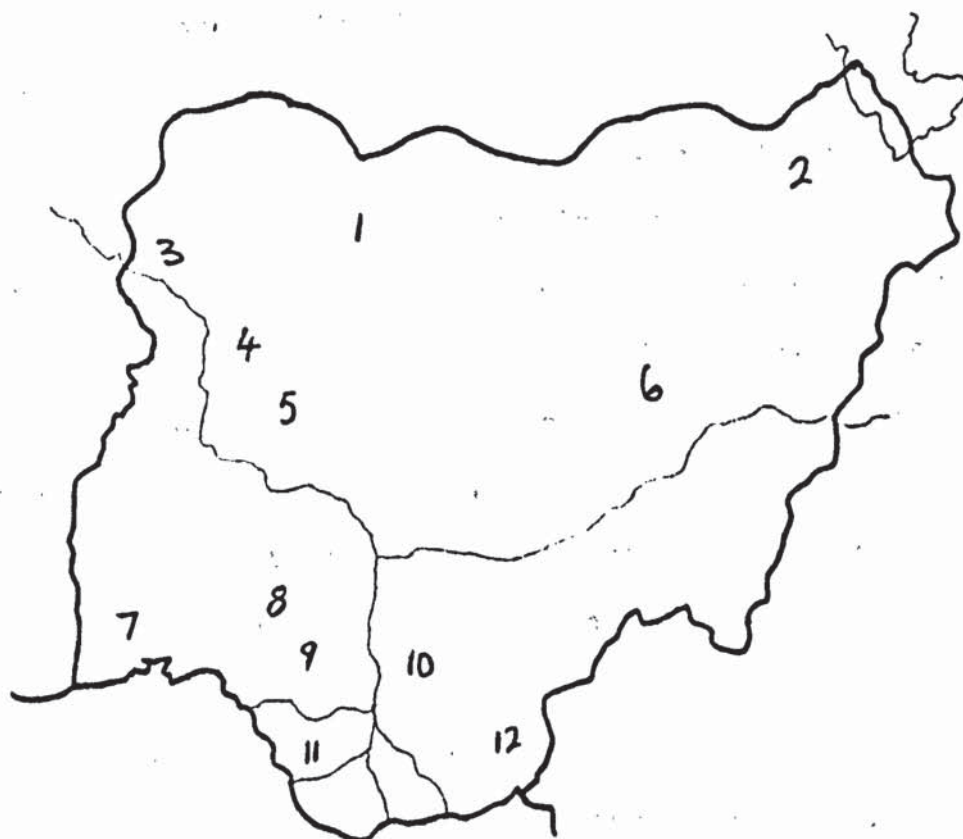
2. MAJOR TRIBAL GROUPS IN NIGERIA

Peil (1977, p.xv) identifies twelve tribal groups in Nigeria, but she prefers to refer to them as ethnic groups, as she tries to avoid what she considers to be "the perjorative implications and the primitive undertone" of the word 'tribe' (ibid. p.125). In this Thesis, the word 'tribe' is used with the understanding that it carries in general terms, neither

'perjorative implications' nor 'primitive undertones', but simply refers, according to the Dictionary of the Social Sciences, to:

"a system of social organisation which includes several local groups - village, bands, districts, or lineages - and normally includes a common territory, a common language, and a common culture"

As the twelve tribal groups in Nigeria are sub-divided into about two hundred sub-groups (Nafziger: 1977, p.45), the term 'ethnic groups' is used here to refer to these sub-groups of a tribal group. The locations of the twelve tribal groups are shown in Figure B below. Among these twelve tribes, the



- | | | |
|------------|---------------|----------|
| 1. Hausa | 5. Nupe | 9. Yako |
| 2. Kanuri | 6. Tiv | 10. Ibo |
| 3. Serkawa | 7. Yoruba | 11. Ijaw |
| 4. Gwari | 8. Weppa-Wano | 12. Efik |

Figure B : Location of the tribal groups in Nigeria

three major ones are Hausa in the north, Yoruba in the south-west and Ibo in the south-east. These three tribal groups bear a dominating influence on the others. For example, the Hausa language dominates other tribal languages in the north of Nigeria, so much that the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the area communicate in Hausa language in the cities, market places and public gatherings. The same thing happens in the south-west with the Yoruba language and in the south-east with the Ibo language.

Beals et al's (op. cit. p.30) model of major components of cultural systems, can be applied to show that these three major tribal groups in Nigeria possess the necessary features for being regarded as separate cultural groups. These tribes consist of separate sets of members who individually exhibit behaviours characteristic of their respective tribes. The Hausa and the Yoruba for example, wear distinct tribal marks on their faces, and the general physical appearance of persons from the three tribal groups are distinctly different. The languages of the tribal groups - Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo are not only different in nature but originated from different roots. The three tribes have always existed in different environments and consequently possess different material cultures, consisting of equipments and artifacts. Because the tribes have evolved through different historical paths, they possess different cultural traditions. A preliminary survey¹ of the cultural characteristics of these three tribes, revealed sharper contrasts between the Hausa and the Ibo than between the Yoruba and either of the other two. As our main objective is to study

1. Details of this preliminary survey will be explained later while describing the research methods in Chapter Five.

on a comparative basis, the influence of culture on job regulation, it was thought that, as a pioneering study, it would be easier to identify cultural influences on job regulation in two groups with sharply contrasting cultural characteristics. For this reason, the discussion that follows, and indeed the remaining part of this Thesis, will be focusing on only the Hausa and the Ibo tribal groups which are here regarded also as cultural groups.

3. WHO ARE THE HAUSA?

The Hausa are a cultural group who are historically known to have migrated from Western Sudan in the north of Africa, and settled in north-western part of Nigeria, on an area covering about 108,881 square miles, and located between latitudes 10° and $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north and between longitudes 4° and 10° east (see Figure C below). These people speak a common language known

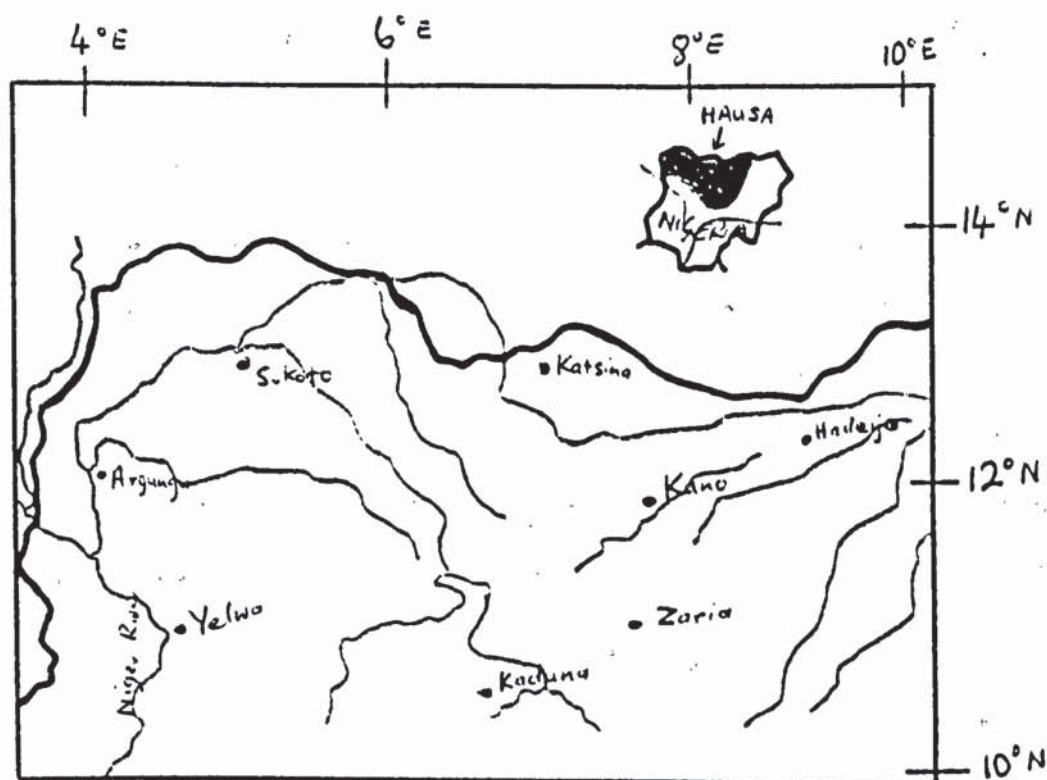


Figure C: Map showing the area of north-west Nigeria occupied by the Hausa tribe.

as Hausa. Historically Hausa is primarily the name of a language, rather than of a people, but by extension, it has come to be used to describe the people to whom the language belongs. Hausa language is classified by Greenberg (1963) as a member of the Chadic group of the Afroasiatic family of languages, which suggests that the language is more related genetically to Arabic, Hebrew, Berber and other members of the Afroasiatic family, than to most of the rest of the languages of sub-Saharan Africa. This language classification by Greenberg, suggests as argued by Kraft and Kirk-Greene (1980, p.5), that Hausa is not a typical tropical African language. The origin of the present-day Hausa people goes back to what was known as 'Hausa Bakwai' which meant the seven historical states of Kano, Katsina, Daura, Zazzau (Zaria), Biram, Gobir and Rano. These seven historical Hausa states are within the present Sokoto, Kano and Kaduna states. The estimated population of the Hausa at present is 24.8 million. The vegetation of the Hausaland is savanna, with rainfall that averages between 40 and 45 inches per annum. Temperature ranges from 12⁰F in the rainy season to 100⁰F in the dry season.

The Hausa traditionally engage in subsistence farming and animal husbandry. They cultivate grains such as guinea corn, millet and maize which are their staple diet. They also keep poultry and rear cattle. In addition to this, the men engage in specific occupations or crafts. Smith (1965) produced a list of these occupations and crafts when he explained that:

"Hausa classify men as hunters, fishers, builders, thatchers, butchers, tanners, leatherworkers, saddlers, weavers, dyers, woodworkers, blacksmiths, brass and silversmiths, calabash-workers, potmakers, drummers, musicians of various types, praise-singers, barber-surgeons, tailors, embroiders, washermen, porters, commission agents, traders of various kinds, makers of sweetmeats, makers of

baskets or mats, tobacco grinders, specialists in herbal medicines, clerics, rulers, officials and their agents" (p.125).

In modern times these occupations and crafts exist, although in the cities those who have undergone formal education and are able to secure good wage employment, have left their traditional crafts and occupations. The number in this category form a minor proportion of the population. Traditionally, the married Hausa women do not come out of their houses in the day, because no other man except their husbands, should see them. Even when they do come out in the night they must cover their heads and faces and have an escort, usually a young boy in the family. During the field-work for this study in Kaduna, the author observed a similar notice by the front doors of many Hausa houses or compounds, which read 'Ba shiga' meaning 'Do not enter'. It was later explained by an Hausa that houses and compounds where there are married women normally put such notice, the purpose of which is to warn men who are not members of that family not to enter, so as not to see the married women. As a result of these restrictions in the movement of married women, it is very rare to find married women in paid-employment. They only stay in the house to prepare meals for their household and to occupy themselves in local weaving, making of cotton blankets and clay pots. It is only the unmarried ones that go out in the day and employ themselves as praise-singers, 'Jakadiya' (female messenger) or as prostitutes (Smith: 1959, pp.239-252; and 1965, p.125).

The historical Hausa states were ruled by their kings who were known as Emirs or Sultans. These kings were not politically appointed, but existed in the form of dynasties whereby children of an Emir automatically became heirs to the

throne. In the palace of an Emir, there were eunuchs and slaves who were responsible for the treasury, the harem, the king's farms and granary, the royal insignia and drums. There were also warders, policemen and executioners. Senior eunuchs and slaves served as the main channels of communication between the Emir and his officials. The present Hausa cities still have Emirs and Sultans, for example, the Emir of Kano and the Sultan of Sokoto, whom are recognised by both Federal and State Governments as 'traditional rulers', and are allowed to continue performing their traditional functions, so long as those functions do not conflict with official Government policies. The Emirs appoint chiefs to look after the villages and sections of the cities. As the Emir rules his people in accordance with Islamic principles, there are always priests, judges, Islamic legal assessors, official scribes and the 'Sarkin Mallamai (Chief Mallam) who stay with the Emir to assist in carrying out all sorts of governmental and religious functions.

The Hausa people are Moslems. Islam religion reached Hausaland in the mid-fourteenth century, and since then, the Hausa culture has been greatly influenced by the principles of Islam. Smith (1965) has emphasized the dominating influence of Islam on the Hausa culture by stating that:

"For Hausa, Islam is a way of life as well as a set of beliefs in Allah and his Prophet. The five daily prayers, attendance at mosque on Fridays, the three main annual festivals, the yearly grain tithe, the annual fast of Ramadan, and the recurrent fact of pilgrimage together represent local Islam most forcefully. In addition, the courts administer Muslim law modified by Hausa custom and the traditional schools teach Muslim texts. Much of Hausa folklore is Islamic, together with urban house types, dress, script and other cultural forms; and the standard Islamic injunctions and taboos are regularly observed in the country towns as well as in the cities" (p.150).

Every Hausa community has two official priests, who preside over the Friday Mosque and the two annual 'Sallahs' (Islam festival) - Id-el-Fitr and Id-el-Kabir respectively.

The environment in which the Hausa live, their occupations, the sort of political system in which they are governed, the Islam religion which not only controls their belief system, but also directs their way of living, all these combine to make the Hausa a unique set of people. These factors make the Hausa possess the sort of traditional attitudes which Smith (ibid.) has generally described as the ones that:

"stress patient fortitude in the face of adversity, self-control, thrift, pride in workmanship, and enjoyment of social relations... The commoners are habituated to obedience and tolerance, their rulers to political control. Kunya (shame) is a major sanction compelling individual conformity to custom" (pp.139-140).

4. WHO ARE THE IBO?

The Ibo live in the south-eastern part of Nigeria between latitudes 4° and 7° north and between longitudes 6° and 8½° east, and covering an area of about 15,800 square miles (see Figure D on the next page). The current population is estimated at 15.2 million. Ford and Jones (1950) explained that before the advent of Europeans into West Africa, the Ibo had no common name and village groups were generally known by the name of a putative ancestral founder. Regarding the historical origin of the Ibo, Meek (1937) has the following to say:

"the Ibo have no tribal history. Their only form of history is the purely local traditions of the various communes or village-groups.... As far back as we can see within historic times the bulk of the Ibo people appear to have lived an isolated existence" (pp.4-5).



Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

Figure D : Map showing the area of south-east Nigeria, occupied by the Ibo tribe.

It is not yet clear how the name 'Ibo' developed, but Jeffreys (1946) suggests that 'Ibo' originally meant 'forest dwellers'. Ford and Jones (op. cit.) explained that it was when slave trade started in the east coasts of Nigeria that the Riverain settlers, such as people in Bonny and Opobo, used the word 'Ibo' as a contemptuous way of referring to the hinterland settlers, from where slaves were bought and given to the European slave dealers at the coast. The word became so widely used that the Europeans started referring to that area as

'Iboland'. The Ibo people speak one common language with slight dielectical differences, and recently a version of the language which Chukwuma (1974) has described as 'Central Igbo' was developed, taking a central position among the different dielects. Chukwuma (ibid.) has suggested a distinction between 'Ibo' as a people and 'Igbo' as the language of the Ibo people. In the present state divisions in Nigeria, as shown of Figure F, the Ibo occupy Anambra, Imo and some parts of Rivers and Bendel states.

Iboland has a tropical climate with an average annual temperature of about 80°F. Rainfall is heavier in the south than in the north and many areas have more than 70 inches of rain annually. The Ibo traditionally engage in farming of food crops and fishing in areas where there are rivers. Yam and cassava (root crops) are the main source of staple food for the Ibo. The men cultivate yam while the women cultivate cassava. Palm oil and kernel are produced for domestic use and for commercial purposes. As the soil in some parts of Iboland is not fertile for food crop cultivation, a majority of the Ibo engage in retail trade. When the Europeans came to the area, most of them took up wage employment as porters and domestic helpers to the European missionaries and merchants. At present most Ibo are engaged in private businesses, and in the whole of Nigeria they are regarded as probably the most industrious and enterprising group, especially in distributive trade of all kinds.

A unique aspect of the Ibo traditional political structure is summed up in a general saying among the Ibo themselves which states thus: "Igbo enwe eze"; meaning that "the Ibo have no kings". The interesting thing is that this saying is

continuously transmitted from generation to generation, and the effect of such traditional saying on the attitudes of the people to constituted authority cannot be gainsaid. Historically, the Ibo organised and governed themselves in small almost independent village groups. Meek (1937) commenting on the system stated that:

"the most characteristic feature of Ibo society is the almost complete absence of any higher political or social unit than the commune or small group of contiguous villages, whose customs and cults are identical, who in former times took common action against an external enemy (though they frequently also fought amongst themselves), and whose sense of solidarity is so strong that they regard themselves as descendants of a common ancestor" (p.3).

Even in these small village groups, government was largely democratic, as explained by Uchendu (1965):

"Government at the village level is an exercise in direct democracy. It involves all the lineages and requires the political participation of all the male adults. Though it forms part of the village group, the widest political community, the village is autonomous in its affairs and accepts no interference or dictation from any other group" (p.42).

Unlike the Hausa, the Ibo do not generally have traditional rulers. It is only at Onitsha that a kingship known as 'Obi' exists. This is primarily due to the ancestral connection between Onitsha people and Benin in the south-mid-western part of Nigeria. Benin is an ancient city with a well-established monarch known as the 'Oba of Benin'. The difference between the Obi of Onitsha and the Oba of Benin, is that the seat of the Oba of Benin (non-Ibo) is hereditary, whereas that of the Obi of Onitsha (Ibo) is elective (Uchendu: *ibid*, p.45). The influence of the Obi of Onitsha in governmental affairs is minimal, as the Ibo do not tolerate being lorded over by any institution or person.

The Ibo are a religious group. They have a traditional tribal religion which is shared by all members, and in matters of religious participation, the most effective unit of religious worship is the extended family. The Ibo traditional religion is polytheistic. The idea of a creator of all things is focal to Ibo theology. There is a supreme God, whom in his creative role is known as 'Chineke' or 'Chi-Okike' which means 'God-that-creates'. As the creator of everything this God is known as 'Chukwu-Abiama', and when the same God is being thought of as the pillar that supports the heavens, he is called 'Agalaba-ji-Igwe'. The sky is regarded as the official residence of this God and people invoke his name as 'Chi-dinelu' which means 'God who lives above'. The general name of this supreme God which distinguishes him from other minor gods is 'Chukwu' which means 'Great or High God'. Besides this Chukwu, there are numerous other minor gods who perform specific functions in the life of the Ibo. 'Ala' is the goddess of land, which controls fertility of the soil and that of human beings. 'Anyanwu' is the sun-god, which makes crops and trees grow. The spiritual aspect of the sun is called 'Amadioha' - the spirit of Lightning. A village group known as Ozuzu has developed this sun-god into a powerful oracle called 'Amadioha Ozuzu'. 'Igwe' is the god of the sky which is responsible for rain. The Ibo believe that the sky is larger than the earth or land, hence this sky-god is usually referred to as 'Igwe-ka-ala'.

Every river in Iboland is regarded as a god, for example, Mini-Omoku, Imo-Miri, Ughamini-Uguta and many others. Anyone who dies by drowning in any river is regarded as having been taken by the river deity, and the dead body is quickly buried.

at the bank of the river without performing the usual burial ceremonies. 'Mpataku', is the spirit of wealth, who is oftenly appeased with ceremonial sacrifices of chicks, locally-produced alcoholic drinks and cola nuts, whenever one's business undertaking does not seem to be going well. There are other minor gods, but in addition to the high and minor gods, there are the all-powerfull shrines or as Ottenberg (1958, pp.294-317) calls them, 'oracles of Iboland'. These oracles include the 'Agbara' of Awka, the 'Igwe' of Umunoha, the 'Amadioha' of Ozuzu, and the 'Ibini-Okpabe' of Aro-Chukwu. The oracles are so powerful that they serve a supreme judicial role as the final Court of Appeal in traditional Ibo community, as it is strongly believed that one who is guilty in a case and appears before the oracle is sure to die in a matter of days. Many Ibo have become christians, but Christianity is generally regarded as a foreign religion which came with the 'white man' (early British merchants, missionaries and colonial administrators), and as such it is rare to find an Ibo who does not believe in the powers of the high and minor gods of the Ibo traditional religion, no matter how much an Ibo professes to be a christian. In serious situations the christian Ibo still goes to his village to perform the required ceremonial sacrifices to appease these gods, but many-a-time in secrete (Uchendu: op. cit; Ottenberg: ibid.).

The foregoing discussion on the somewhat obscure origin of the early Ibo, their occupations and their traditional political system, coupled with their polytheistic religion, throw light on how the Ibo have come to be the sort of people they are, as shown in their attitudes. On the basis of his extensive anthropological study of the Ibo community, Uchendu

(ibid.) has the following to say of the general attitudes of the Ibo people:

"The Ibo lay a great emphasis on individual achievement and initiative. There are no restraints, human, cultural, or supernatural, which cannot, theoretically be overcome.... Ibo individualism is not rugged individualism; it is individualism rooted in group solidarity. The traditional government is a direct democracy in which leadership is achieved on a competitive basis.... It is ability rather than age that qualifies for leadership... an important ideological factor is the Ibo ideas about change. The Ibo believe that change is necessary for the realisation of their long-term goals" (pp.103-104).

5. THE NATURE OF HAUSA AND IBO CULTURAL ATTITUDES THAT ARE RELATED TO JOB REGULATION

As explained in the last chapter, twelve attitudinal variables considered to be related to job regulation are involved in this study. It has also been stated that the major assumption underlying the study is that the relevant attitudes of actors in the industrial relations arena are culture-bound. Having examined the meaning, attributes and components of culture, and having described the major cultural characteristics of the Hausa and the Ibo, what remains is the identification of the nature of the traditional attitudes of the two cultures in terms of the twelve attitudinal variables. But first, the methods adopted in determining these attitudes will be explained and then the attitudes will be stated.

One of the attributes of culture identified earlier is that culture is historically developed. On the basis of this, the identification of the nature of the cultural attitudes of a people should be based on historical sources from which one can trace how far the particular attitudinal characteristics are deeply rooted in the relevant culture. One way of

doing this, is through a study of relevant literature on all aspects of the particular culture (Terry: 1979). This method was considered inappropriate in our case because, apart from the paucity of literature on aspects of the Hausa and the Ibo cultures, except a few works of Nigerian Novelists like Chinua Achebe whose novels explore aspects of the Ibo culture, and Victor Uchendu who has carried out major anthropological studies of the Ibo people, most of the available literature, particularly on the Hausa culture, were written by authors with foreign cultural backgrounds - mostly British and Americans¹. The likely limitations of the literature written by foreigners, originate from the fact that the writers tend unconsciously to interpret and perceive situations and attitudinal characteristics of people from other cultures on the basis of their own culturally-defined patterns of behaviour. For example, what Tremearne (1913) described as 'Hausa superstitions', are not regarded as mere superstitions in the Hausa community, but as real facts of life based on the Hausa system of belief which to a great extent influences their customary practices and general pattern of social behaviour. But on the basis of his

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1. See for example Meek C (1937) - Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe (Oxford University Press); Greenberg J (1947) - "Islam and Clan Organisation among the Hausa" Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol.3 pp.193-211; Meek C (1925) - The Northern Tribes of Nigeria (Oxford University Press); Rattray R (1913) - Hausa Folklore, Customs and Proverbs (Oxford University Press); Smith M (1955) - Government in Zazzau, 1800-1950 (Oxford University Press); Tremearne A (1913) - Hausa Superstitions and Customs (London: John Bale); Wieschhoff H (1941) - "Social Significance of Names among the Ibo of Nigeria" American Anthropologist vol.43 pp.212-222; Smock A (1971) Ibo Politics: The Role of Ethnic Unions in Eastern Nigeria (Harvard University Press); Skinner E (1973) - Peoples and Cultures of Africa (Doubleday National History Press); Ottenberg S (1958) - "Ibo Oracles and Intergroup relations" Southwestern Journal of Anthropology vol.14 pp.294-317.

own culture, which influenced his perception of the particular aspect of the Hausa culture he was trying to describe, Tremearne has interpreted what he saw, to be superstitions. In other words, Tremearne has merely looked at the Hausa culture through the mirror of his own culture, and the limitation of such work as a true description of reality cannot be gainsaid. For this reason, literature on the Hausa and the Ibo cultures was not treated in our present study as a major source for the identification of the attitudinal characteristics, but was used as a source for corroborative evidence in some cases, although information from the Koran (Islamic Holy book) was treated very seriously in the case of the Hausa people who are Moslems.

At first, a questionnaire¹ was used to obtain general preliminary information on the three main cultural groups in Nigeria - Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba, for the main purpose of picking two out of the three groups. The questionnaire was administered to undergraduate students of the Rivers State University of Science and Technology in PortHarcourt. Copies of the questionnaire were issued to one hundred and fifty students (50 Hausa, 50 Ibo and 50 Yoruba students), shortly before the 1979 Christmas holiday that lasted for two weeks. The students were specifically asked to take the questionnaire to their homes during the holiday, and to discuss each of the questions on the questionnaire with members of their extended family groups particularly the elders of their families, before completing the questionnaire, as the expected responses to the questions were supposed to be the collective decisions of their family groups on each question. All the 150 copies of the

1. See Appendix IV for a copy of this questionnaire.

the questionnaire that were issued to the students, were collected back duly completed as soon as the students were back from the holiday. A great deal of information was obtained on the cultural groups through this method and the way the information was analysed will be explained in Chapter Five later while describing research methods.

The main method adopted for identifying the cultural attitudes of the two cultural groups - Hausa and Ibo, was a semi-structured interview of extended family groups in the Hausa and the Ibo communities, conducted personally by the present author. What made this method a particularly appropriate one in our circumstances, was that in Nigeria and indeed all black African societies, every extended family group has a family head and a panel of elders who normally act as Historians of the oral traditions of both the lineage of the family and the tribe to which the family belongs. Interviewing 13 Hausa and 25 Ibo family groups in which about 23 members in each Hausa family and 12 members in each Ibo family were met in groups in the family head's places, enabled us to eliminate any personal variations regarding the cultural attitudes. When a question was asked in each of the meetings, the members of the family present made comments and finally the Head of the family who was usually the oldest man in the family, would then summarise the discussion by making references to historical events and the oral traditions of the particular tribal group and giving a definite answer to the question which everyone in the gathering accepted as true. Through this method, the actual societal culture of the Hausa and the Ibo tribes were identified regarding the attitudinal characteristics and customary practices. In the interview of these extended family

groups, it was remarkable how responses of all the families in each tribal group to each of the questions were highly consistent; the Ibo families supported their answers with the same proverbs while the Hausa families cited almost similar Islamic religious teachings in the Holy Koran to support their answers.

A study of a collection of the Hausa and the Ibo proverbs was carried out to obtain corroborative evidence to the information obtained from the personal interviews. The use of proverbs as a means of identifying the cultural attitudes of a society is not very common in Social Science research of this kind, and as such requires a brief explanation here. The Pan English Dictionary defines a proverb as:

"a short saying, usually containing a useful or well-known belief or truth".

In Nigeria and indeed in all Black African countries, proverbs are applied in conversations and in speeches of all kinds, as the proverbs express the traditional beliefs and truths about matters. Old people use proverbs more often, and argument that is supported with proverbs is automatically accepted as valid and true, for as explained by Taiwo (1967):

"Proverbs deal with all aspects of life. They are used to emphasize the word of the wise and are the stock-in-trade of old people, who use them to convey precise moral lessons, warnings and advise, since they make a greater impact on the minds than ordinary words. The judicious use of proverbs is often regarded as a sign of wit" (p.26).

In his study of the nature and role of proverbs of the Fante culture in southern Ghana, Christensen (1961, pp.235-238) found examples of how proverbs can be used to support generally accepted forms and values in various areas of social life in the cultural group. Because proverbs are usually

handed down from generation to generation, they reflect the socio-cultural system of the ancestors of a people. The important place of proverbs in the African cultures was rightly emphasized by Herskovitz (1961), when he stated that:

"In African societies it is a mark of elegance to be able to interlard one's speech with those aphorisms. Proverbs are cited in the native courts in much the same way as our lawyers cite precedent... The moral they point give insight into the basic values of society, they teach us what is held to be right and wrong. They are indeed an index to accepted canons of thought and action" (p.453).

Proverbs in African societies are therefore, expressions of the traditional values, beliefs and culturally accepted ways of organising social life in the respective cultural groups, and as such constitute a valid source from which some characteristics of a cultural group can be identified. A selection of some Hausa and Ibo proverbs are shown on Tables 1 and 2 on the next two pages.

From the results of the analysis of information obtained from the preliminary questionnaire and the semi-structured interviews,¹ and supported by corroborative evidence obtained from the study of a collection of relevant Hausa and Ibo proverbs, and extensive search of published anthropological information on the two cultures, the nature of the Hausa and the Ibo cultural attitudes in relation to the attitudinal variables related to job regulation, were found to be as follows:

1. The method adopted in analysing the information obtained from the preliminary questionnaire and the semi-structured interview of Hausa and Ibo extended family groups, will be explained in Chapter Five where the research methods adopted in this study are described.

TABLE 1 : A SELECTION OF HAUSA PROVERBS

Proverbs	English translation
1. Kwadayi mabudin wahala	Greed is the key to trouble.
2. Allah ya ce, 'Tashi in taimake ka	God says, 'Get up and then let me help you'. (God helps those who help themselves)
3. Zumunta a kafa ta ke	Good relationships depend upon feet. (The maintenance of good relationships between people requires frequent visiting)
4. Mai hakuri ya kan dafa dutse ya sha romonsa	A patient person will cook a stone and drink its broth. (Patience is a virtue)
5. Gaba da gabanta	Everyone in front has someone in front of him. (Even the greatest has someone greater than him)
6. Abokin sarki, sarki ne	A chief's friend is a chief. (The friend or relation of a person in high position shares the advantages of that position)
7. Alheri gadon barci ne	Kindness is a bed to sleep on. (Doing a favour is a good investment)
8. Gaskiya ta fi kuabo	Truth is better than money.
9. Rashin sani ya fi dare duhu	Lack of knowledge is darker than night time. (There is nothing worse than ignorance)
10. In na yi maka rana, kada ka yi mini dare	If I make daylight for you, don't you make night for me. (If I do good to you, don't you repay me with evil)
11. Barin kashi a ciki ba ya maganin yunwa	Keeping one's excrement in one's stomach doesn't keep one from hunger. (Remaining silent does not solve problems)
12. Tsohon doki mai sane	An old horse is a knowing one. (Old age means greater experience and knowledge)

TABLE 2: A SELECTION OF IBO PROVERBS

Proverbs	English translation
1. Agbakatam mgbá awughí ya, íhè wu isí wu onye nwudere íbè ya	That I wrestled very hard is not important, rather the important thing is who won the contest. (One should always aim at winning in every struggle)
2. Íhè èjì eme ejewe inyu nshì ewere osisi abua, wu maka osuogha di na nshì.	Why on going to the toilet one takes two sticks for cleaning one's anus, is because of a repeat pressure associated with excretion sometimes.
3. Onye si nwata nwude nkapia, ga enye kwa ya mmili oga ejì wee kwoo aka ya.	One who asks a child to catch a shrew for him, must also give him water to wash his hands.
4. Onye jì madu na'la jikwa onwe ya	One who is holding down someone on the ground in a wrestling contest, is also holding himself.
5. Agadi nwanyi na aka ka oga esi lie inine, inine ana aka etu oga esi gba ya afo	As the old woman plans how to eat spinach, spinach also plans on how to upset the old woman's stomach.
6. Onye jeka íjè, otua nwo-nwo oso, maka ífè oso eme mee.	While walking on a journey, one should sometimes trot, in anticipation of some occurrence which may require running.
7. Okpa aku elieli, ofukwalu k'onu di onye nwulu anwu?	One who amasses wealth and does not enjoy it, has he not seen how ugly the mouth of a dead person is?
8. Anu na erigh íbè ya, anagh ebu, ebu	An animal that does not feed on its fellow animal does not grow fat.
9. Ogbugbu egburu ogana anagh ewe ya íwè, íhè na ewe ya íwè wu weta ka elele.	The killing of the bush rat does not annoy it, what annoys it is exposing its dead body to be admired.
10. Olili enu ukpaka kpa ya nku, maka na ejìho kwa ubochi ali enu ukpaka	One who climbs the oil bean tree should collect much from it, for it is not everyday that one climbs an oil-bean tree.
11. Onye kpàrà nku ahuhu di, kporo ngwere oriri	He that fetched ant-ridden faggots, invited the the lizards to a feast.

1. Attitude to business enterprise

Hausa: He is not ambitious towards owning or being associated with a business enterprise, as he prefers his traditional farming and craft occupation, to indulging in self-owned business enterprise.

Ibo: He is very much interested in owning a private business. The Ibo proverb - "Ego wu madu", which means that money makes man, expresses the Ibo belief that to gain respect among his fellow citizens, he has to be wealthy, and by setting up a private business he hopes to be counted among the wealthy in the near future. This accounts for the existence of many small scale business enterprises in the Ibo community.

2. Attitude to authority

Hausa: He regards anyone in authority as having been divinely put in that position and as such gives absolute loyalty to authority without questioning.

Ibo: He does not have much special regard for constituted authority as the Hausa does, because he prefers to feel that he is master of himself.

3. Attitude to subordinates

Hausa: He regards his subordinates as his followers, and cares for them accordingly.

Ibo: Although he likes to assert his authority on his subordinates, he regards them as his partners.

4. Attitude to social class or status

Hausa: Social stratification in the African society is seen more in terms of social status than socio-economic group. The more privileged ones among the Hausa such as the Emirs and their officials, are regarded by the poor lower class Hausa as being put in that position by Allah (God), and therefore have favourable attitudes towards them in their position. On the other hand, the privileged ones do not despise the poor ones, as they believe that they are divinely obliged to take care of the less privileged ones. The Hausa do not therefore have antagonising attitudes towards any sort of social distinction.

Ibo: He is opposed to any form of social stratification, as he believes that by dint of hard work he can be as rich as anyone else. Every Ibo enjoys being referred to as a 'big man' (meaning rich man) not minding whether he is actually rich or not.

5. Attitude to interpersonal relations

Hausa: He is keenly interested in interpersonal relations with a fellow Hausa, or anyone whom he feels he can trust.

Ibo: He is largely individualistic, but may co-operate with another person when he believes he is likely to benefit materially from such relationship. Generally, the Ibo likes to keep to himself, as it takes him long time before he can feel free to confide in another person or personal matters.

6. Attitude to individual achievement

Hausa: He is not worried whether he achieves his objectives or not, as he strongly believes that whatever happens to him is predestined.

Ibo: He is highly ambitious towards individual achievement, as he wishes to get personal recognition in the society. The Ibo have a proverb which states thus: "Let the eagle perch and let the hawk perch, any of the birds that says that the other should not perch, let its wings break". The Ibo does not deal kindly with anyone who constitutes an obstacle to the achievement of his individual objective.

7. Attitude to formal education

Hausa: Any form of education which is not based on Islamic ethics and ideals is generally not regarded as important. He regards the Western form of education as an alien system and therefore reacts unfavourably to it generally.

Ibo: He has very high regard for the Western form of education as he believes that the more educated one is, the higher the recognition he will get in the society. An educated man is always respected as he is regarded as a 'big' or prospective 'big' man (rich man).

8. Attitude to the acquisition of wealth and material gain

Hausa: He does not care much about wealth, as long as he is able to get his daily meals. He believes that riches are only for those who are predestined to have them, so he simply accepts any condition he finds himself in, without having to worry himself about it. If he is poor, the rich ones are there to look after him; if rich, he does likewise to the poor.

Ibo: He has very high desire for wealth, as his main purpose in life is to acquire as much wealth as possible, because that will give him a high standing in the community.

9. Attitude towards risk-taking

Hausa: He does not like risk-taking as far as material benefits are concerned, although he can undertake any level of risk where it concerns defending the principles of his Islam religion.

Ibo: He is prepared to take any level of risk

as long as he has a reason to believe that success may follow later, as he regards risk-taking to be a necessary means to success in business affairs.

10. Attitude to change

Hausa: He is conservative and as such does not react favourably to change, especially change in his customary pattern of living.

Ibo: He adjusts quite easily to changing situations, and therefore reacts co-operatively to changes which are likely to help him in achieving his objectives.

11. Attitude to work

Hausa: He does not regard work as enjoyable, for if he has a choice, he will prefer not to work. But where circumstances compel him to work, he does it honestly and with devotion. Generally, the typical Hausa attitude to work is summed up in William Wordsworth's line which states thus:

"Death is the end of life,
why should life all labour be".

Ibo: He believes that everyone has to work for his own livelihood, because according to one Ibo proverb, "if a lazy man covers himself with mat and refuses to work, hunger will eventually uncover him". The Ibo therefore regards work as an inevitable part of life.

12. Attitude to wage employment

Hausa: He does not like wage employment. He prefers to be engaged in his traditional craft occupation, which he likes to be identified with in the community.

Ibo: At the beginning of his working life, he likes to take up wage employment. He will then save up with the hope of leaving the wage employment later to set up his own private business. It is not in all cases that the Ibo succeeds in leaving wage employment to set up his own business, but the presence of this ambition in his mind all the time, affects his behaviour at the workplace throughout his working life in wage employment.

The general pattern of these cultural attitudes of the two cultures, can be related to Hofstede's (1980) 'Dimensions of National Culture'. Hofstede (ibid, pp.42-49) developed four dimensions which he suggested could be used in describing national cultures¹ for purposes of cross-national or cross-cultural studies of attitudes and behaviours in organisation.

1. Hofstede's use of the term 'national culture' suggests that he may have assumed national boundary to correspond to cultural boundary. Such assumption does not represent reality in the African context, because of the existence of tribes as explained earlier in the case of Nigeria, where the three major tribal groups are known to possess distinct cultural characteristics that distinguish them as different cultural groups. Hofstede's model is used here to describe cultures rather than nations. See Appendix I for the characteristics of the four dimensions.

The four dimensions are as follows:

1. Small or Large Power Distance

This indicates the extent to which members of a cultural group accept the fact that power is to be distributed equally, as is reflected in the values of the less powerful members of the community as well as in those of the more powerful ones.

2. Weak or Strong Uncertainty Avoidance

This indicates the extent to which members of a cultural group feel threatened by uncertainty and ambiguous situations and then try to avoid such situations by insisting on greater career stability, establishing more formal rules, not tolerating deviant ideas and behaviours, and believing in absolute truths and the attainment of expertise. Societies in which uncertainty avoidance is strong are characterised by a high level of anxiety and aggressiveness, that creates a strong inner urge in people to work hard.

3. Individualism or Collectivism

Individualism implies a loosely knit framework in which people are supposed to provide for themselves, whereas collectivism is characterised by a tight social framework in which people expect their more privileged ones to look after them, and in exchange for that

they feel they owe absolute loyalty to them.

4. Femininity or Masculinity

This indicates the extent to which the dominant values in the cultural group are 'masculine' - referring to assertiveness, the acquisition of money and wealth, without caring for others and the quality of life.

By applying these four dimensions to the traditional attitudes of the Hausa and the Ibo as stated earlier, it could be seen that on broad basis, the Hausa cultural characteristics fall under the following sides of the dimensions:

Large Power Distance

Weak Uncertainty Avoidance

Collectivism

Femininity

whereas the Ibo fall under:

Small Power Distance

Strong Uncertainty Avoidance

Individualism

Masculinity.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, attempt has been made to offer a definition of culture which is adopted in the study, after an examination of the attributes and major components of culture.

As the study is focusing on the patterns of job regulation at the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, the characteristics of the two cultures were briefly described, and this was followed by the identification of the nature of the attitudinal characteristics of the Hausa and the Ibo, that are considered to be related to job regulation. The second part of this Thesis will be concerned with examining, through the analysis and discussion of the results of the empirical investigation, the extent to which the patterns of job regulation at the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces are influenced by these culturally-based attitudinal characteristics and customary practices of the two cultural groups. But before going on to that, a brief description of some key features in the historical, political, economic and industrial development of Nigeria will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NIGERIAN INDUSTRIALISATION

Introduction

The brief description of some selected features of the historical, political, economic and industrial development of Nigeria that is given in the present chapter, is intended to provide a background knowledge which will place the discussion of the results of the analysis of the empirical data presented in the second part of the Thesis, in context. Nigeria is a country situated in the western part of the continent of Africa as shown on Figure E on the next page. It lies wholly within the tropics, between the fourth and fourteenth latitudes east of Greenwich. The country is bounded on the east, west and north by French-speaking countries of the Republics of Cameroun, Benin, Niger and Chad. The area covered by Nigeria is 356,669 square miles, which is almost four times the size of the United Kingdom. The farthest distance from east to west is over 700 miles, from north to south is about 650 miles, and the coastline is almost 500 miles in length. In this chapter, we shall briefly examine historically how this vast expanse of land came to become one country known as Nigeria. We shall look at the key political developments in the country since independence in 1960, and also examine the main features of the economy of the country. As our present study is focusing on job regulation in two Nigerian cultural groups, it was considered necessary here to briefly review what may be regarded as the origins of trade unionism in the country, and



Figure E: Map of Africa showing the location of Nigeria.

some memorable incidents in the country's labour history, with a view to exploring the 'past' of the Nigerian unions, as that is considered likely to be useful in trying to understand the 'present'.

1. HISTORY IN BRIEF: 1553-1960

Before the first Europeans came to Nigeria, the peoples in the southern part of the country were living in tribal groups of small villages and clans. Not much is definitely

known about the way they lived, as no written records were kept although recently Nigerian historians have started to explore more about these early tribal groups through oral tradition. The recorded history of the southern part of Nigeria started from the advent of the early Europeans. The Portuguese were the first to find their way to the coast of West Africa in the early part of the fifteenth century, in search of adventure, wealth and discovery. But, as recorded by Oliver (1957, p.1), the first English ships reached the Bight of Benin in 1553, and returned with palm oil, peppers and ivory. It did not take long before the attention of these European visitors to the coast of West Africa, turned to slave trade, and some natives were used as agents in the trade. By 1807 when England decided to abolish the slave trade, Britain, as recorded by Dike (1960, p.9), "controlled the lion's share of the trans-Atlantic slave trade". Throughout all these years of early contact with the Europeans and the slave trade, the coastal territories and indeed all the parts of Nigeria remained sovereign.

Britain met with problems in their effort to stop the slave trade, not only from other European slave traders but from the local rulers like King Kosoko of Lagos who found slave trading a profitable business. King Kosoko was therefore attacked by British troops and after a three-day battle, on 28th December 1851, Lagos was abandoned to the British troops. Burns (1955, p.122) reported that "a thousand warriors sent by the King of Dahomey to assist Kosoko did not arrive in time, and returned quietly when they found they were too late". For ten years Lagos was controlled by Britain through a puppet king who was put on the throne of Lagos by the British troops

after the conquest of Kosoko. On the 6th of August 1861, Lagos was taken over completely and annexed to the British Crown, and by the following year it was made a colony. Later, the Yorubaland, which covered the area by the west of Lagos, was taken over and attached to the colony of Lagos as a British Protectorate. The area to the east of Lagos up to the coastal side of the Iboland was also taken as the Niger Coast Protectorate in 1893.

The Lander Brothers, continuing the exploration of River Niger which had been pioneered by Mungo Park and Clapperton, were able to go up the river as far as Bussa (in the present Kwara state, see figure F) in 1830. This expedition was very important to the British merchants, as it made it possible for them to travel into the northern part of Nigeria. When slave trade became finally abolished, these merchants turned their attention towards gaining strong trading posts on the river Niger. Taubman Goldie came to Nigeria and formed the 'United African Company' (UAC) in 1886, by amalgamating four big trading companies which had gained strong trading grounds along the river Niger. This UAC served very useful purpose to the British Government, not only because of the revenue that accrued from the trade, but particularly for the advantage it gave Britain over the other European countries like France and Germany, in their scramble for colonial territories in West Africa.

When all these were happening in the south, the Hausa people in the north were living their normal Moslem life undisturbed. The Hausa lived in seven kingdoms but unified by Islam. Later the Fulani who were mainly nomads and cattle-rearers from the north immigrated into the Hausaland; majority

of them settled and intermarried with the original Hausa. The Fulani were also Moslems. In 1804 Shehu Dan Fodio, a Fulani leader, felt there was need for a religious revolution in defence of certain Islamic principles and teachings which he felt were being ignored (Gowers: 1921, Ahmadu-Bello: 1962). He then organised a JIHAD (holy war) with the aim of removing all the local rulers who in his opinion were not pious enough to rule. His jihad succeeded and he was able to ensure that all the kingdoms were governed in accordance with Islamic principles. With the influence of Shehu Dan Fodio, the Fulani occupied a higher place of power and authority in the government of the Hausaland, as they were able to contain the frequent rebellious activities of the descendants of the deposed Hausa leaders.

When the British merchants penetrated up to the Hausaland through the river Niger, they met the Hausa in well-established system of government based on Islamic principles, under the direction of the Fulani leaders. With little resistance from the local Emirs (Hausa kings), the area was taken over by the British Government as the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900. In 1912 Lugard was appointed the Governor of both northern and southern Protectorates. The following year the Protectorates were amalgamated, with Lugard as the first Governor-General of what then became one nation, known as Nigeria; the name given to the nation being derived from the great river Niger which runs from Atlantic ocean in the south, up through the north-western border into Niger Republic.

Nigeria was then ruled by Britain as a colony. But by the end of the second World War, political tempo had started to rise among the Nigerian elites, which prompted series of

constitutional conferences, although held in relatively cordial atmosphere. The Smythes (1960, p.14) commented that:

"The Nigerian independence movement was shaped in a climate of largely verbal jousting; incidents of violence over the years, once the fight for freedom gained momentum, were rare and of insignificant proportions. The atmosphere in recent years has been marked by continuous negotiations and conferences".

In 1957 a formal demand for Nigeria independence was made. Elections were held in 1959 and on 1st October 1960, Nigeria became independent.

One important point was that throughout the period before the second World War, there was hardly much economic development in Nigeria, because it was British colonial policy, as remarked by Sokolski (1965, p.13), to limit the expenditures on internal development to a level that was set by the burden of public debt the administrators thought Nigeria could afford. Foreign private investments were concentrated primarily in commercial activities of a distributive trading nature. The attention of these early European investors also went to tin mining at Jos in Northern Nigeria. Politically, the presence of British power in this part of West Africa, was highly functional in creating the Nigerian nation, because in the absence of such foreign intervention, it could have been very difficult for the three major tribes - Hausa in the north, Ibo in the south-east, and Yoruba in the south-west, together with other minor ethnic groups which Nafziger (1977, p.45) suggests are likely to number over two hundred, to agree to come together under one national umbrella. These tribal groups, especially the three major ones, are entirely different nature of people, with distinct differences in physical appearance and manner of dressing, language and religion, manner of thinking and

living, traditions and tribal history, and other fundamental cultural characteristics. The amalgamation of parts of Nigeria into one nation, which took place about seventy years ago has not changed any of these cultural differences. Ethnic or tribal consciousness can be felt in every collective organisation of people, from political parties to trade union organisations (Seibel: 1967, Sofola: 1970, Sanda: 1974).

2. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS: 1960 TO PRESENT

At independence in 1960, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC), a Hausa dominated political party, became the first Prime Minister of Nigeria. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of the Ibo dominated National Council of Nigeria and the Camerouns (NCNC), became the President, while Chief Obafemi Awolowo of a third political part known as 'Action Group' (AG), dominated by the Yoruba, became leader of the Opposition. These political parties were organised in such a way that they reflected the major tribal groupings in Nigeria. All the members of NPC were from the northern part of Nigeria, dominated by the Hausa; all members of the NCNC were from the east, dominated by the Ibo; while the members of the AG were from the west, dominated by Yoruba. In 1962 there was a split in Action Group, one part continued their support for Chief Awolowo while the other faction made Chief Akintola (also a Yoruba) their leader. This split led to a lot of violence in the western part of Nigeria, such that the regional government in the west was suspended for a year; a state of emergency was declared in the region and an administrator was appointed to take charge of the region. Chief Awolowo was later convicted on charges of treason and sentenced

to ten years imprisonment. This political problem in the west affected the rest of Nigeria, in that people started to feel politically insecure as rumours of corruption among politicians and violence between political parties pervaded the atmosphere.

On 16th January 1966, a group of Nigerian Army Officers led by Major Nzeogwu (an Ibo) staged a coup, and many politicians including the Prime Minister Sir Balewa, were killed. Major-General Aguiyi-Ironsi (an Ibo) took over the administration of the country. Within six months of the army coup, towards the end of July the same year, Major-General Ironsi was killed supposedly by mutinous troops, and Lt-Colonel Yakubu Gowon from a minority ethnic group in northern Nigeria, came to power. Further violence continued, and this time, in the north. At the beginning of October the same year, northern soldiers and civilians, apparently in retaliation for the killing of northern political leaders - Sir Balewa and Sir Ahmadu Bello, during the January coup, turned on the Ibo who were residing in the northern towns and villages and started to kill them in thousands. The situation quickly developed into a tribal conflict between the Hausa and the Ibo. By the end of May 1967 Colonel Ojukwu (an Ibo) who was the Military Governor of the eastern region, proclaimed the region as the Republic of Biafra, unilaterally breaking away from Nigeria. Lt-Colonel Gowon was determined to maintain the unity of Nigeria, on terms which the Ibo considered unacceptable in view of the circumstances at that time. The result was a civil war. The Biafrans refused to surrender as they were determined to be 'vigilant' and 'to fight to a finish' (popular slogans among the Biafran soldiers at that time). The war lasted for three years ending on 15th of January 1970. The

Ibo who had broken away from Nigeria, were at last militarily subdued into forming part of Nigeria again.¹

Shortly before the civil war started in 1967, General Gowon, the Head of State of Nigeria, had divided the four regions of Nigeria into twelve states. The states, their areas and capital cities were as follows:²

From former northern region:

North-Western	65,143 sq miles	Sokoto
North-Central	27,108 " "	Kaduna
Kano	16,630 " "	Kano
Benue-Plateau	39,204 " "	Jos
North-Eastern	105,025 " "	Maiduguri
Kwara	28,672 " "	Ilorin

From former western and mid-western regions:

Western	29,100 sq miles	Ibadan
Mid-Western	14,922 " "	Benin
Lagos	1,381 " "	Lagos

From former eastern region:

East-Central	8,746 " "	Enugu
South-Eastern	13,720 " "	Calabar
Rivers	7,008 " "	PortHarcourt.

1. The account of the civil war given here is very brief as the aim is to give the reader a general rather than a detailed knowledge of the war. A detailed account of the Nigerian civil war can be found in Madiebo (1980) The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafran War (Fourth Dimension Publishers: Enugu, Nigeria).

2. The source of the information presented here is the 9th May 1974 issue of 'Daily Times' Newspaper Lagos.

All the states were headed by Military Governors, with the exception of East-Central state (Ibo) where there was a civilian Administrator. On 1st October 1970, after the end of the war, General Gowon, outlined his nine-point programme towards the return of the country to civilian rule, and announced 1976 as the date. But as the target date started to draw near, and nothing seemed to be happening in preparation for the return to civilian government, people started getting worried as to the real intentions of the Military regime and the political future of the nation.

On the 29th of July 1975, General Gowon's government was overthrown in a bloodless coup by Army Officers, and Brigadier Murtala Muhammed (an Hausa) became the new Nigerian Head of State. On the 13th of February 1976, barely six months in office, Brigadier Muhammed was assassinated in an attempted coup, by a group of soldiers. The coup did not succeed and General Obasanjo (a Yoruba) became the Head of State. As soon as Brigadier Muhammed came to power, and before his assassination, the Federal Military Government had worked out their action plan towards Nigeria's return to civilian government. The plan was as follows:¹

Step 1: October 1976 - Draft constitution announced and open to debate.

Step 2: December 1976 - Local government council elections.

Step 3: Local government councils elect members of Constituent Assembly to work on the draft constitution.

1. See Quarterly Economic Review of Nigeria - Annual Supplement 1980 (The Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd) for details of this action plan.

Step 4: October 1978 - Constituent Assembly complete work on the draft constitution and submit final recommendations to the Military Government.

Step 5: Late 1978 - Lifting of ban political parties.

Step 6: 1979 - Elections.

Step 7: By October 1979 - Return to civilian government.

This action plan was strictly followed by the Military Government even after the death of General Muhammed. In October 1979, Nigeria returned to civilian government with a new system of civilian government - the Executive Presidential system. Before Nigeria returned to civilian rule, seven more states were carved out from the previous twelve, making it nineteen states altogether, as shown on Figure F on the next page.

The major effect of the developments in Nigerian political history, from the eruption of the civil war in 1967 to the present time, is on the social and economic relations between some tribal and ethnic groups, especially between the Hausa and the Ibo. Before the civil war, the Ibo who were regarded as probably the most enlightened, appeared to dominate both civil service employment and private business in most parts of Nigeria, particularly in the north. The Ibo who were in the north, although they were still regarded as 'strangers' (Peil: 1975, p.117), had started to become generally integrated into the Hausa society, as the Ibo are a type of people who can adapt to situations quite easily. But the civil war and the events that led up to it, have resulted in the polarisation of the two tribal groups in social and economic relations. Although trade and employment movements of the Ibo to the north and some Hausa to the east have started to



Figure F: Map of Nigeria showing the new 19 states and their capital cities.

improve gradually since the war ended in 1970, such movements are still undertaken with all amount of suspicion, distrust and fear, quite unlike as it used to be before the war. An Ibo business-man whom we met in Kaduna (Hausa city) during the field-work for this study, when spoken to on this issue, replied

that any time he was in Kaduna or any other Hausa area, he always 'stood on one leg' (meaning being mindful of the reactions of people around him), and that as soon as he noticed any unusual behaviours of Hausa people towards him he would leave that area immediately.

3. THE ECONOMY

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa. Table 3 below shows the populations of thirty-three tropical African

TABLE 3
POPULATION OF TROPICAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Country	Population (in thousands)	Country	Population (in thousands)
Burundi	3,475	Malawi	4,552
Cameroun	5,736	Mali	5,140
Central African Republic	1,518	Mauritania	1,200
Chad	3,620	Niger	4,130
Congo	915	Nigeria	56,510
Dahomey	2,760	Portuguese Guinea	550
Ethiopia	25,250	Rwanda	3,480
Equatorial Guinea	286	Senegal	4,020
Gabon	485	Sierra Leone	2,600
Gambia	380	Somalia	2,860
Ghana	9,240	Sudan	16,090
Ivory Coast	4,420	Tanzania	13,630
Guinea	4,010	Togo	2,020
Kenya	11,671	Uganda	10,130
Liberia	1,573	Upper Volta	5,990
Malagasy Republic	6,750	Zambia	4,280
		Zaire	17,030

SOURCE: UN Economic Commission for Africa,
Statistical Yearbook for Africa 1972.

countries, and it could be seen that no other country in Africa has a population up to half of that of Nigeria, and that the population of Nigeria is larger than that of all the countries in West Africa put together. The population figure of Nigeria in the Table (56,510) is based on the 1963 census. Since then, the population has grown so much that it is at present estimated at 95 million. With Africa's estimated population of 400 million, it means that one out of every four persons living on the continent is a Nigerian. The distribution of the estimated population of Nigeria by state is shown on Table 4 below.

TABLE 4
ESTIMATED POPULATION OF NIGERIA BY STATES

State	Population (in Millions)	State	Population (in Millions)
Kaduna	6.8	Imo	7.0
Kano	10.4	Anambara	5.2
Rivers	2.8	Niger	2.0
Bendel	4.8	Sokoto	7.6
Cross River	4.8	Benue	3.2
Kwara	2.2	Plateau	3.2
Lagos	3.6	Bauchi	4.2
Ogun	3.2	Borno	5.6
Ondo	4.8	Gongola	4.6
Oyo	9.0		

SOURCE: Quarterly Economic Review of Nigeria,
Annual Supplement 1980 - The Economist
Intellegence Unit Ltd.

The figures for the sectoral distribution of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product for the periods of 1960-1966 and 1970-1974 are presented on Table 5 on the next page. The

TABLE 5

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT FOR 1960-74 AT 1962/63 FACTOR COST (N million)

	1960/61	1961/62	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74
Agriculture	1597.8	1549.8	1605.8	1737.8	1731.4	1742.2	1890.1	1982.9	1852.1	1808.7
Mining	29.8	43.4	54.0	58.8	79.6	149.8	508.9	711.6	840.6	943.8
Manufacturing	109.6	130.2	146.4	170.0	181.0	221.0	317.6	307.7	378.6	472.7
Electricity & water supply	8.0	9.6	11.6	13.6	15.6	18.2	24.5	29.4	34.9	44.2
Building & construction	100.0	105.4	112.8	118.4	128.4	162.2	266.2	354.7	426.1	429.6
Distribution	317.6	307.8	313.0	361.8	398.2	418.4	515.3	554.8	537.5	575.4
Transport & communication	113.8	128.2	125.4	131.0	149.2	146.2	138.2	148.9	182.1	226.2
General Govt.	79.8	77.2	77.6	77.8	89.6	96.8	314.1	328.4	412.5	416.9
Education	64.0	70.2	77.8	82.8	93.4	97.0	114.1	133.8	145.0	160.5
Health	12.4	14.2	16.8	17.8	20.2	22.6	36.8	37.1	47.2	60.8
Other services	50.6	56.2	56.4	55.8	61.4	72.4	116.2	132.2	150.5	171.2
	2483.4	2492.2	2597.6	2825.6	2948.0	3146.8	4242.0	4721.5	5007.1	5310.0

SOURCE: National Accounts of Nigeria,
Federal Office of Statistics
Lagos - 1976.

figures for 1967-1969 are not included in the Table, because data on the former Eastern Region were not included in the publication from which the information was extracted, as that was the period of the civil war. The figures show the dominant place of Agriculture in the Nigerian economy. Up to 1975, agriculture was the main-stay of the economy, but as from 1976 crude petroleum took up the lead, as shown on Table 6 below. The Fourth National Development Plan which covers the period

TABLE 6
GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT AT 1973/74
FACTOR COST (N mln.)

	1976/77	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80
Agriculture	2,251.9	2,336.6	2,406.7	2,486.6
Livestock	399.6	408.9	422.2	440.6
Forestry	355.1	383.5	412.2	443.2
Fishing	607.1	658.7	698.2	743.6
Crude petroleum	2,676.8	2,715.7	2,480.6	2,866.5
Other mining & quarrying	372.6	436.0	492.7	544.4
Manufacturing	854.4	943.0	1,040.6	1,151.0
Utilities	74.4	95.2	117.3	136.6
Construction	1,693.6	1,981.8	2,239.7	2,474.7
Transport	636.8	764.1	878.7	966.9
Communication	54.9	60.3	65.2	71.7
Wholesale & retail trade	2,788.5	3,043.9	3,245.2	3,492.2
Hotels & restaurant	43.0	47.5	52.0	57.2
Finance & insurance	187.6	206.4	226.7	249.4
Real estate & business services	81.4	89.5	98.5	108.3
Housing	832.4	915.6	1,006.4	1,107.7
Producer of government services	1,082.4	1,208.5	1,299.3	1,399.8
	14,992.5	16,285.2	17,182.2	18,740.4

SOURCE: Fourth National Development Plan 1981-85

1981-1985, is mainly based on the proceeds that are hoped to accrue from the production of crude petroleum, as Nigeria is rated the seventh largest producer of crude petroleum in the world. Another area of activity which is fast growing is Whole-sale and retail trade. Investments in manufacturing firms are also being encouraged by the Government. Table 7 below shows the growth of the major industry groups between 1964 and 1973, as measured by the number of establishments and number of persons employed. The Table shows the textile

TABLE 7
GROWTH OF NIGERIAN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

	Number of Establishments		Manpower	
	1964	1973	1964	1973
Food & Beverages	147	256	10985	22199
Tobacco Beer Spirits	20	19	3997	10294
Textile	46	125	9381	49011
Leather	22	33	1969	5595
Wooden Products	104	188	11838	14362
Paper, Printing	80	86	6340	11666
Chemical Products	37	50	3887	10297
Rubber	35	29	6875	8550
Pottery & Glass	6	9	486	1233
Other non-metallic	20	45	3732	7550
Basic Metal	36	94	5622	16326
Machinery	4	5	95	297
Electrical Equipment	8	14	400	2652
Transport	13	11	2082	1247
Plastics	-	29	-	4872
Miscellaneous	12	15	866	669
TOTAL	590	1008	68558	166820

SOURCE: Federal Office of Statistics, Economic Indicators
Vol. 3 No.12 (Dec. 1967) and Vol.11 Nos.4-6
(April-June 1975)

industry chosen for this study, as the largest employer in the manufacturing sector in Nigeria.

Teriba et al (1972) in their survey of Business organisations in Nigeria, found that between 1970 and 1971, about 60% of the existing business concerns were foreign-owned. The authors produced a classification of share-holdings according to size, as presented on Table 8 below, to show that Nigerians held majority of shares in the 25% and under class, whereas in the 75% and above class Nigerians held only 26%. It then became obvious from the results of the study that Nigerians had little or no control over the organisation of affairs in majority of business concerns in the country. The Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree 1972 and 1977 (commonly known as Indigenisation Decrees) were passed with the aim of changing the situation. The 1977 decree which amended the one of

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF SHARES BETWEEN NIGERIANS
AND FOREIGNERS IN BUSINESS CONCERNS IN 1971

Size of Shareholding	Shareholders	
	Nigerians	Foreigners
Under 26%	55.0	45.0
26-50%	44.1	55.1
51-75%	39.2	60.8
Over 75%	26.2	74.0

SOURCE: Teriba et al (1972) 'Some Aspects of Ownership and Control Structure of Business Enterprises in a Developing Economy: The Nigerian Case' - Nigerian Journal of Economic & Social Studies Vol.14 No.1 p.20

1972, classified enterprises under three schedules. All the enterprises in schedule 1 are reserved solely for Nigerians. They include advertising, public relations, blending and bottling of alcoholic drinks, candle manufacture and all forms of gaming, department stores with a turnover of less than ₦2 million, garment manufacture, printing and stationery, rice milling and tyre retreading and travel agencies. Under schedule 2, foreigners can participate only if the equity participation of Nigerian citizens or associations is not less than 60%. These 57 enterprises include boat building, beer brewing, clearing and forwarding agencies, construction, commercial merchant and development banking, manufacture of cement, fertiliser production, soap and detergents, mining and quarrying, and insurance. 39 enterprises under schedule 3 include mainly manufacturing concerns, such as manufacturing of drugs, electrical appliances, vehicles and textile materials. Forty percent Nigerian participation is required for the enterprises in this schedule. Although no systematic study of the success or failure of the indigenisation policy, has hitherto been carried out, there are indications that the level of indigenous control of business organisations in Nigeria is improving.

Although as stated earlier, the place of agriculture in supporting the Gross National Product has started decreasing in recent times, a large percentage of the population in Nigeria still depend on agriculture for employment. Table 9 below shows that 64% of the working population of Nigeria are engaged in agriculture. The unemployment rate in Nigeria does not always give an accurate picture of the real situation; this is because the distinction between employment and unemployment is in majority of cases not clear. For example, many boys as soon as they leave primary school, usually make their way

TABLE 9

**SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL GAINFUL
EMPLOYMENT IN 1975**

	%	'000
Agriculture	64.0	17,860
Mining & Quarrying	0.4	110
Manufacturing & Processing	16.8	4,690
Construction & Building	0.9	250
Electricity, gas & water	0.1	30
Distribution	12.2	3,400
Transport & Communications	0.6	170
Services	5.0	1,400
TOTAL	100.0	27,910

SOURCE: Nigeria Third National Development
Plan for 1975-1980.

to the urban areas in search of wage employment, with the feeling that as they have been through primary school education, it would be socially degrading for them to remain farmers with their parents in the villages. Some of the school leavers do not get the wage employment, and are therefore forced to go back to their villages to engage themselves in farming. Such boys usually regard themselves as unemployed, even when they are self-employed as farmers in the village. So unemployment figure which includes such persons, will not give the true picture of the unemployment situation. The unemployment rate in the urban areas in Nigeria, was found to be 15%, by a sample survey in 1963, and the Central Bank of Nigeria reported the number of unemployed persons registered with Labour Exchanges in July 1977 to be 18,287. These unemployment figures are mainly on unskilled illiterate persons and some primary school

leavers.

Nigeria suffers from acute shortage of skilled manpower. The Second National Development Plan of 1970-1974 estimated the stock of senior category manpower at only about 50,000, approximately 6% of whom can be classified as senior managerial manpower, the balance being in engineering, scientific and miscellaneous professional fields. The intermediate category of skilled workers were estimated at 300,000. Table 10 on the next page shows the unfilled posts in Nigerian establishments in 1977, due to lack of qualified personnel. A lot of progress has been made in trying to deal with the problem, by setting up more educational institutions in the country, which has led to increase in the number of intake of students. Secondary-school enrolments rose from 135,434 in 1960 to 606,752 in 1974/75, and in technical and vocational schools enrolment rose from 5,037 in 1960 to 24,647 in 1974/75. Current enrolments at the secondary and vocational education institutions are estimated at 240,000 and 290,000 for 1978/79 and 1980/81 respectively. Enrolments in the 14 polytechnics in 1978, 1979 and 1980 were 16,840, 20,210 and 24,250 respectively, while enrolments in the universities have increased at a much higher rate. Nigeria had only one university in 1948, but at present the number has risen to 13, and judging from the current Federal and State Government plans, this number is very likely to reach 20 by 1983. Student enrolment in the universities has risen from 27,025 in 1974/75 to 55,009 in 1978/79.¹ These activities towards educational development and expansion are

1. See Aderinto (1981) for a more detailed description of the current educational development activities in Nigeria, as only a brief sketch of it is given here.

TABLE 10

EMPLOYMENT AND VACANCIES IN SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS - 1977

Category	No. of persons employed	No. of vacancies	Total employment potential	Vacancies as percentages of employment potential
Administrative and managerial manpower	95,686	30,902	126,588	24.4
Technical, scientific and professional manpower	19,156	14,736	33,892	43.5
Agricultural manpower	30,715	18,762	49,477	37.9
Medical manpower	21,582	9,148	30,730	29.8

SOURCE: Aderinto A (1981) "Labour mobility in Nigeria: patterns and implications for balanced dev."
Labour and Society vol.6 No.2 April-June 1981.

very fastly helping to improve the situation of the supply of skilled manpower in the country.

4. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNIONISM IN NIGERIA

Yesufu (1962) has found that craft organisations existed in Nigeria long before the colonial era and the advent of industrialisation. Such organisations of hunters, blacksmiths, carvers and weavers, were "strongly rooted in the tribal structure", and their main functions were to organise mutual aids in cases of difficulty and to regulate trade practices. Lloyd (1953) in his study of these craft organisations in the Yoruba towns, has pointed out that the functions of these organisations were:

"to settle disputes, to regulate the relationship between producers, to fix prices and to organise the payment of tributes to the king. The structure of the organisations was the lineage structure, the lineage meeting was the craft meeting, the craft head was the compound head, the oldest man in the lineage. The labour group was small, consisting of a father and his son".

These organisations, as could be deduced from their functions, were certainly not trade unions, and there is no evidence of any connection whatsoever between them and the modern trade unions. When industries were established in Nigeria, taking the Textile industry for example, there is no evidence that members of the early weavers organisations left their crafts to join the Textile firms, or that the early workers in the Textile firms came from the weaver families, as to suggest a possible carry over of the practices of the craft organisations into the organisation of unions in the industry. The modern trade unions in Nigeria developed quite independent of the old craft organisations.

Gutkind (1974) records that towards the end of the 19th century, certain activities were observed of workers in Nigeria which included "various forms of protests...withdrawal of labour, sudden and brief flare ups and anger, on-the-spot demands for higher wages and for better working conditions, and the posting of petitions by workers". This suggests that sporadic worker collectivities for specific purposes occurred in certain Government-owned establishments, which might have been caused by the poor conditions of employment at that time. Hopkins (1966, pp.133-155) also reports the occurrence of a strike in Lagos in 1897 and of six other strikes before 1904. It is important to note here that, as rightly pointed out by Diejomaoh (1979), some of the accounts of the activities of the early worker collectivities in Nigeria, must have been greatly exaggerated. But whatever happened, the situation did not result in the workers organising themselves in well-established trade unions. The workers were certainly in a situation similar to that in which the Indian workers were, which Karnik (1966, p.28) described in the following words:

"The workers were not, however, in a position to take upon themselves the task of organisation. They were illiterate, ignorant and backward.... They were not a homogeneous mass, having come to the factory from different parts of the country. There was a wide social gulf between them and the employers and managers and other officers... They were afraid of the employers and their officers and of the police and the government. In this situation, they needed some outside assistance to get over their initial feelings of fear and nervousness and to learn the rudiments of agitation and organisation".

It was not until 19th August 1912, that the first trade union in Nigeria was inaugurated, and that was the Nigerian Civil Service Union (Ananaba: 1969, p.10; Yesufu: 1962, p.33; Diejomaoh: 1979, p.171). This union was formed by a group of

Nigerian senior civil servants. Even at the inaugural meeting, as reported by Yesufu, none of the thirty-three persons present seemed to be aware of the real purposes of a trade union, which suggests that the union was not formed by a group of dissatisfied workers who wanted a platform from which to fight for improved terms and conditions of employment. Yesufu (ibid. pp.33-34) reported that all the minutes of the meetings of the union during this early period show that hardly any one of its members, including Mr Libert (the organiser), was clear as to the real purposes of a trade union. It was three months after inauguration that the members of the union were able to state an aim for their organisation - "to promote the welfare and interests of native members of the civil service".

The Nigerian workers at this early time were new to wage employment, and although they were in wage employment, most of them still maintained their traditional occupations of farming, fishing and animal husbandry in the villages by paying people or getting their extended family members to cultivate their farms and look after their fishing ponds and domestic animals, on which they depended for regular supply of food stuffs. These workers had not, using the Webbs' (1894) expression, "passed into the condition of life-long wage earners possessing neither the instruments of production nor the commodity in its finished state", as to make them realise, as argued by Kassalow (1969, p.289), a necessity "to organise collectively to regain some control over their economic destiny". Mr Imoudu, who later emerged as the hero of the Nigeria Railway Workers Union, commenting on these early days of trade unionism in Nigeria, was reported to have said:

"We did not have an effective trade union organisation in the 1920s, but we had a lot of Nigerian workers who thought and acted like trade unionists" (Gutkind: 1974, p.7).

The Nigeria Railway Workers Union and the Nigerian Union of Teachers were formed in 1931, bringing the number of existing trade union organisations to three, although as Kilby (1973) explains, these unions particularly the Civil Service Union, were more concerned with maintaining professional standards of their members than agitating for higher wages and improved terms and conditions of employment. In practice, they were more like professional associations than trade unions.

The British Colonial Administration made a lot of effort, including the enactment of the Trade Union Ordinance of 1938 and the recruitment of British trade union officers into Nigeria, to ensure that 'strong and responsible unions' were formed in the Nigerian workplaces. Sir John Macpherson, the then Governor of Nigeria, in one of his reports to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated:¹

"I must make a brief reference to the general policy of the Government in relation to Trade Unions. The Government has repeatedly made it plain that it wished to see strong and responsible unions built up and, in spite of many set-backs...a great deal of practical evidence has been given by the Government of determination to carry out that policy. Officers with long experience of work in United Kingdom Trade Unions have been recruited, some of them Nigerians, for conciliation work; where conciliation has failed arbitrators have been brought from overseas at Government expense; Whitley Councils on modern lines have been established; and recently scholarships have been granted to Nigerian Trade Unions A major effort has been made to encourage Nigerian Trade Unions to develop satisfactorily under a Trade Union Law based on the principles of the United Kingdom Legislation".

This policy towards the development of trade unions, might have encouraged the wide proliferation of small short-lived

1. See Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Disorders in the Eastern Provinces of Nigeria - Nov. 1949 (HMSO) London 1950 Colonial Papers No.257 p.3.

unions, especially in the private sector, although as found by Kilby (1969, p.267) workers in the private sector always expected hostility to unions from their employers, majority of whom were foreigners. The number of trade unions in the whole country grew rather fast as shown by the figures on Table 11 on the next page, and most of the unions were in the private sector. The situation was such that in 1943, the Deputy Chief Secretary to the Government while introducing the Trade Unions (Amendment) Ordinance to the Legislative Council said:¹

"A number of the unions could be described as ad hoc institutions which were created for some definite purpose and which, having failed (or succeeded) in that purpose, lapsed into obscurity. Others again have, I am afraid, been introduced by people who are most interested in acquiring political power and whose first interests are in their own aggrandisement and not in the benefit and advancement of trade unionism. They depend largely on windy eloquence; they make preposterous demands and suffer from an utter lack of responsibility".

Table 12 shows that even in 1966 majority of these unions had very few members. Although statistical information on trade unions during the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970) and since the end of the war has been very unreliable, there are indications that the pattern of union membership remains the same up to the present time.

The second part of the Deputy Chief Secretary's statement cited above, indicates that some politicians had at that time started to organise workers in the private sector workplaces to form unions mainly for political purposes. The question

1. See page 57 of Uvieghara E E (1976) Trade Union Law in Nigeria (Ethiophe Publishing House. Benin Nigeria).

TABLE 11

REGISTERED TRADE UNIONS IN NIGERIA 1940-1966

Year	No. of Regd. Trade unions	Membership	Year	No. of Regd. Trade unions	Membership
1940	14	4,629	1953	152	153,089
1941	27	17,521	1954	177	165,130
1942	80	26,275	1955	232	175,987
1943	85	27,154	1956	270	198,265
1944	91	30,000	1957	298	235,742
1945	97	Unknown	1958	318	248,613
1946	100	52,747	1959	347	259,072
1947	109	76,362	1960	360	274,126
1948	127	90,864	1961	399	375,354
1949	140	109,998	1964	487	416,082
1950	144	144,358	1965	600	486,430
1951	124	152,230	1966	625	490,905
1952	131	143,282			

SOURCE: Ananaba W (1969) The Trade Union Movement in Nigeria
p.262.

TABLE 12

PATTERN OF UNION STRENGTH IN NIGERIA - 1966

<u>Strength</u>	<u>Number of Unions</u>
1-50	102
51-250	245
251-1,000	157
1,001-5,000	53
5,001-10,000	9
10,001-20,000	7
20,001-50,000	1
Over 50,000	1

SOURCE: Ananaba (1969) The Trade Union Movement in Nigeria (p.263).

in such case was whether those workers who joined the unions that were organised by political leaders, were really interested in the objectives and activities of such politically motivated trade unions. Lubeck (1975) has presented empirical evidence which suggests that those workers were neither convinced into joining the unions nor were they aware of what such organisation was all about. He reported of a rural-born Hausa worker, who when he was asked why he joined one of such trade unions, replied:

"I was forced to join when a big politician came and said that I must join. And if we were found without a card, we would be sackedand we had to pay two shillings for the card" (ibid. p.143-144).

Another worker referring to the politicians said:

"They took our money and did not even work in our factory. Our heads were in darkness (i.e ignorant) as they took our money but never told

us how they were selected as our leaders
or when the election would take place"
(ibid.).

Three main points emerge from this short review of the development of the early trade unions in Nigeria, regarding the original bases on which the Nigerian trade union movement came into existence:

1. The unions were formed because the workers wanted to do what other workers in the neighbouring colonies were doing, and not because they wanted to use the union organisation as a platform to fight for any benefits for themselves, as was the case of the workers from the Western World. For example, the first trade union, the Nigerian Civil Service Union, was formed by Mr Libert who came to Nigeria on transfer from Sierra Leone, where a Civil Service Union had been in existence earlier.
2. The British Colonial Administration in Nigeria, pursued a policy in which they encouraged the establishment of an industrial relations system in Nigeria in which, as indicated by Roberts and Bellecombe (1967, p.25), unions were encouraged to form on the basis of a common interest of a group of employees of a particular employer, thereby discouraging ideological factors as basis for the organisation of unions. Moreover the effort made by the Colonial Administration to encourage the development of "strong and responsible" unions, seemed to have been wrongly-timed, in that it occurred when the circumstances of the early Nigerian workers were not ripe as to generate from within the workers themselves, the need for the

development of worker collectivities to serve the workers' specific purposes.

3. The local politicians, being aware of the Government policy towards the development of trade unions, and knowing that the workers were not on their own ready for such organisation, took advantage of the situation and organised workers in the private sector establishments to form trade unions, so that the unions could be used mainly for political purposes.

These points suggest therefore, that the early Nigerian workers might have been prematurely plunged into the organisation of trade unions. Moreover as the unions did not develop domestically, originating from the feelings of the workers themselves based on the effects of the industrial workplace and the general structure of the industrial society on them, making them to develop a sort of class or group consciousness for collective effort towards the improvement of their economic situation as was the case of the unions in the Western World, these early unions in Nigeria lacked definite focus in terms of objectives and underlying ideology. However, as time rolled on certain incidents occurred in the Labour history of Nigeria which one would think must have resulted in a natural development of group consciousness among workers, which coupled with the unique environmental contexts of the Nigerian workers, would have led to the development of a specific type of unionism that could be ascribed with a definite character on the basis of an underlying ideology. Let us review these incidents briefly.

The first of these was the 'Workers General Strike' of 1945. In July 1942 workers in Government establishments were given what was generally known as 'COLA', which was a sort of cost of living allowance given to workers to supplement their wages and salaries, as a result of rises in cost of living. While giving this COLA to the workers, the Governor promised that the COLA would be increased regularly in accordance with trends in the cost of living index. This promise was made by Sir Bernard Bourdillon who retired as Governor of Nigeria in 1943. Sir Authur Richards who succeeded as Governor of Nigeria at the retirement of Sir Bourdillon, refused to honour this promise to workers. There were other grievances which workers had against the Government, but the most pressing one was the COLA award. Workers made series of representations to the Governor, without any possitive results. As a result of this, 41,165 public employees came out on strike on the 21st of June 1945. Few days afterwards, 1,786 employees of commercial and construction companies in the private sector, also went on strike in sympathy for the public workers.¹ The strike lasted for 44 days in Lagos before settlement between the public employees and the Government was reached. Some evidence suggest that the strike lasted longer in the Provinces due to poor communication between the striking organisations.

The second incident was what Ananaba (1969) has described as 'The Enugu Blood Bath'. This was a dispute between workers and management at the Enugu Colliery, which resulted in twenty-one workers being shot dead and fifty-one others injured by the Police on the 18th of November 1949, on the Enugu Colliery

1. See Labour Department Annual Report 1954 Lagos, for a detailed report on this General Strike.

premises. Ananaba (ibid. p.98), commenting on the causes of the disagreement which led up to the dispute, explained that the relationship between the workers and the Colliery management had long been strained, partly because of the poor human relations existing between the European managerial and technical staff and their Nigerian subordinates, and partly because of management's opposition to the existence of a militant trade union at the Colliery. The situation came to a climax when Mr Okwudili Ojiyi, a miner and the Secretary of Colliery Workers Union, was slapped by Mr Yates, a European foreman. Mr Ojiyi took the matter to the Police, who prosecuted Mr Yates promptly and he was fined two guineas. This incident raised the Colliery workers' morale and their level of group consciousness. Mr Ojiyi for fear of future victimisation by the European members of the management team, resigned his appointment as an employee of the Colliery and became a full-time official of the Colliery Workers Union. The situation continued to deteriorate and Mr Ojiyi, as reported by Ananaba (ibid. p.101) 'taught' the workers the tactics of 'Welu Nwayo' which means 'go slow'. So, in several occasions when there were disagreements between workers and management, workers resorted to 'welu nwayo'. On that 18th of November 1949, in the heat of a serious disagreement between workers and management at the Colliery, armed Police men sent to remove certain explosives from the Colliery premises, clashed with angry workers and this led to the shooting by Police men, which rendered twenty-one workers dead and fifty-one others seriously injured. This incident affected most parts of Nigeria particularly the cities in the then Eastern Region. Crowds of workers rioted at Aba, PortHarcourt, Onitsha and Calabar, protesting against the Police' shooting of workers at Enugu Colliery. Most of the

rioters took advantage of the situation and looted the shops of commercial firms owned by European investors. Fitzgerald Commission of Enquiry was set up immediately to investigate and report on the Enugu incident. The dispute was later settled.

The final incident which is regarded as being very important in the Labour history of Nigeria, because of its nationwide impact on workers' group consciousness, was the General Strike of 1964. As soon as Nigeria became independent and Nigerian Politicians took over the government, the politicians started to enrich themselves and to indulge in what the economist would call 'conspicuous consumption'. Every citizen including the workers were astounded at what was happening, and as narrated by Oyemakinde (1974):

"Workers watched with despleasure the reckless display of opulence by rich parliamentarians and ministers in particular. No one appeared to be able to impose discipline, since the ruling oligarchy had given itself over to soft-living... As far as the workers were concerned, they had merely expelled the colonial masters to enthrone the politicians. Whereas they had believed that independence would usher in cool comfort, they realised to their dismay that only a situation of cold comfort was available. This 'betrayal' of the people by the politicians was to be tackled once and for all... Workers would use all the power at their disposal to remind the politicians that they had fought side by side with them before independence was won. They deserved to enjoy their share of the post-independence cake which the politicians had denied them" (p.54).

Leaders of the major unions at that time formed a Joint Action Committee and in a meeting held on 12th September 1963, the committee decided that the entire body of Nigerian workers would come out on a general strike on the 27th of that same month, if the Government failed to revise the wages and salaries of workers both in the public and in the private establishments. When this was communicated to Government officially, it quickly

set up the Morgan Commission to look into workers' grievances and to recommend appropriate review of wages and salaries. The workers then put off the planned industrial action. But after nine months, workers grew impatient at waiting for the report of the Commission. On the 1st of June 1964, all Nigerian workers went on general strike. The whole country felt the effects of the general strike immediately. The editorial column of one of Nigeria's popular newspapers, described the situation in the following words:¹

"Yesterday, our children sweated and panted as they walked miles from home to school. Pregnant women stood fainting as they waited in vain at bus stop; or precariously hung to mammy waggon in the anxious bid to keep their dates with their doctors. Market women were kept from their daily rounds, could not go after their merchandise. Such workers as were still prepared to remain faithful to their charge were deprived the means of transport, and lost hours waiting, or trekking to work. The farmers' harvest lay waste. As for the nation, it stood paralysed by the doings of its own children, its economic lifelines cut, its ports dead, its workshops silent".

The number of workers who took part in the strike was estimated at 800,000² all over the country. It was reported that in a workers rally in Lagos, after the workers' great leader Mr Michael Imoudu ended his speech to the workers, the workers sang the following anthem with expressions of seriousness and determination on their faces:³

"Stand up, stand up for Morgan
You soldiers of Imoudu
Raise high your valient request
It must not suffer loss
From Lagos to other Regions
Entire workers are involved
Till your request is granted
You must not change your mind".

1. See the 2nd June 1964 issue of 'Morning Post' Lagos.

2. This estimated figure was given by the 'Daily Times' issue of 2nd June 1964.

3. See the 12th June issue of 'Daily Times' Lagos.

On the 13th of June, after the strike had lasted for thirteen days, Government yielded to the demands of workers and the strike was called off.

The three incidents described above, have obviously had the effect of bringing Nigerian workers together. But the recent developments in the structure and the organisation of the Nigerian Trade Union Federations, particularly their affiliation to different international trade union bodies, suggest that the progressive development of group consciousness among Nigerian workers at national level, has still not been allowed to be moulded by domestic circumstances and the past experiences of workers, but rather has continued to be based on the influence of factors which in their nature, are external to the actual pattern of expectations and perceptions of the generality of the ordinary Nigerian workers.

The 'United Labour Congress' (ULC), which claimed to have a majority of workers with 240 member unions by 1968, was affiliated with the 'International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' (ICFTU). The 'Nigerian Workers Council' (NWC) which had over 112 member unions, was affiliated with the one-time Brussels-based 'World Confederation of Labour' (WCL). The 'Nigerian Trade Union Congress' (NTUC) with about 209 member unions, was left wing, professing a somewhat eclectic ideology combining Pan-Africanism and variants of Marxism-Leninism (Waterman: 1972). The NTUC was affiliated with Communist-led Prague-based 'World Federation of Trade Unions' (WFTU). It was only the 'Labour Unity Front' (LUF) which had about 28 member unions and led by the man nicknamed 'Nigerian Labour Leader No. 1' - Mr Imoudu, that was generally known to remain unaffiliated to any international labour movement (Cohen: 1969

and 1974). These four union Federations were in 1978 brought together by the Nigerian Federal Military Government to form one central body known as the 'Nigerian Labour Congress' (NLC).

The interesting point here is that these four union Federations, through their individual lines of affiliation with international trade union bodies, suggest the level of ideological differences among Nigerian trade unions. It is submitted here that it is not that these trade union federations ever had any definite ideologies of their own, developed on the basis of an underlying objective for which their organisations were formed, rather it is that when it dawned on the leaders of these union federations that they had no definite operational ideologies as their counterparts in the Western World has, they assumed ideologies of their choice which were similar to that which the international union body that they wanted to affiliate with, has. This situation has resulted in a lot of problems in the Nigerian Labour movement (Waterman: 1977, p.165; Uvieghara: 1976, p.49). The action taken by the Nigerian Government, of bringing the four union federations with differences in superficially assumed ideologies, under one umbrella as NLC - the one national federation for all Nigerian trade unions, does not seem to be the required solution to the problem, because as succinctly argued by Nwobia (1979, p.350):

"The point is that the full ramifications of the Nigeria Labour Congress poses questions about what it stands for and ultimately to whose benefit it operates... Seemingly, it is this underlying dichotomy of interest which led to the unresolved argument about who created the NLC. Was it the Federal Military Government or was it the unions themselves?... The relative tranquility in the arena of industrial relations in Nigeria which stemmed directly from this transformation has apparently led to hasty and premature adulations on all sides. In time this incipient euphoria will

prove to be a white elephant, far removed from the realities of contemporary trade unionism. A concrete political analysis of this form of social development in our time is required together with due considerations of the general historical laws and regularities".

CONCLUSIONS

The important points which have emerged from the above review of the historical, political and general economic and industrial development of Nigeria in relation to the object of our present study, are as follows:

1. Nigeria as a nation has had quite a fast growth in all aspects, in comparison with other tropical African countries since after independence. The recent discovery of crude petroleum has given the country a big boost in her economy, particularly in industrial development. But this seeming boost in economic development has probably exposed Nigeria to diverse foreign politico-economic influences which may also have affected some aspects of the national system of industrial relations, particularly the organisation of unions at national level.
2. The lack of original operational ideology in Nigerian trade union movement, is largely due to the time and the way in which the early unions were formed. If the early Nigerian workers in wage employment were not prematurely plunged into union organisation, but were left to form their collectivities at their own time when circumstances would naturally have prompted it, or if the unions had emerged, using Tannenbaum's (1964) expression, as "spontaneous grouping of individual workers thrown together functionally", then there certainly would have been a

a general or as described by Fox (1971, p.125), a 'universalist' ideology which would have evolved to form the basis of the Nigerian trade union movement. What the Nigerian trade union organisation at national level seem to have at present, are borrowed ideologies, and because ideologies, as rightly argued by Fox (ibid. p.132) "are virtually certain to incorporate the attitudes and values of the society in which they take their rise", the present ideological frames of reference adopted by the Nigerian unions are likely to misrepresent the actual pattern of expectations and perceptions of the ordinary Nigerian worker.

3. Although the civil war has had certain bad effects on social relationships between some ethnic and tribal groups in Nigeria, it has made it possible for Nigeria to realise the political implications of being a multi-cultural nation and to deem it necessary to design the present system of government, which suits such conglomeration of peoples with diverse cultural characteristics and customary practices. But one matter that do not seem to have received any attention in Nigeria at present, is the likely industrial relations implications of the multi-cultural nation.

The final point above, is the main focus of our present study, but while this is examined in the next part of the Thesis the other two points will be borne in mind. Before going on to that, the research strategy and methods adopted in this study will be explained, and that is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

1. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Job regulation has been defined in Chapter Two to include all formal and informal structures and processes involved in the making and administering of rules that regulate employment relationships. It was shown on the model on page 35 that the study of job regulation at the workplace level, would involve the study of the relevant behaviour manifestations of management in the form of management's industrial relations policies and practices, and of workers both as individuals and as a group in the form of trade union structure, objectives and the methods they adopt in enforcing them. These behaviour manifestations were explained to be largely based on the relevant attitudes of the parties (Allport: 1962; Reeves: 1967; Lumley: 1980), as these attitudes influence the actors' conceptions of and dispositions towards power and authority, control, conflict and co-operation at the workplace. For purposes of this study, twelve attitudinal variables were identified. The actors' perception of the implications of the rules which result from the rule-making process, affect the behaviour manifestations of the actors. The conception of job regulation adopted in this study, regards job regulation at the workplace as having four main components: workplace organisation of unions, management's industrial relations policies and practices, rule-making processes and the rules of job regulation.

The meaning of culture adopted in this study was given in

Chapter Three. Culture is conceived as a pattern of beliefs and customs on which a people's characteristic attitudes are based. The connection between culture and job regulation is therefore, through its shaping influence on people's attitudes. Through this means, culture is thought to be likely to influence actors' behaviour manifestations, rule-making processes and the form and nature of the rules of job regulation. Culture is not thought here to be the only factor that influences job regulation. Figure G on the next page which shows the theoretical link between culture and job regulation, includes a cluster of external environmental variables which also affect the attitudes and behaviours of the actors through their effects on the internal environments of the industrial relations arena.

One of such external environmental factors is the political system of the country in which the workplace is located. A distinction can be made between democratic and authoritarian systems of government. In a democratic system, citizens are to a large extent free to express their views and arrange their daily life activities in any way they choose, as long as such activities are within the limits set by the society, whereas in authoritarian systems such freedom is largely restricted. The conduct of industrial relations under the two political systems is bound to be affected by the differences in the systems of government, for in a democratically governed country, workers and employers are to some extent free to express their reactions to industrial relations situations in any way they deem necessary for the attainment of their objectives, whereas in an authoritarian system workers have to behave within the strict guidelines laid down by the ruling group. An example of the effects of systems of government

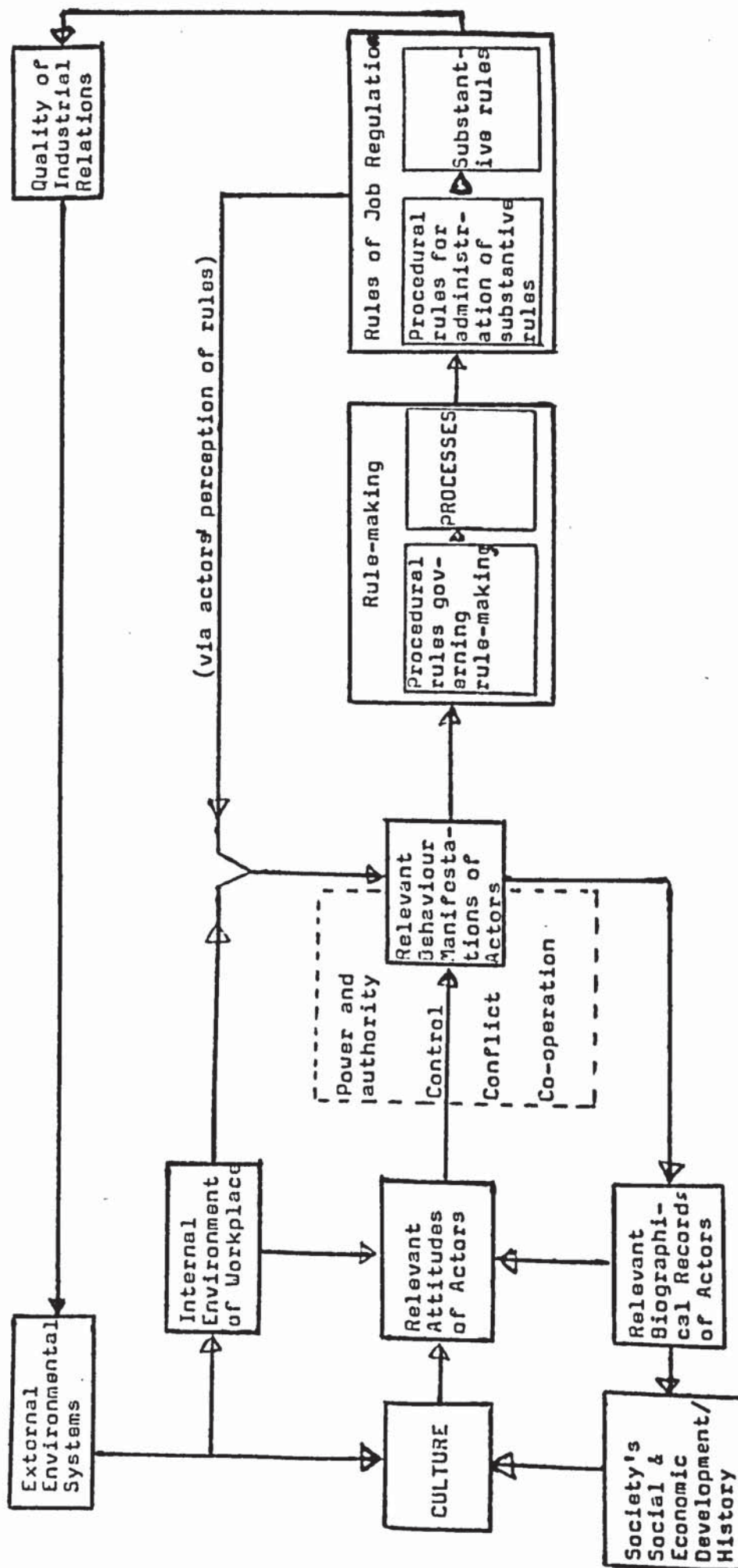


Figure 5 : CULTURE-SPECIFIC MODEL OF JOB REGULATION
FOR CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY AT WORKPLACE LEVEL.

on industrial relations, was the ban on strikes in Nigeria by the Federal Military regime (1966-1979) which was lifted as soon as the country returned to the civilian system of democratic government in 1979.

Political systems relate to legal systems, as political policies are usually implemented through legislation. So the effects of political systems on job regulation operate very often through the enactment and modifications of Labour legislation and the establishment of agencies for the enforcement of the Labour legislation and other Government industrial relations policies. Kahn-Freund (1977) argues that:

"The principal purpose of Labour Law is to support and to restrain the power of management and the power of organised labour... to be a countervailing force to counteract the inequality of bargaining power which is inherent and must be inherent in the employment relationship" (pp.4-6).

But differences exist between countries in the extent to which legislation is used in regulating the conduct of industrial relations. In his study of six countries, Clegg (1976, p.55) found that in France and Western Germany, workplace organisation of unions was largely regulated by Law, whereas in Australia and Britain such high level of legal regulation of workplace organisation of unions did not exist.

One economic factor which affect job regulation is the product market of the industry of which the particular workplace is part. Dunlop (1958) explains that the product market of an industry may vary in the degree and character of competition through the full spectrum from pure competition, monopolistic competition and product differentiation to oligopoly and monopoly. The employer will usually want to improve or maintain his share of the product market, and the unions being

conscious of this, will want to take advantage of the employer's position in the market when planning strategies for the achievement of their objectives. When the organisation's share of the product market expands, there may be a tendency for the unions to demand increases in wages and other benefits, which the employer may sometimes want to resist. Such resistance will normally lead to a dispute between management and unions. On the other hand, if the product market, due to competition starts to contract, the employer will be forced to contract production and this will necessitate a reduction in the number of employees. One of the major objectives of unions is to ensure high job security for their members, so any plans by management which is likely to result in loss of jobs, is bound to be opposed by the unions. In some industries, the size of the product market is subject to seasonal and cyclical variations. Management in such industries will normally want to introduce variations in the number of workers employed at a time to correspond to the expected variations in the demand of their product, but the unions will normally want steady jobs for their members, and this may bring about disagreements between management and unions.

The state of the economy of a country is another factor which affects job regulation. Paragraph 364 of the Evidence of the Trade Union Congress to the Donovan Commission (1967), argues that the most important factor that determines the level of trade union membership is the level of the economy. Kahn-Freund (op. cit. p.10) has argued along similar lines by saying that the significant correlation which could sometimes be observed between unemployment statistics and that of union membership, suggests that "as employment falls, so does union membership". Moreover when a country is undergoing economic

recession, the country tends to be more vulnerable to industrial relations problems. Professor Hanami of Sophia University Tokyo, commenting on the influence of a country's state of the economy on its industrial relations, and making reference to the Japanese industrial relations system, suggested that the relatively peaceful industrial relations existing in Japanese organisations in comparison with the situation in other industrial countries, could among other factors, be due to the fact that whereas many other industrial countries of the world are at present undergoing economic recession, Japan is having economic boom in world trade.¹

Technology is another major economic factor which affects job regulation at the workplace. Technology determines whether the location of the workplace and the mode of work organisation are to be fixed or variable, as the workplace in transportation industry will normally be expected to be variable, whereas a car plant is normally expected to be fixed. Technology determines whether the work-force and work operations are to be stable or variable, and it also determines the size of a work-group. In a capital-intensive industry, the size of the

1. Professor Hanami made this suggestion in a seminar he gave at the University of Aston Management Centre in Birmingham, on the 3rd of June 1981, entitled "Worker Motivation and the Japanese Industrial Relations". He explained the characteristic features of Japanese system of work organisation which he said included life-long employment, company-based employee vocational training programmes, and periodic job rotation. These, he argued had the effect of making Japanese workers individually and collectively identify themselves with their organisation rather than their jobs, thereby making the handling of industrial relations problems more like a family affair. Although he adopted a general culturalist stand-point in discussing the probable origins of the Japanese system of industrial relations, he recognised the possibility of change in the present situation if the economic position of the country in world trade changed.

work-group may be relatively small, whereas in an industry that uses less technology, the work-group may be large. This is because technology determines the job content of work operations, and affects the social relationships of employees in a particular workplace. Dunlop (op. cit.) argues that the technological context of industrial relations influences the nature of the substantive rules of job regulation. Technological change can also affect working conditions and hours of work, for as argued by Stettner (1975, p.164), "there is considerable evidence that technological progress is constantly disrupting existing systems of job classification and leading to widespread demands for re-examination and revision".

These political, legal and economic systems which form part of the external environmental contexts of the workplace, are affected by the quality of industrial relations in the particular workplace, which results from how satisfied the workers and management are with the rules of job regulation which exist in the workplace. The quality of industrial relations can be measured by the efficiency in handling industrial relations problems and the general level of conflict. As our aim is to study only the influence of culture on job regulation, the empirical part of the study was designed in such a way so as to hold the influences of these environmental factors, except culture, as constant as possible. The way this was done will be explained later.

2. RESEARCH APPROACH

This study can, in a summary, be seen as having three parts as follows:

1. The identification of the specific culturally-based attitudinal variables which are relevant in job regulation, and the establishment of the particular nature of these attitudes in relation to Hausa and Ibo cultures.
2. An empirical investigation of the pattern of job regulation in organisations of the two cultural groups, for the purpose of identifying any distinct features which characterise job regulation in the workplaces of those societies.
3. An examination of the extent to which the observed characteristic differences in the patterns of job regulation in the workplaces, are associated with the identified cultural differences in the relevant attitudinal characteristics and customary practices of the two cultural groups.

Having identified the relevant culturally-based attitudinal characteristics of the Hausa and the Ibo peoples, as stated earlier in Chapter Three, empirical data were collected using the set of questions stated in Chapter One as a guide, and adopting the research strategy and methods described below, to ascertain the patterns of job regulation in the workplaces of the two cultural groups. As our present study is fundamentally an exploratory one as no empirical study of cultural influences on job regulation in the workplaces of any cultural (tribal) groups in Nigeria and indeed in tropical Africa has hitherto been carried out, effort was made during the collection of empirical data to adjust our research strategy and

methods when necessary, to ensure maximum collection of data, because, similar to that of Batstone et al (1977, p.13), the nature and circumstances of our study fit "most easily with a research method which permits a high degree of flexibility and the maximum collection of data in a form which can cater for the richness of social life".

While using the results of the empirical investigation and the already identified cultural characteristics of the Hausa and the Ibo societies, to examine the extent of cultural influence on job regulation in the workplace, the following hypotheses, which were generated on the main assumption that the expectations and perceptions of workers and managers at the workplace are culture-bound, were applied:

- I Because of the cultural differences in attitudes to the acquisition of wealth, there will be more favourable attitude towards unions among the Ibo workers than among the Hausa workers.
- II Because of the cultural differences in attitudes to interpersonal relations, the Hausa worker's attitude to unions will be influenced by his personal relationship with, and/or regard for the union officials as individuals, whereas the Ibo worker's attitude to unions will tend to be based on his support for or lack of support for union objectives.
- III Because of the cultural differences regarding attitudes to authority and desire for the acquisition of wealth, the unions in the Ibo workplaces

will tend to be more militant than those in the Hausa workplaces in enforcing their demands.

IV Because of the cultural differences in attitudes to interpersonal relations, the use of third-parties in the settlement of disagreements between management and unions, will be more favoured by the unions in the Ibo workplaces than those in the Hausa workplaces.

V Because of the cultural differences in the attitudes to subordinates between the Hausa and the Ibo societies, the managements in the Hausa workplaces will tend toward paternalistic policies, whereas the ones in the Ibo workplaces will adopt more collaborative policies in their handling of industrial relations matters.¹

VI Because of the Hausa traditional high regard for authority and low desire for individual achievement, Managerial Regulation will tend to be the dominant rule-making process in the Hausa workplaces.²

VII Because the Ibo traditionally does not have much special regard for authority, and because of his

1. The meanings of 'paternalistic' and 'collaborative' policies will be described in Chapter Seven while examining the industrial relations policies of management in the workplaces.

2. The meaning of 'Managerial Regulation' will be described in Chapter Eight while dealing with the rule-making processes in the workplace.

high desire for individual achievement, Joint Regulation will be the dominant rule-making process in the Ibo workplaces.¹

VIII Because the Hausa traditionally does not react favourably to change in social practices as much as the Ibo does, and because the Hausa is more interested in interpersonal relations than the Ibo is, Social Regulation will tend to feature more in the Hausa workplaces than in the Ibo ones.¹

IX Because of the cultural differences in attitudes to authority and interpersonal relations between the Hausa and the Ibo peoples, rules of job regulation will tend to be more formalised in the Ibo workplaces than in the Hausa ones.

3. RESEARCH STRATEGY

(1) The Case Study

There are two research strategies, either of which can be adopted in social enquiry. One of them is the survey, in which a representative sample of the population is studied and results generalised. The other is the case study, which involves the study of one group at one point in time and arriving at conclusions in relation to the situation of the one group. In distinguishing a survey from a case study, Babbie (1973, p.37) has argued that:

1. The meanings of 'Joint Regulation' and 'Social Regulation' will be described in Chapter Eight while dealing with the rule-making processes in the workplaces.

"Whereas most research aims directly at generalized understanding, the case study is directed initially at the comprehensive understanding of a single, idiosyncratic case. Whereas most research attempts to limit the number of variables considered, the case study seeks to maximize them".

Gopal (1970, p.185), examining the case study method in much more detail, has described it as:

"a technique which considers all pertinent aspects of a situation, employing as the unit of study an individual, institution or group and intensively investigating it...it examines the complex situation and combination of factors involved in a given situation so as to identify the causal factors operating...thus the perspective of the case study is qualitative, aggregative, synthetic and developmental".

The Nachmias (1976, p.42) have remarked that the case study method is very useful in 'exploratory research', and Selltitz et al (1959) have designated it as a 'stimulating insight', maintaining that the intensive case study approach is particularly useful in 'unformulated areas' where it might suggest hypotheses for further research. After considering these and other evidence of the strength of the case study approach in relation to the objectives and circumstances of the issue being investigated, it was concluded that the case study approach would be the most fruitful one to be adopted in this study.

Having used case studies in his examination of industrial disputes, Eldridge (1968, p.6) made the following remark on the approach:

"Much attention has been given in these essays to the presentation and analysis of case studies of industrial disputes. But, apart from the empirical information thus provided is there any theoretical value in such an approach? I think the answer is quite certainly yes, but the theoretical virtues which may be manifest will depend upon the kind of case study we are talking about"

He then went on to distinguish between three types of case

study. One of them is the 'representative case' which is regarded as being representative of all the situation in which the phenomenon being studied exists in similar way; the second type is the 'deviant case' which is regarded as standing out from the normal direction of social propositions; and the final one is the 'strategic case' which suggests a different dimension of argument to what is already known. Eldridge pointed out that the effectiveness of the case study approach is increased where the appropriate type is adopted in relation to the objectives and circumstances of a particular investigation. Our case studies in the present study fall within the 'representative' group, because 'cultural influence' which is the phenomenon being studied, applies to all sections of a particular society similarly.

The main limitation of the case study approach is the problem of generalisation from the results of the study of what may be regarded as unique cases. But in this study fortunately, the nature of the independent variable (culture) eliminates this problem to a large extent, so far as the generalisation is limited to the persons, institutions and organisations within one cultural group. This is because culture applies to every member of a cultural group similarly, as explained in Murray's (1808) concept of 'national character' or in the context of this study, 'tribal character'. Murray commented that:

"On taking a view of any number of men, who are united by the same common government, language, and habits of life, we immediately discover moral peculiarities, as clearly discernible as the varieties of feature by which the different races of man are distinguished. To these we give the name national character. Even among the nations of Europe, whose progress nearly approaches that of each other, this distinction is very decisively marked" (ibid. pp.1-2).

As the 'national character' or 'tribal character' reflects the modal attitudes of members of society or community, it is reasonable to expect that the influences of the tribal character on job regulation will be similar in all workplaces within one tribe. The results of the study of such cultural influences in one workplace can therefore, logically be generalised as reflecting the situation in all the other workplaces in the same cultural group.

(2) The control of other factors

In order to identify only the cultural influences on job regulation, the research was organised in such a way as to hold the influences of other environmental factors constant. The influences of the major political, legal and general macro-economic factors were held constant by carrying out the study on two different cultural groups in one country - the Hausa and the Ibo tribes of Nigeria. The organisations in which the field-work for the study was carried out, being in one country, were exposed to the same political, legal and general macro-economic influences. This was one of the limitations of Dore's (1973) study of two Japanese and two British factories, in that he did not give due consideration to the fact that the employment relationships in the organisations he studied were affected by two different political, legal and general macro-economic factors. Although the Hausa and the Ibo tribes are different cultural groups as explained in Chapter Three earlier, they are both within one national boundary and as such are affected equally by the environmental systems.

Technology, product market and the external labour market

have been mentioned earlier to be the specific economic factors which affect job regulation. The influences of these factors were controlled by concentrating the research in four organisations in one industry - the Textile industry. The four organisations consequently, have similar technology, are in the same product market and the unions in the workplaces belong to one industrial union. The organisations were also matched in size. The only aspect in which the two selected Hausa workplaces differed from the two Ibo ones, was that they belonged to two different cultural groups. It was therefore thought reasonable to assume that as the influences of all other variables except culture, were held reasonably constant, the roots of any discriminating pattern in the conduct of job regulation between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, could possibly be traced to the respective cultural attitudinal characteristics and customary practices. It is considered necessary at this juncture, before going on to the discussion of the actual research methods adopted in collecting data for the study, to give brief descriptions of the industry and the four workplaces in which the field-work was carried out.

(3) The industry and the workplaces chosen for the study.

(a) The Nigerian Textile Industry

The Textile industry is one of the oldest industries in Nigeria. The first textile establishment in Nigeria was set up in 1949 at Kano (Hausa area). This establishment was known as 'Kano Citizens Trading Company'¹ and was financed

1. For details on this first textile establishment in Nigeria, see the report entitled "Textile factory in Kano" in Nigerian Trade Journal Oct-Dec. 1954 p.24.

wholly by Hausa merchants. The Kaduna Textile Ltd (in Hausa area) was established in 1957 and by 1965 was reported to employ about 3,000 Nigerians and 60 expatriates. The main factors that encouraged the establishment of the first Nigerian textile factories in the Hausa area of norther Nigeria, were firstly, the fact that during the pre-industrial period and up to the present time one of the major occupations of Hausa women, particularly the housewives, was weaving of locally grown cotton. Textile factories were established in Lagos for the first time in 1955, and later the textile Mills at Aba, Asaba and Enugu (Ibo area) were established.

The Textile industry has had quite a fast growth when compared with other manufacturing industries in Nigeria. In 1964 the total number of establishments in the Textile industry was 46 which was 7.8% of total establishments in all manufacturing industries; but by 1973 the number of textile establishments had risen to 125 which was 12.4% of total manufacturing establishments in that year. The number of employees in textile firms in 1964 was 9,381, representing 13.7% of all employees in all manufacturing industries in the country that year; but by 1973 the number of textile employees had risen to 49,011, which was 29.4% of all employees in manufacturing firms in the country in that year. These figures show that between 1964 and 1973, within a period of ten years, the number of establishments in the Textile industry had increased by 171.7%, while the number employed in the industry had increased by 422.4%.¹

1. These figures were computed from data obtained from the Federal Office of Statistics Lagos, Economic Indicators vol.3 No.12 December 1967 and vol.11 No. 4-6 April-June 1975.

The growth of the industry was such that it was forecast in the First National Development Plan 1962-1968 that Nigeria would be self-sufficient in the production of textile materials by 1972. This forecast was adversely affected by competition from foreign products, particularly the ones from British firms. But generally, there has been remarkable improvement in production, for as shown on Table 13 below, the production of textile materials in all the firms in Nigeria totalled up to 275.1 million square metres in 1970, and by 1976 the production had risen to 550 million square metres, which represents an increase of 100% within six years. The currently estimated growth rate of the industry is 18% per annum.¹

TABLE 13
TOTAL PRODUCTION OF NIGERIAN
TEXTILE FIRMS 1970-1976.

Year	Total production (ml. sq. metres)
1970	275.1
1971	275.5
1972	191.3
1973	295.0
1974	284.0
1975	301.8
1976	550.0

SOURCE: Federal Office of Statistics Lagos,
Economic Indicators vol.3 no.12
1967; vol.11 nos. 4-6 1975 and
vol.14 1978.

1. See 'The Third National Development Plan' vol.1 p.358
- a publication of the Federal Ministry of Economic
Development and Reconstruction Lagos.

(b) The four workplaces

The meaning of the term 'Hausa workplace' in this study is a workplace which is geographically located in the Hausa-occupied area of northern Nigeria and in which the greater proportion of members in the five categories of Owners/Directors, Professional/Managerial staff, Foremen/Supervisory staff, Clerical workers and Operatives/Labourers, are Hausa. 'Ibo workplace' similarly means a workplace located in the Ibo area in the south-eastern part of Nigeria, in which greater proportion of members in the above categories are Ibo. In selecting the workplaces, a questionnaire¹ was used. Copies of the questionnaire were sent to 13 textile factories in Sokoto, Kano and Kaduna states, which are the main Hausa states, and to 4 textile factories² in Imo, Anambra and the Ibo part of Bendel state. The questionnaires were initially sent by post. As the response was poor, personal contacts were made to the firms. Finally two Hausa and two Ibo workplaces that satisfied the requirements for being regarded as 'Hausa workplaces' and 'Ibo workplaces' in accordance with the meanings given to these terms as explained earlier, were selected for the study. The author signed written undertakings for the Managing Directors and Personnel Managers of three of the four workplaces, that the names of the organisations would be kept anonymous while reporting on the study.³ So, here and in the remaining part

1. See Appendix II for a copy of this questionnaire.

2. Only these four factories were located in the Ibo area, as majority of the large textile firms in Nigeria, apart from the ones in Lagos area, are located in the northern part of the country within the cotton-growing area.

3. Access into organisations in the private sector in Nigeria for research purposes is very difficult, as the managers usually find it difficult to see any immediate benefit accruing to their organisations from any academically oriented research, especially in industrial relations.

of this Thesis, the two Hausa workplaces will be known as 'Workplace 1' and 'Workplace 2', while the two Ibo workplaces will be known as 'Workplace 3' and 'Workplace 4'.

Workplaces 1 and 2 are both located in Kaduna¹, while Workplace 3 is at Asaba and Workplace 4 at Aba.² Workplace 1 was established in 1965, Workplace 2 in 1963 and Workplaces 3 and 4 in 1966. Table 14 below shows the number of employees in the four workplaces, broken down into four categories. The term 'Professional staff' is used to refer to technically qualified senior employees who are incharge of sections in the Mills; the term also refers to qualified accountants and other senior Accounting staff, who are up to the rank of sectional heads or Managers. The category for Operatives includes also chargehands. The calibre and types of employees intended to

TABLE 14
NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN THE
FOUR WORKPLACES.

Categories	Number of Employees			
	HAUSA		IBO	
	W1	W2	W3	W4
Professional/Managerial	56	54	45	63
Foremen/Supervisory	106	210	206	198
Clerical	125	117	255	314
Operatives/Labourers	3975	4033	3119	3361
TOTAL	4262	4414	3625	3936

SOURCE: Questionnaire completed by the
Personnel Managers of the four
organisations.

1 & 2. See the maps on pages 55 and 60 for the locations of Kaduna, Asaba and Aba in Nigeria.

be included in each of the four categories were explained to the Personnel Managers personally by the author before they completed the questionnaires. But the actual determination of which employees should be included in any of the categories was made by the managers themselves, although differences were not expected in the way the four Personnel managers categorised their employees, as the large textile factories in Nigeria, because they belong to one Employers Association, adopt similar nomenclature in designating their job positions.¹

Table 15 on the next page shows the age profile of the employees in the four workplaces. The figures show that in the Hausa workplaces, majority of the professional and managerial staff were within the age range of 31 and 50, whereas in the Ibo workplaces, majority of the same category of employees were under the age of 40. The situation was similar with the foremen and supervisory staff. Table 16 shows the general profile of the educational levels of members of the four organisations. Formal education system in Nigeria is generally similar to that of Britain. The first school is the 'Elementary school' which children enter at the age of six. The elementary school education lasts normally for six years, after which children who pass the required examinations and whose parents can afford it, proceed to the Secondary school. Majority of children do not go any further after the elementary school education. At the end of five years in the secondary school the children take examinations for the West African School Certificate which is equivalent to GCE ordinary level certificate.

1. See Appendix III for the job classifications adopted in all the large Nigerian textile factories for Mill and office workers.

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE ESTIMATE OF THE AGE PROFILE
OF EMPLOYEES IN THE FOUR WORKPLACES

Age group	Professional/ Managerial				Foremen/ Supervisory				Clerical				Operatives/ Labourers			
	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4
Under 20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	20	5	5	30	20
20 to 30	10	5	30	35	-	10	40	20	70	50	40	50	30	40	50	70
31 to 40	35	35	50	40	20	20	50	60	20	20	30	30	50	25	20	10
41 to 50	30	40	10	15	60	50	10	15	10	20	10	-	10	20	-	-
51 and over	25	20	10	10	20	20	-	5	-	10	-	-	5	10	-	-
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: Questionnaire A completed by the
Personnel Managers of the four
organisations.

TABLE 16

PERCENTAGE ESTIMATE OF THE EDUCATIONAL
LEVELS OF ATTAINMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE
FOUR WORKPLACES.

	Professional/ Managerial				Foremen/ Supervisory				Clerical				Operatives/ Labourers			
	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4
University or equivalent professional education.	40	20	70	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary school education or equivalent technical training.	60	80	30	40	50	40	90	100	30	50	70	90	-	-	-	-
Elementary school education.	-	-	-	-	50	60	10	-	70	50	30	10	10	20	50	60
No formal education	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	90	80	50	40
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: Questionnaire A completed by the Personnel
Managers of the four organisations.

Table 17 shows the percentage estimate of members of the organisations including the owners and executive Directors, who are from the different tribal groups in Nigeria. The unions in the four workplaces belong to one industrial union known as 'National Union of Textile, Garment and Tailoring Workers of Nigeria' while the employers of the four organisations also belong to a national employers association known as the 'Nigerian Textile, Garment and Tailoring Employers Association'.

It may surprise the reader to find that apart from the number of employees in the four workplaces given on Table 14 the other statistical information on the workplaces are estimates. This requires brief explanation. The original version of the questionnaire used in collecting the statistical information, required the respondents to fill in the actual figures in relation to age groups, educational levels and the tribal affiliations of members of their organisations. The response to this original version of the questionnaire was very low especially from the Hausa organisations, and those who were good enough to respond, did not deal with the questions on those vital statistical information such as age and tribal groups of members. Through personal contacts with the Personnel managers in the organisations, it was discovered that the major cause of the low response to the questionnaire was that the respondents found it tedious and time-consuming to search their official records for the required information, and moreover they did not find it safe to give out the exact detailed information on employees' tribal groups to a person they were not familiar with and therefore were not sure of how the information would be interpreted or used. Even with personal

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE ORGANISATIONS FROM THE DIFFERENT CULTURAL GROUPS IN NIGERIA

Tribes	Owners/ Executive Directors				Professional/ Managerial				Foremen/ Supervisory				Clerical				Operatives/ Labourers			
	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4
Hausa	70	80	-	-	60	60	-	-	50	60	-	-	35	30	-	-	60	70	-	-
Kanuri	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Serkawa	5	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-
Gwari	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-
Nupe	10	5	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	5	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	10	-	-
Tiv	10	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	-	5	10	10	-	-	-	10	-	-
Yoruba	-	-	5	-	10	20	5	10	-	-	5	5	35	30	10	10	-	-	-	-
Weppa-Wano	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	20	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	5	-
Yako	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	10	5
Ibo	-	-	80	100	-	-	70	80	5	10	60	70	20	10	60	80	5	-	70	90
Ijaw	-	-	10	-	-	-	5	-	-	5	20	10	-	10	10	5	-	-	10	-
Efik	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	10	10	5	10	10	-	-	-	5	-	-	5	5
Non-Nigerians	5	-	-	-	20	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: Questionnaire A completed by the Personnel Managers of the four organisations.

contacts, it was still difficult to obtain the exact figures from the managers. The questionnaire was therefore revised into its present version, and estimates instead of actual figures were demanded and obtained.

Anyone who is familiar with the social situation in Nigeria will hardly be taken aback by the reaction of the managers to the original version of the questionnaire, because in Nigeria issues of educational attainments of persons and particularly the tribal and ethnic affiliations of people, are usually viewed with a large degree of emotion, either favourably or unfavourably depending on the person's educational background and the tribal group to which he or she belongs. However, although the information obtained were estimates, they could be deemed to be largely accurate. There is one Hausa proverb which says: "Zumunta a kafa ta ke" meaning that the maintenance of good relationship or familiarity between people requires frequent visiting. The author made use of this proverb and developed a reasonable degree of close relationship with the Personnel managers in the four organisations through frequent visiting. The friendly relationship made it possible for the author to obtain fairly accurate estimates of statistical information on the workplaces, which give approximately true picture of the workplaces.

4. RESEARCH METHODS

(1) Questionnaire

Two sets of questionnaire were used. Questionnaire A¹ was used to collect statistical information about the work-

1. See Appendix II for a copy of this questionnaire.

places. The questionnaire was administered to the Personnel managers of the organisations. It has been explained above that the present copy of the questionnaire is the revised version of the one originally used, to which the response was low and was therefore discarded. The information obtained from the use of questionnaire A was initially used in selecting the four workplaces for the study.

Questionnaire B was used to obtain preliminary information on the three main cultural groups in Nigeria - Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba, in relation to the twelve attitudinal variables related to job regulation. The way this questionnaire was administered has already been explained in Chapter Three. The questionnaire was purposely designed in a form that gave the respondents free scope to write as much as they wished on each question. It was not considered useful to use multiple choice answers or scales, as these would have the effect of limiting the respondents' scope of answers. A qualitative free range of answers from the respondents was considered more fruitful as it would enable one to obtain a wide range of information on the cultures. The analysis of the information obtained from the questionnaire was done qualitatively. Answers on each question were considered together at a time to identify the general pattern of majority of the answers on a particular attitudinal variable. At the time the questionnaire was designed, it was envisaged that the planned qualitative method of analysis of information from the questionnaire would entail a lot of work, but this turned out not to be the case, for as the answers on each question were very consistently similar, the required general pattern of attitudes did not take time to emerge as one read through the answers

to each question. The results of the analysis and a fuller explanation of the way the information was analysed are presented on Appendix IX.

Moser and Kalton (1971, pp.260-261) and the Nachmias (1976, pp.107-108) have identified the following as the limitations of the questionnaire as a research method:

1. It can be used only when the questions are simple and straightforward enough to be comprehended with the help of printed instructions.
2. The answers are accepted as final as there is no opportunity to probe beyond the given answers.
3. The researcher cannot be sure that the right person completes the questionnaire, another individual other than the intended respondent may complete it.
4. The respondent can see all the questions before answering them, so the various answers cannot be regarded as independent.

It is necessary here to examine how far these supposed limitations of the questionnaire as a research method, apply in the way the method was used in this study. In relation to Point 1, the questions on questionnaires A and B were framed in as simple and straightforward way as possible, that they could not be misconstrued by anyone. Moreover the questions on questionnaire A were explained personally by the author to the managers, before they were answered; the same thing was done to the students in relation to questionnaire B. In the

case of Point 2, the information required by the questions on questionnaire A being of a statistical nature did not need further probing. The information obtained from questionnaire B was not taken as final but rather as complementary to the ones obtained from other sources which included semi-structured interviews, the study of a collection of proverbs and extensive literature search, as already explained in Chapter Three. Point 3 does not apply in our case, because questionnaire A was despatched and collected by hand, and in the case of questionnaire B it did not matter who completed it as long as the respondent was within the relevant cultural group.

Point 4 does not matter in the case of questionnaire A, as the information required was on statistics and not on opinions; but in relation to questionnaire B, the point appears valid. As questionnaire B was used as complementary to other methods, Point 4 did not have much effect on the finally accepted patterns of traditional attitudes of the Hausa and the Ibo peoples, adopted in the study. From the foregoing discussion, it could be seen that because of the nature of the information being collected with the two questionnaires respectively, the manner in which they were administered and the way the information obtained was used, the usual general limitations of the questionnaire as a research method, did not seriously affect the validity of the information used in this study, from that source.

(2) Personal Interviews

The personal interview method was adopted for the following:

- (i) To obtain information from Hausa and Ibo extended

family groups in rural areas and in the cities, on the culturally-based attitudinal characteristics of the Hausa and the Ibo peoples.

(ii) To obtain information from the Personnel managers of the four workplaces on the different aspects of the practice of industrial relations in those workplaces.

(iii) To obtain information from the union officials in the four workplaces on the organisation of the unions, particularly on their objectives and the methods they adopt in enforcing their demands.

(iv) To collect information from Labour Officers and Inspectors at the Imo and Kaduna state offices of the Federal Ministry of Labour, on the extent to which they had been involved in dealing with disagreements between management and unions or individual workers in the four workplaces.

During the interview of Hausa and Ibo peoples on their cultural attitudes, questionnaire B which was previously used to collect information on the same issues from the students of the University of Science and Technology PortHarcourt as explained earlier, was used. But this time the questionnaire was used as an Interview Schedule by the author, who did the interviews personally. The interviews were semi-structured, as the interviewees were encouraged to give as much information as they could on each question. At first it was planned to interview individuals, but as the research progressed it was

discovered that it would be more fruitful to conduct the interview on family groups where possible. In addition to the fact that this approach was a more interesting one in practice, as the author was entertained with cola nuts and other light consumables in all the families interviewed, it enabled one not only to obtain quite a wide range of information on these cultures, but also to have a short but valuable personal experience of some aspects of the social life of people from the cultural groups, especially the Hausa, as the author is an Ibo himself.

13 Hausa and 25 Ibo families were interviewed. The number of persons present in each family interview session ranged from 8 to 23 in the Hausa families and 4 to 12 in the Ibo ones. Each family had a spokesman who was usually the oldest person among those present. When a question was asked during the interview, members present made comments and supporting statements, and the oldest man normally spoke last and gave a definite answer, which every other member accepted as true by saying 'Yowah' in the Hausa families and 'Iyaa O Kodi' in the Ibo ones. These interviews lasted between three and four hours in each session. The interviews were held with Hausa families in Kaduna and Zaria, and with Ibo families in Aba, Owerri and Onitsha. No particular statistical method was applied in selecting these families, as such exercise was considered unnecessary for our purpose.

During the interviews of the Personnel managers in the four workplaces, an Interview Schedule¹ was used. The interview of each Personnel manager lasted between two and three

1. See Appendix V for a copy of the Interview Schedule.

hours and in three workplaces the interview was held in two sessions in the respective workplaces. Apart from these scheduled interviews, information was also obtained from these managers informally during frequent visits to the workplaces. Interviews were also held with the union officials in groups in the respective workplaces. During these interviews, an Interview Schedule¹ was used. The atmosphere in these interview sessions was very informal and relaxed, and the interviews lasted between 1½ to 2 hours in each workplace. After each interview session the author stayed behind to read through union files containing correspondences with management and to probe more on the information given during the interview session, for purposes of clarifications from the union secretaries. No interview schedules were used during the interview of Labour Officers and Inspectors of the state offices of the Federal Ministry of Labour, as the purpose was to obtain information of a general nature on their involvements in settling conflict in the organisations, and to obtain information which would be used in determining the levels of conflict in the workplaces.

Before commencing the interviews it was planned to use a tape-recorder to record the proceedings of the interview sessions. This was actually used in the first two Ibo families, but it was observed that the persons present in these sessions did not feel free to speak much, they rather chose to give one-word or one-short-sentence answers to questions. The situation changed dramatically in the third interview where the tape recorder was not used, as members present felt free to make comments and tell interesting real-life stories to support

1. See Appendix VI for a copy of the Interview Schedule.

their points, quite unlike the case in the two previous sessions where a tape recorder was used. For this reason the tape recorder was not used in subsequent interviews. There was no problem with the recording of information, as quick notes of the emphatic sentences in the interviewees' responses were made. Moreover, the author made sure he was accompanied by someone else during the interviews, with whom he discussed the information given by the interviewees immediately each interview was over.

A little difficulty was experienced in communication during the interview of Hausa families, as the author was not conversant with spoken-Hausa language. This difficulty was however ameliorated by the assistance of an Hausa, who acted as Language Interpreter during the interview sessions. One would have expected bias from the use of a Language Interpreter, because the way a statement is interpreted from one language to another, could sometimes be affected by the interpreter's projection of his personality and personal views. But there are reasons to believe that this likely limitation did not arise in our case, as the Language Interpreter in this case, was a Lecturer in Personnel Management at the College of Arts and Business Studies of Kaduna Polytechnic, and prior to the commencement of the interviews, this particular limitation was discussed with him and the necessity for guarding against the possibility of such personality projection on his interpretations, was pointed out to him.

(3) Observation

As the research progressed it was found that interviews alone could not provide all the information required in order

to be able to deal with all the questions outlined earlier in the Introduction (Chapter One). This was because information on issues like Custom and Practice rules, the roles of shop-stewards at the workplaces, restrictive practices by workers and the general relationships between individual workers and managers, could not be obtained fully by merely interviewing Personnel managers and union officials, without involving the generality of the workforce in the respective workplaces. Administering questionnaire to a sample of the workers in each workplace was thought of, but the following reasons made the use of the questionnaire unsuitable for the purpose:

- (i) The literacy level of the Mill workers in the four workplaces, who form very large majority of the workforce, was very low as could be seen from Table 16, and as such it was thought that the illiterate workers would be unable to complete a questionnaire.
- (ii) The Personnel managers, although they were very co-operative in the research, found it unwise to authorise the administration of such questionnaire to their workers, for the fear that the workers were likely to misconstrue the objective of the whole exercise and perhaps regard it as a cunning way through which management wanted to obtain information on them.
- (iii) In her study of an American local union, Dean (1958) found that the answers given by respondents to questions in her questionnaire, differed significantly

from her own observation of the workers in action.

She, therefore suggested in her conclusions that the actor's report of action should be treated as orientations to interaction rather than valid measures of interaction itself.

- (iv) In their study of shop-steward organisations, Batstone et al (1977) found observational methods to be very fruitful, as they remarked that observation appeared logically to be the method most appropriate for a study which intends to explore the "richness of social life" at the workplace.

After considering the above points, it was decided to adopt the observation method for two main purposes: firstly, to verify the validity and the correctness of the information already obtained through the interviews and the questionnaire; and secondly, to obtain the required information on those issues that could not be got through the interview method. Owing to the constraints of time and financial support, coupled with the initial difficulty of gaining access into two organisations for this purpose, it was only possible to adopt the observation method in workplaces 1 and 4 (i.e. one Hausa and one Ibo). In workplace 1 the author was permitted to act as if employed to work as a Recorder in the Finishing Department. It was not possible to work in all the Departments, because as explained by the Personnel manager, the other Departments such as Spinning, Weaving and Printing, required specific skills which the author did not possess. However, it was possible to mingle and speak not only with workers in the Finishing Department, but also with workers in most of the

other Departments during working periods, breaks and after working hours. This participant observation in workplace 1 lasted for 3½ consecutive weeks.

In workplace 4 the observation was not 'participant' as it was in workplace 1. The author was permitted to come into the workplace during working hours to mingle with workers and have informal conversations with them in their places of work and in their eating places during break periods. Some considerable time was spent in the union office observing the way union officials dealt with complaints from workers, and how the unions were organised generally. Although the author was not so-to-say employed in this workplace, the workers were not informed that he was only a visitor. The constant visits, and the fact that this was an Ibo workplace and the author is an Ibo, coupled with the deliberate change in the author's manner of dressing and behaviour, it was not difficult to conceal the author's identity to the workers, by pretending to be one of the workers. The observation in this workplace lasted for an average of four hours a day for three days in the week over a period of 6 weeks consecutively. A number of visits were also made to the other two workplaces, and a series of informal interviews of groups of workers during break periods in the form of conversations, were undertaken.

The main problem encountered with the observation method was in the recording of data. The author devised a system whereby a short description of the spot on which an observation was made or vital information was obtained, and the actual content of the observation or information, were coded in the form of key words, phrases and short sentences, with a reference made to the aspect of job regulation that the information

obtained or observation made, was related to. A small note book and pencil were carried all the time in his pocket by the author, and information coded in the way explained above, was jotted down in the note book at an earliest free opportunity. At the end of the day, the information was, as it were, decoded and with the help of the description of the spot where the observation was made or the information obtained, it was not very difficult to remember the major details of the information. Proper and fuller record of the information was then made. Although this method is here described as observation, in practice it involved not only mere observation of actions, but also obtaining information through informal interviews and general conversations with workers and some managers, for as pointed out by Denzin (1970) observation is not one technique, but a bundle of techniques.

One criticism normally made of observation as a research method, is that the interpretation given to observations, could be affected by the imagination of the observer (Gold: 1958, pp.217-223; Batstone et al: 1977, p.16). Although Armstrong et al (1981) used the observation method fruitfully, they still pointed out that if care is not taken in using this method, there is the danger that the data collected may be largely impressionistic. The important thing in this case, was that the author who did the observations personally, was aware of these limitations, and this awareness and constant consciousness of the limitations helped to minimize their influence on the quality and validity of the information obtained.

(4) Documents

A wide range of documentary data was collected from the

four workplaces, and used in this study. The documents included the following:

- (i) Works Rule Books and Employee Handbooks.
- (ii) Copies of Collective Agreements.
- (iii) Company leaflets and other periodicals.
- (iv) Management notices copied from the notice boards at the workplaces.
- (v) Documents in union files containing union minutes and correspondences with management (these documents were only consulted in the presence of the union secretaries in most occasions).
- (vi) "Terms and Conditions of Employment" books in the Personnel Departments of the workplaces (these were only consulted at the workplaces).

SUMMARY

This study was based on case studies of two Hausa and two Ibo workplaces in the Nigerian Textile industry. This research strategy was considered more useful than a survey because as the study was fundamentally an exploratory one, the case studies would give detailed specific results which could then form the basis for further research. Moreover, as culture which is the independent variable in the study, by its nature has similar influence on majority of persons in a cultural group, the results of one case study can to a large extent, be regarded as representing the situation in

in other organisations within the cultural group. It was recognised that there are other environmental systems of the society which do affect job regulation at the workplace, so in order to observe only the cultural influences on job regulation, the research was designed in such a way as to hold the influences of these political, legal, and general macro-economic factors reasonably constant. Because the study was an exploratory one as no study has as yet been carried out on cultural influences on job regulation in any tribes in Africa; and because such study would involve an examination of both formal and informal structures and processes which are involved in the regulation of employment relationships in the workplaces of the cultural groups, a flexible research approach was adopted to ensure maximum collection of data. In order to make the research systematic, a list of questions that indicated the scope intended to be covered by the study were borne in mind as a guide throughout the research process. The major research methods adopted for data collection were direct observation and personal interviews, and these were supplemented with questionnaires and documentary data. The body of knowledge which emerged from the study, through the application of the research approach, strategy and methods described here, on the cultural influences on workplace union organisation, management's industrial relations policies and practices, rule-making processes, and the rules of job regulation, in the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, form the subject of discussion in the next part of the Thesis.

PART TWO:

**CASE STUDY FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND
EXAMINATION OF CULTURAL INFLUENCES.**

CHAPTER SIX

WORKPLACE ORGANISATION OF UNIONS

Introduction

The two questions being examined in this chapter are -

(1) Are there differences in workers' attitudes to unions between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, and if there are, to what extent are the differences due to any of the already identified cultural differences between the two societies?

(2) Are there differences in the sort of unions that exist in these workplaces, in terms of their objectives and the methods they adopt in pursuing them, and if there are, how far does culture account for these differences in relation to any of the already identified cultural differences between the Hausa and the Ibo societies? A consideration of the relevant culturally-based attitudinal characteristics of the Hausa and the Ibo, which are stated in Chapter Three, suggests the following hypotheses, in relation to the above questions:

- I Because of the cultural differences in attitudes to the acquisition of wealth, there will be more favourable attitudes towards union among the Ibo workers than among the Hausa workers.
- II Because of the cultural differences in attitudes to interpersonal relations, the Hausa worker's attitude to unions will be largely influenced by his personal relationship with, and/or regard for the union officials as individuals, whereas the

Ibo worker's attitude to unions will tend to be based on his support for union objectives.

III Because of the cultural differences regarding attitudes to authority and desire for the acquisition of wealth, the unions in the Ibo workplaces will tend to be more militant than those in the Hausa workplaces.

IV Because of the cultural differences in attitudes to interpersonal relations, the use of third-parties in the settlement of disagreements between management and unions will be more favoured by the unions in the Ibo workplaces than those in the Hausa workplaces.

We shall first describe the general system of administration adopted by the unions in the four workplaces. This is intended to provide a background to the main discussion that will follow, and the description will also demonstrate, as explained earlier while describing our research design, that the influences of the external labour market on industrial relations in the four workplaces were largely constant. We shall then examine the results of the analysis of the empirical data obtained on workers attitudes to unions and the general objectives of the unions and the methods adopted in pursuing those objectives, with a view to ascertaining the extent to which those results challenge or support the above stated hypotheses.

1. TRADE UNION ADMINISTRATION AT THE WORKPLACES

The four workplaces involved in this study belonged to one industrial union known as the National Union of Textile, Garment and Tailoring Workers of Nigeria. Their general method of administration at the workplaces was similar. The union in each workplace had a branch President, Secretary, Treasurer and eight other officials known as Union Executives. These were the principal officials of the union at the workplace. Elections of members to these posts took place yearly, and past officers could be re-elected. Union members who held these posts, carried out union duties on full-time basis, although they were paid as full-time employees by their employers and not by the union. A statement taken from a document obtained from the Secretary of the union in workplace 1, which states the agreement between the union and management, regarding the position of the employees who take up these union posts, read thus:

"Union officials

In order to aid in the proper disposition of grievances, other union matters and easy coordination of activities with the management of the company and to the benefit of both parties:

1. Branch President, Secretary, Treasurer and Union Executives shall be granted paid leave of absence for the period of service as officers of the union, subject to the approval of the company.
2. These officers shall resume their work in the plant within a week they cease to hold such offices; they shall neither lose their seniority or other benefits during or after or as a result of their union activities.
3. The management will inform the union the conditions for which union secretary will be on leave."

This was found to be the general practice in all the four workplaces, for as explained by the Secretaries of the

unions in the workplaces, the system was nationally agreed between the union and the employers association. It is worth explaining here that these full-time officials at the workplace were different from the actual full-time officials of the union, who were employed by the union and based at the union Headquarters. In this chapter and in the remaining part of the Thesis, we shall use the term 'workplace full-time officials' to mean those workers who were elected to the union posts at the workplace and who were paid by their employers although they were engaged in union duties on full-time basis, whereas the term 'headquarters union officials' to mean the full-time union officials employed by the union and based at the union Headquarters outside the workplaces.

The union in each workplace had an office in which the workplace full-time officials sat to discuss union matters and to listen to members' complaints. In addition to these officials, there were also union stewards who were appointed by the branch President. The union stewards were not full-time and they were located in their normal places of work to carry out union duties assigned to them concerning their respective sections. A statement in the document obtained from the Secretary of the union in workplace 1, referred to earlier, read thus in relation to the post of union stewards:

"Union stewards, representative and rights

1. In order to aid in the proper disposition of grievances and other union matters, stewards may be selected by the union.
2. A union steward shall be permitted by their Departmental Manager or Supervisor to leave his assigned work to investigate and adjust grievances or conduct the following union matters: answering telephone calls, posting union notices on the bulletin boards and distributing union cards and journals.

3. The company agrees to provide union stewards a meeting place where they shall discuss matters relating to the duties of stewards.
4. The company will as far as possible provide union with an office and some furniture".

Similar system operated in all the four workplaces, but the number of stewards in each workplace varied, as the President in each workplace was free to use his discretion in determining the number of stewards to be appointed. As explained by the union President in workplace 1 and later confirmed by those of the other three workplaces, the union stewards were only expected to carry out specific union duties assigned to them by the President or any other workplace full-time officials, as any actions to be taken by the stewards on any union matter must first receive approval from the union office at the workplace. This meant that the administration of the unions at the workplaces was centred on the workplace full-time officials and not on the union stewards as would be the case in a British workplace.

2. WORKERS' ATTITUDE TO UNIONS

(a) Findings

Table 18 below presents a summary of the responses of workers in the four workplaces when in either informal conversations or in semi-structured interviews, they were asked how they felt about the unions, as to whether they were favourably or unfavourably disposed towards them.

The Hausa workers who said they liked unions seemed to base all their reasons for liking trade unions on how personally friendly and helpful their union stewards or any other

TABLE 18

WORKERS' GENERAL ATTITUDE TO UNIONS

	HAUSA		IBO	
	1	2	3	4
	N=118	N=52	N=90	N=156
	%	%	%	%
Favourable towards unions	43	40	65	62
Unfavourable towards unions	23	12	33	36
Do not know	36	48	3 ⁺	2 ⁺
	102*	100	101*	100

$$\chi^2 = 17.8$$

$$p_{.05} = 0.352$$

$$df = 3$$

NOTE:

The Chi-square calculation was done with absolute figures not the percentages. The rule in applying the Chi-square test on contingency Tables is that everyone of the values should be equal or more than 5. So as the 'Do not know' responses in the two Ibo workplaces were less than 5 respectively, the 'Do not know' row was merged with the 'Unfavourable towards unions' row while doing the Chi-square calculations. Consequently, the degrees of freedom were calculated thus: $(4-1)(2-1) = 3$. (See Appendix XV for the Chi-square calculations).

+ This percentage represents day and night guards who were from the Fulani ethnic group in Northern Nigeria.

* These totals are more than 100 due to rounding.

SOURCE:

Interview of workers in the form of informal conversations during participant observation in workplaces 1 & 4 and constant visits in workplaces 2 & 3. Although no systematic method was adopted in selecting workers to be interviewed, effort was made to ensure that all sections of each workplace were represented.

union officials had been to them either in the workplace or in their private home affairs. One Hausa worker, who spoke a little pidgin English, explaining why he was favourably disposed to unions, made this statement several times:

"Mallam, na good man. Haba,
mallam na good man".

By the above statement, the worker was referring to his union steward and saying that he was a good man. The steward's name was not 'Mallam'. The word 'Mallam' in the Hausa community, is a respectful title applied when referring to a teacher of Islamic principles. This steward was popularly known and respected in the workplace, because he was known to be teaching for gratis in a children Koranic school in the evenings and over the weekends. He also played active part in a local Mosque (Moslem praying place) and in conducting mid-day prayers at the workplace. In explaining how good the Mallam union steward had been to him, which constituted his reasons for liking the union, the Hausa worker said:

1. Any time I have trouble both at the workplace and at home, Mallam helped and advised me like a father.
2. Any time I want day off-duty I tell Mallam and he immediately pleads with the supervisor on my behalf.
3. Mallam fears Allah (meaning he is religious) and he prays for me whenever I need special prayers.

The Hausa workers who said they did not like unions, were not generally willing to give reasons for their not liking unions. One of them who was willing to talk, replied: "Union, haba, no good", by which he meant that the unions were not good. As he made the statement he shook his head sideways, and started soliloquising in Hausa language. From his facial

expression it was easy to understand that he felt deeply concerned with whatever reasons he had which he was talking to himself in Hausa language. When this same worker was engaged another day in an informal conversation on this topic with the assistance of a clerk from the Yoruba tribal group who spoke Hausa and English fairly well, the Hausa worker was reported to have made bad remarks on the personal behaviours of union officials particularly the stewards in that workplace.¹ Most of these behaviours of the officials which this worker gave as his reasons for being unfavourably disposed towards unions, had to do with the official's private life; for example such reasons like:

"X is not a good man in his family; Y is bad and he is not in speaking terms with me; or Z is known to have made love advances to another man's wife".

Most of the Hausa workers who were prepared to comment on why they did not like unions, gave similar reasons, and did not say anything concerning the activities of the union as an organisation.

Among the reasons given by the Ibo workers for liking unions, were the following:

1. The union makes the company to be more careful in its activities (meaning policies).
2. Our union is very good at organising social evenings during Christmas and Easter periods.
3. The union helps when one has trouble with the supervisors or the managers in the company.

1. I had slight difficulty in communicating personally with some Hausa workers who could not speak pidgin English, as I was not conversant with Hausa language. But I employed the assistance of a clerk in the Personnel office who spoke Hausa and English fairly well, when it was necessary to probe interviewees more on some points.

4. We cannot get salary awards (increase in wages and salaries normally resulting from Government increases of civil servants' salaries as recommended by a Commission of enquiry) without the union.
5. Union officers organise football and other games for us over the weekends.
6. When a worker dies, the union arranges to buy coffin and carries the corpse to the dead worker's village for burial. The union also helps his relatives to claim his entitlements from the company.
7. It is good for workers everywhere to have unions so that they can have one voice in dealing with the managers.
8. Union is the backbone of every worker in the workplace.

On the other hand, majority of those that said they did not like unions in the Ibo workplaces, gave the following reasons:

1. The union officers are thieves, they take workers' money for doing nothing.
2. I have not gained anything personally from the union since I have been working.
3. The union officers are all cowards, they talk much before workers, but when they meet management they close their mouth and only answer 'Yes Sir'.
4. The union officers always embezzle union money and never give accurate accounts of union funds.

The estimates given by union officials at the workplaces, of the percentages of their total workforce that were union members, were as follows:

Workplace 1 (Hausa)	-	80%
Workplace 2 (Hausa)	-	70%
Workplace 3 (Ibo)	-	60%
Workplace 4 (Ibo)	-	60%

It was observed that the method adopted by the unions in recruiting members differed in the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces.

When a worker wanted to join the union in the Ibo workplace, he obtained a form from the union office, which he was required to complete, affix his passport photograph and append his signature or thumb print on the space provided. When the worker returned the completed form to the union secretary, he was given a union card, and by this he became a union member. The union stewards and officials use to canvass for membership by talking to workers personally especially new workers. Workers who were non-union members were normally, as a joke, referred to in Ibo language as: "Ori nkpuru onye ozo kuru" which means "one that eats the fruits of a seed sown by another person". The union membership included both Mill workers and clerical workers.

The method used by the Hausa union stewards and officials in recruiting members, was different from the one described above. The unions in the four workplaces operated the check-off system for the collection of union dues. By this system, the dues were deducted from the workers' wages or salaries at appropriate times, in the pay-office. The unions in the two Hausa workplaces used the check-off system as a medium for recruiting union members, as it was found that at regular intervals, the union stewards in these Hausa workplaces, met all workers in their sections with a paper from the union office which contained the names of the workers, and obtained the signatures or thumb prints of the workers, either by appealing to them to sign or in many occasions coercing them to sign. As the workers signed or put their thumb prints, the new workers who had not got union cards and old workers who

had lost theirs, as was usually the case with many workers, were given new cards. The papers containing the workers' signatures and thumb prints were then submitted to the pay office for the union dues check-off. The result of this was that almost all the factory workers in those workplaces were union members although many of the workers did not seem to be aware of their membership. When some of them were asked whether they were union members, they replied 'No', but the union stewards for those sections when asked, confirmed that those workers were union members because union dues were checked off their wages at the appropriate time regularly.

It was also observed that union stewards in the Hausa workplaces, played a more active part in union administration than their counterparts in the Ibo workplaces in dealing with members' complaints. This was found to be due to the fact that Hausa workers relied more on their union stewards than on the full-time officials at the workplace. Complaints from the union members reached the union office only when they were referred there by the stewards. In many occasions, although the stewards were according to union regulations expected to refer all matters to the union office, they dealt with members' complaints, such as talking to the supervisors or the managers concerned, on their own without referring to the workplace union full-time officials, and the members were happier with that. The Hausa stewards even dealt with the personal family problems of members by giving them advice. On the other hand, the Ibo workers preferred taking their complaints straight to the union full-time officials rather than talking to their union stewards. The result of this, was that the union offices in those workplaces were often crowded with workers.

(b) Discussion of findings and examination of cultural influences.

(i) Hausa workplaces

The results presented on Table 18 suggest that greater percentage of workers in the two Hausa workplaces were unfavourably disposed towards unions. The reply 'Do not know' is here interpreted to mean unfavourable attitude, because normally those workers who like unions never hesitated to express their feelings as soon as the question was put to them. It was probably those that had reservations against unions, but feared that they might hurt someone's feelings if they openly showed their dislike for unions, that found it safe to simply reply that they did not know. This means that 59% (N=118) and 60% (N=52) of workers interviewed in the two Hausa workplaces respectively, had unfavourable attitude towards unions. This finding appears to be in contradiction with the figures supplied by the union officials on the density of union membership in the respective workplaces, which showed that approximately 80% and 70% of workers in the respective workplaces were union members. But certain evidence suggest that the high density of union membership in those workplaces is likely to reflect the coercive method adopted by the union officials in recruiting members in those workplaces, rather than workers' favourable disposition to unions.

An average Nigerian worker sees the major objective of the trade unions as securing increased wages and salaries and other fringe benefits for workers. The Hausa does not regard the acquisition of wealth and other material benefits as being of much importance to his life, and as such he is not anxious toward joining unions or taking active part in union activities.

As explained earlier while stating the findings, the method adopted by the Hausa union officials in enrolling new members, resulted in most Hausa workers being virtually forced into union membership. In his study of unions in Nigeria, Cohen (1974, p.273) obtained similar results. He reported that when some of the union members were asked why they joined unions, they replied that they thought it was compulsory, and this may probably have been due to the way the matter of union membership was originally presented to the workers by the union officials, when the workers were newly employed. Lubeck (1975) also reported a similar finding in his Kano studies, although in his case it was the supervisors who formed the unions, that did the 'forcing', while in our case, it was the stewards. Lubeck described the situation by saying that in the Hausa workplaces he based his study on:

"the union deteriorated into a management-sanctioned extortion agency whereby supervisors forced workers, especially recent rural origin migrants, to pay initiation fees and monthly dues (ibid. p.147).

This practice of coercing workers to join unions was aided by the fact that there is surplus unskilled labour in these Hausa areas which tend to encourage the practice that has almost become traditional in those areas, of job-seekers having to pay 'kudin sarauta' (office money) to supervisors or other personnel of a company who may be helping to secure employment for them in their organisations. From discussions with many of the Hausa workers, it was gathered that majority of the factory workers simply regarded the union dues which were checked off their wages periodically, as a continuation of the 'kudin sarauta'. Lubeck (ibid.) interpreted the situation at the Kano factories similarly when he stated that:

"Many of the workers...assumed that the union dues were merely a bribe that must be paid in order to maintain their jobs".

The question of union consciousness does not come in in such situation. It has been stated earlier that when some of the workers were asked whether they belonged to union, they replied 'No'; it was when their union steward came and confirmed that they were union members because union dues were checked off the workers' wages periodically, that the workers then replied 'Yes'. Union members in these Hausa workplaces could for analytical purposes, be described as falling into two categories - 'active' and 'nominal' members. The active members were those who were conscious of their membership and liked to be associated with union activities. Such union members were found to be more among the clerical workers in the Administration Department; workers in the Finishing Department where most of the work included weighing, parking and recording; and also workers in the Block-print designing section of the Printing Department. The nominal members whose only connection with trade unions, was that their names were on the list for periodic dues check-off, were found to be more in the Spinning, Weaving and the other sections of the Printing Departments. Although the proportion of members in each of the two categories was not determined, there was some indication that the proportion of members in the 'nominal' category was higher in both Hausa workplaces.

All the evidence presented above suggests therefore, that the results of our attitude survey which indicated that greater proportion of the Hausa workers were unfavourably disposed towards unions, should not be regarded as being negated by the finding of high density of union membership in those workplaces.

The attitude survey results were a stronger measure of the workers' general attitude to unions than the results on membership density, because if the workers were free to choose whether to belong to unions or not, there is strong indication that the results on union membership density were likely to be a lot different.

The reasons given by the Hausa workers for liking or not liking the unions, suggested that the attitude of the workers toward unions depended largely on the personal regard which the workers had for the individual union officials at the workplaces, especially the union steward who were closest to the workers. The workers did not distinguish between the union officials as individuals and the union organisation as an entity on its own. This is typical of the Hausa man's approach to matters generally. Okoli (1981, p.540) has observed of the Hausa that even in Politics:

"one thing however remains undisputable; party alliances...have not been based on principles and ideology, but on personalities".

Lubeck (op. cit. p.149), reporting the results of his study of workers' attitude towards union in three factories in Kano (Hausa city) also found that it was only in one of the three factories that a large percentage of workers interviewed showed favourable attitudes toward unions, and that this was considered to be due to the fact that the union leader in that particular workplace was a highly respected Moslem. This implied that the apparent favourable attitude to unions found to exist among workers in that particular workplace, was not because the workers liked the principles of trade unionism, rather it was a mere reflection of the high regard the workers

had for the union leader as a person.

While describing the cultural attitudes of the Hausa earlier in Chapter Three, it was shown that he likes interpersonal relations. This is because he has very keen interest in face-to-face relations as long as the person he is dealing with is perceived by him to be trustworthy, and the trustworthiness of a person in the Hausa community is judged by his standing in Islamic religion. The Hausa likes to attend the meetings of his tribal organisations, because he goes there to meet his blood relations and those he has developed interpersonal relations with, whom he trusts and who do reciprocate the respect and trust towards him. Yesufu (1958) while explaining why the worker preferred his tribal organisations to trade unions argued that:

"In the tribal 'union'...the worker can speak and be spoken to in a language he understands well, against a background of customs and traditions which he comprehends. Those with whom he has to deal give him that due personal respect to which the African attaches so much importance. In one word, the worker feels that in the gathering of his tribal organisation, he truly 'belongs'. In the trade union meeting, on the other hand, matters are often discussed against an industrial and economic background which the worker hardly understands".

This favourable cultural attitude to interpersonal relations is considered to be responsible for the Hausa workers' inability to differentiate the trade union organisation from the personalities of the union officials themselves. So the seeming unfavourable attitude of the Hausa workers towards trade unions, which our results suggest, is likely to be a reflection of the poor interpersonal relations between the workers and the individual trade union officials and particularly the union stewards in those workplaces.

(ii) The Ibo workplaces

Table 18 shows that 65% (N=90) and 62% (N=156) of the workers interviewed in the two Ibo workplaces respectively, showed favourable attitude towards unions. Those workers gave reasons for liking unions, which were directed to the protection, job security and material benefits which they believed the union organisation secured for them. The reasons given by the 33% and 36% of workers interviewed in the two respective Ibo workplaces who said they did not like union, were mainly directed towards what they considered to be the inability of the union organisation and its officers to achieve the expected objectives. It is easy to see the marked difference between the reasons given by the Hausa workers and those given by the Ibo workers, regarding why they liked or did not like unions.

The Ibo is traditionally individualistic and as such is less interested in interpersonal relations than the Hausa, as the Ibo finds it difficult to trust another person fully. In as much as the Ibo likes individual achievement, he knows that in certain occasions he can achieve his individual objective more easily through collective action. The Ibo has a traditional saying which states thus: "Igwe bu ike", which means that a group has stronger power than an individual. The Ibo worker therefore, seems to feel that such stronger power is necessary in his endeavour to get the most material benefits from his wage employment, which he usually regards as a temporary engagement. With these cultural attitudes, when the Ibo worker joined a trade union he did so because of the personal benefits he hoped to gain through the collective actions of the union as a body, and not because of the personalities of the union officials. This also explains the finding that

when the Ibo worker had a complaint in the workplace, he did not like to speak to his steward rather he chose to take his problems straight to the union office. In his extensive study of Achievement Motivation in Nigerian tribal groups, Levin (1966) found that, compared with the Hausa and Fulani, the Ibo were clearly more achievement-orientated in the individualistic Western sense. Consequently, the general attitude of the Ibo workers to unions is broadly akin to that of workers in the Western societies.

One general factor which seems to have encouraged the Ibo workers' favourable attitude towards unions, is their greater commitment to wage employment, than the Hausa, which is likely to be the result of the Ibo traditional high desire to acquire wealth. Kerr et al (op. cit. p.177) described a committed worker as:

"one who stays on the job, and who has severed his major connections with the land. He is a permanent member of the industrial working force, receiving wages and being dependent for making a living on enterprise managements which offer him work and direct his activities at the workplace".

The above statement appropriately describes the circumstances of majority of the Ibo workers, because as pointed out by Uchendu (1965, p.31) in his anthropological study of the Ibo community:

"Farming, trading, local crafts, and livestock tenancy are no longer enough to maintain an adequate living standard for some Ibos. Many now seek wage labour. There is evidence that this is not a recent development, though the number of people involved has increased".

The above point is connected to the fact that as Uchendu's statement suggests, the Ibo worker, to use the Webbs' (1897) phrase, is rapidly passing "into the condition of life-long wage earner". There is, therefore a tendency for him to be

more attached psychologically to his work-based group organisations, than to his tribal organisations. The existence of these tribal 'unions' is known to have unfavourably affected workers' attitude to unions, because as found by Melson (1971) in his study of trade unions in PortHarcourt, Nigerian workers would usually express greater loyalty to tribal organisations than to trade unions, when the former was felt to be threatened. This affinity with tribal organisations was found to be due to the security and protection which such organisations provided their members with, as Yesufu (1958) explained:

"The worker's tribal organisation, or 'improvement' union in the town provides benefits in desperate cases, financially assists those who want to get married, pays the burial expenses of a deceased parent, makes a present on the occasion of the birth of a new babe, honours the worker elevated to a chieftaincy, and repatriates the destitute. Some tribal organisations award scholarships to the young educated worker or to the children of others. It is this that explains the seeming paradox that whereas the worker will not regularly subscribe to the funds of a trade union (apparently because he is too poor) he does pay regular subscriptions to the funds of his tribal 'union'; and the contributions are usually higher than those required by the trade union".

The reasons given by the Ibo workers, as to why they like unions seem to suggest that these unions have started to provide its members with similar services to the ones provided by the tribal organisations, with the resultant effect of a diversion of the Ibo workers' attention from the tribal organisation to the trade unions.

(iii) Assessment of Hypotheses I & II

Hypothesis I expresses the argument that there is a positive relationship between the difference in the cultural attitudes of the Hausa and the Ibo peoples towards the

acquisition of wealth, and the workers' attitude to unions. Although the figures on the density of unionisation in the two Hausa workplaces seem to contradict this hypothesis, the results of the attitude survey, which are supported by evidence from earlier studies, are consistent with the hypothesis. We have in discussion shown that the figures on the density of unionisation in the Hausa workplaces were most likely to have been greatly influenced by the coercive method adopted by the union officials in those workplaces in enlisting members. The results on the Ibo workplaces clearly support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis II posits that as a result of the cultural differences between the Hausa and the Ibo peoples in attitudes to interpersonal relations, the Hausa workers' attitude to unions will be largely influenced by his personal relationship with and/or regard for the union officials as individuals, whereas the Ibo worker's attitude to unions will be based on his support or lack of support for union objectives. This hypothesis is in no way challenged by our results, rather all our findings and the discussion presented are consistent with the hypothesis.

3. TRADE UNION OBJECTIVES

(a) Findings

Semi-structured interviews in the form of meetings were held in each of the four workplaces, with the workplace full-time officials. The meetings lasted for about three hours in each workplace. The questions put to the officials present at each meeting are in the interview schedule shown in Appendix VI, but the major questions were the following:

1. What are the objectives of your union in this

workplace which you as union officials are pursuing in terms of your present activities and future plans?

2. What demands have you made to management in the past five years?

3. What methods have you adopted in enforcing these demands and how effective have those methods been?

The purpose of this sort of meeting was to create a forum whereby the union officials could be talked to in a group in order to obtain collective responses to questions, which would give a truer picture of what each of the unions considered its domestic objectives to be.

One thing which happened in all the four workplaces, was that as soon as the Question No. 1 was put to the union officials, or in the course of discussion, one of them recited this statement: "To promote socialism and maintain the dignity of Labour", and they all burst out laughing. It came out from discussion that none of the union officials really understood the meanings of 'Socialism' and 'Dignity of Labour', and that it was during the one week orientation course they attended at the union Headquarters as soon as they were elected, that they were taught to regard that statement as their main objective. They then explained what their real objectives were, and the methods they adopted in enforcing their demands. These are shown on Tables 19 and 20 on the next two pages. During discussions on the questions, the Secretaries and branch Presidents tendered documentary evidence in the form of correspondences with management, in support of their statements.

TABLE 19
UNION OBJECTIVES

	HAUSA		IBO	
	1	2	3	4
1. To protect workers against intimidation by Managers	X	X	X	
2. To ensure job security for our members	X		X	X
3. To ensure that our members are fairly treated by Managers	X	X		
4. To make sure that Government salary and fringe benefit awards are reflected in our terms and conditions of employment without delay	X	X	X	X
5. To fight for better wages and salaries			X	X
6. To ensure that there is unity among our members because "United we stand, divided we fall"	X	X	X	
7. To ensure harmony between our members and their supervisors in their places of work	X	X		X
8. To watch the actions and policies of Management as to oppose them when necessary for the benefits of our members			X	X
9. To fight for the rights of our members			X	X
10. To strive for the improvement of our terms and conditions of employment	X	X	X	

NOTE: 'X' shows the particular workplaces in which the objectives were mentioned.

The above statements were not the exact expressions used by the union officials present at the meetings, as most of the discussion was done in pidgin English and sometimes mixed with Hausa or Ibo language. I had to present the meanings of the original statements in good English as stated above in order to make them intelligible to the reader. However great care was taken to ensure that the exact meaning of the original statements are retained in the ones above.

TABLE 20

UNION DEMANDS IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS
AND METHODS ADOPTED IN ENFORCING THEM

WORKPLACE 1 (Hausa)			WORKPLACE 2 (Hausa)			WORKPLACE 3 (Ibo)			WORKPLACE 4 (Ibo)		
Demand	N	Methods	Demand	N	Methods	Demand	N	Methods	Demand	N	Methods
D ₃	1	M ₁ M ₄	D ₃	2	M ₁ M ₅	D ₁	6	M ₁ M ₂ M ₄	D ₁	11	M ₂ M ₄
D ₆	3	M ₁	D ₇	1	M ₁	D ₂	3	M ₂ M ₅	D ₂	2	M ₁ M ₂ M ₅
D ₇	1	M ₁				D ₃	4	M ₁ M ₃ M ₄	D ₃	4	M ₄ M ₅
						D ₅	2	M ₁ M ₅	D ₄	1	M ₁ M ₄
									D ₅	2	M ₂ M ₃

NOTE:DEMANDS

- D₁: Reinstatement of suspended or dismissed members
D₂: Wages and salaries review
D₃: Implementation of Government salaries and fringe benefits awards
D₄: Vehicle advances
D₅: Protective clothing for workers
D₆: Improvement of canteen services
D₇: Provision of games facilities

METHODS

- M₁: Representations (Oral and/or written)
M₂: Complaints to Federal Ministry of Labour state offices and subsequent intervention by Labour Inspectors
M₃: Sit down strike
M₄: Assistance of officials from union Headquarters in Lagos
M₅: Slowing down of work-speed

SOURCE: Semi-structured interview of groups of union officials at the four workplaces; records from union files containing correspondences with Management, Labour office and union headquarters; interview of federal Labour Inspectors at the Labour offices in Kaduna and Owerri.

Table 21 below shows the situation in the four workplaces regarding worker protests on remuneration issues for the past five years counting from the time the field-work in those workplaces was conducted (i.e. 1975-1980). During this period, Nigeria was under a Military Government and there was a ban on strikes. The protests during 1975-1979, as explained by the union officials in those workplaces, took the form of large deputations of workers to management which disrupted work for periods lasting between two and four hours. They were not regarded officially as strikes for fear of contravening the statutory ban on strikes, but such deputations had the general effects of strikes although for a short period.

While commenting on the worker protests during this period, the managers in the Ibo workplaces explained that whenever the Federal Ministry of Establishment sent out circulars

TABLE 21
FREQUENCY OF WORKER PROTEST
ON REMUNERATION ISSUES

Period	Hausa		Ibo	
	1	2	3	4
Approximate yearly average for 1975-1979	0	1	3	3
Exact figures for the period between January and November 1980.	0	0	4	3

SOURCES: Structured interviews of managers and union officials in the workplaces; Minutes of union meetings and copies of correspondences between unions and management; Records of the Federal Ministry of Labour Offices at Owerri and Kaduna.

to all Ministries and other public establishments stating new allowances and other financial benefits to be given to the civil servants, their own workers would within a short time send in representations requesting for such allowances to be paid to them also. They also explained that during selection interviews in their workplaces, new Ibo employees normally insisted on bargaining for their rate of payment. If for any reason the new employee succeeded in getting a better rate than his counterparts already working in the workplaces, immediately the workers came to know of this, they would put up representation requesting for their own rates to be increased.

The managers in the Hausa workplaces on their own part, explained that worker protests for wage increases only took place in their workplaces, when the Federal Government revised the salaries of workers in the Public Service. Their workers would then regard the rate of wages and salaries in the Civil Service as minimums and put up representations for their own wages and salaries to be reviewed.

It was also found that workers in the Ibo workplaces resorted to the use of what Scott et al (1963) would call 'unofficial forms of conflict', whenever there was a feeling of discontent among workers as a result of management's new policies or rules which the workers were opposed to. The managers in the Ibo workplaces explained that any time there was disagreement between the unions and management, increases in rates of pilfering of finished textile products and raw materials, machine break-downs, absentism covered by procured Doctor's sick-off-duty certificates, sustaining of injuries in the factory, and all other forms of what one manager

described as 'workers tricks', were observed among workers. The trade union officials in these workplaces confirmed this, and explained that their workers did not generally like to undertake open industrial action as many of them feared to loose their jobs. So, the workers, in one union Official's words:

"have the right to express their unhappiness with management' actions in any form they feel will affect management. Otherwise management will not realise we are human beings".

(b) Discussion and examination of cultural influences.

The main purpose of investigating the objectives of the unions and the methods they adopt in pursuing the objectives at the workplaces, was to identify the specific ideologies of the unions, so as to establish the sort of unionism that existed in those workplaces. A union ideology is conceived here as a doctrinal statement or notion which a union adopts for the purpose of legitimating its actions, before its members and the wider society. Ideologies also have the effect of shaping and structuring union policies and actions on specific issues. Ideological statements are also used to evoke the absolute loyalty and commitment of union members, and create a group feeling which can provide a strong basis for collective action when found necessary. Generally, a set of original ideologies evolve with a union organisation, and these may vary with the situation and circumstances which prompted the formation of the union. Ideologies are the driving force behind union policies and activities. Where a union does not expressly have real doctrinal statements embodying their ideologies, as was the case of the unions in our four workplaces,

the union's ideologies can be deduced from its objectives, specific demands and the methods it adopts in enforcing those demands.

In examining the ideologies of the unions in our four workplaces, one thing that strikes one first is the general doctrinal statement - "To promote Socialism and maintain the dignity of Labour", which the officials in the Headquarters of this industrial union wished its branches in organisations to operate on. This statement was confirmed by the officials in the union Headquarters, when interviewed, to have been handed over to them by the National Union federation to which they were affiliated. It is therefore fairly certain that this ideological statement may have originated from the International Union Federation to which the National Federation was affiliated. As the unions in Nigeria did not develop originally on the basis of any fundamental ideologies of their own, as explained earlier in Chapter Four while reviewing the origins of trade unionism in Nigeria, it is reasonable to argue that the statements of ideology of the unions were imported through their affiliations with International Union organisations. The officials in the union Headquarters had therefore got a difficult task in their hands in making the imported ideologies operational in their branch unions, because as the branch union officials were found not to understand the meaning and full ramifications of the ideological statement, it meant that the statement would be almost unintelligible to the ordinary union members. In this matter of general ideology, no difference was observed between the Hausa and the Ibo workers.

The development of ideologies by groups in a society,

has certain connections with the nature of social stratification in that society. Hyman and Brough (1975, p.187) argue that "ideology typically reflects particular constellations of class interests", while Ellis (1969) suggests that there is some association between the attitudes of individual employees toward unionism and their perception of social class. Nigeria does not have a well-developed class structure. The word 'class' has no equivalent in any Nigerian language. Hill (1972, p.189) has pointed out in relation to the Hausa society, that "so far as mobility between economic groups is concerned, the system is sticky but not set, there being no 'peasant aristocracy', nor institutionally under-privileged group". The question of class in Africa generally, has been succinctly answered by Peil (1977, p.96) when she argued that:

"Anyone trying to answer the question 'Are there classes in Africa today?', is caught immediately in the problem of terminology... If the presence of classes means stable, unified and homogeneous groups of people conscious of their economic interests and working to promote them at the expense of other groups, the answer seems to be 'not yet'".

This absence of class consciousness among Nigerian workers is likely to be one of the factors militating against the development of a viable ideology by the unions.

The lately imported ideologies, such as the one the unions in our case study workplaces were expected to adopt, were formed on the basis of the Labour History and the social structure of foreign countries in both Eastern and Western World which are different from the Nigerian situation. It is therefore not surprising that these branch union officials simply greeted the ideological statement with loud laughter when one of them recited it. As argued by Fox (1971, pp.125-126), unions

have both universal and domestic ideologies. The position of the four workplaces regarding universal ideology is what we have just discussed above and found to be non-existent. We shall therefore now focus on the domestic ideologies of the unions in the four workplaces, which we intend to deduce from their objectives and the methods they adopt in enforcing their demands.

An examination of the nature of the professed statements of objectives of the unions in the four workplaces, which are stated on Table 19, and the methods they adopt in enforcing their demands as stated on Table 20, provide an insight into the specific pattern of the underlying domestic ideological differences between the unions in the workplaces. The statements of objective shown on Table 19 could be classified into two groups - those that directly involve 'confrontation' with management and those that focus on 'co-operation' with management. Objective 1,4,5,8, and 9 fall into the first group, while the remaining five, fall into the second group. I have not applied any specific formal technique in classifying the statements, rather I have merely applied straight-forward interpretation to the individual statements regarding the likely implications of pursuing the objectives. For example, objective 5 which states thus: "To fight for better wages and salaries" is interpreted as being likely to involve direct confrontation with management. On the other hand, objective 7 which states thus: "To ensure harmony between our members and their supervisors in their places of work", is interpreted to denote co-operation. Few of the statements fall in-between the two groups and in such case the particular statements have been put in the groups they tend to lean towards most. There could be other ways of grouping these

statements of objective, but it is considered that the method adopted here appropriately serves the purpose. This classification has been applied in analysing the objectives of the unions in the four workplaces and the results of the analysis are presented on Table 22 below. The results of the analysis show that greater percentage of the statements of objective mentioned by the Hausa unions - 71.4% and 66.7% respectively, were in the 'co-operation' group, whereas greater percentage of the ones by the Ibo unions - 62.5% and 57.1% respectively, were within the 'confrontation' group. These results are consistent with the findings on the methods the unions adopted in enforcing their demands which are presented on Table 20, in

TABLE 22

ANALYSIS OF UNION OBJECTIVES

	HAUSA		IBO	
	1	2	3	4
	N=7	N=6	N=8	N=7
	%	%	%	%
Confrontation	28.6 (2)	33.3 (2)	62.5 (5)	57.1 (4)
Co-operation	71.4 (5)	66.7 (4)	37.5 (3)	42.9 (3)

NOTE: 'N' means the total number of objectives that were mentioned in individual workplace.

The figures in brackets are the number of objectives under each of the two categories.

'%' is the percentage which the number of objectives in each group, is of the total objectives mentioned in the individual workplace .

that as the Hausa unions favoured the use of oral representations to management on industrial relations issues, the Ibo workplaces easily sought the assistance of third-parties such as the Labour Inspectors of the Federal Ministry of Labour, and union headquarters full-time officials; and also applied other direct confrontational methods like 'Go slow' and what the union officials in those workplaces called 'Sit down strike'.¹ The results are consistent with the findings on the frequency of worker protests on remuneration issues shown on Table 21. These results clearly suggest that the unions in the Ibo workplaces were more militant than the Hausa ones.

In considering what would likely be the origin of this difference in the sort of unions that exist in the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, it would be useful to examine the available research evidence on the likely causes of militancy among unions in relation to demands for pay increases. One such study is the one carried out by Behrend (1974) in Scottish firms, in which she examined the impact of inflation on conceptions of earning. She concluded that the workers she studied, through a process of experience-based learning, had developed expectations in themselves that pay increase will be received at regular intervals. This is the expectation that:

"every present pay increase will be followed after a specified or customary interval..... by a future pay increase, and that this will happen as a matter of right, not of work contribution, and a right which seems to have assumed the property of a regular entitlement. It would appear that the effects of this learning process cannot easily be changed or reversed" (ibid. p.5).

1. 'Sit down strike' was described as a situation where workers individually sat down in their places of work but refused to do any work.

Behrend went on to argue that some evidence suggest that the expectations regarding the amount of the next and future pay increases are also the result of an experience-based learning process in which three inter-related factors wield particular important influences. These factors, as she explained are, size of past pay increases, the expected protection against increases in the cost of living, and the application of pay increase constraints. This means that the worker's expectations are shaped by his own occupational experience of the amounts of past pay rises arrived at in settlement, which have themselves been influenced among other factors, by rising prices or pay constraints. But Behrend later, in the same paper, emphasized that the cost of living is by far the most frequently used reference frame by workers, and that the size of the last increase was not taken as a straightforward reference frame, but rather as an indicator of how far it has helped the individual to deal with the rising cost of living (ibid. p.6).

In examining the causes of his 'Wildcat Strike', Gouldner (1955) did not consider the cost of living as the main cause of workers' demand for increase in wages, because as he argued:

"a wage demand also stems from other sources; here it was, among other things, a convenient way of expressing aggression derived from changes made in the plant's internal social organisation... Seen in the developing context of events, it seems clear that the wage issue here did not initiate the cleavage between workers and management, but on the contrary, the growing conflict precipitated the wage issue and, ofcourse, was further reinforced by it" (pp.30 & 32).

Gouldner's argument above suggests that some wage claims may have nothing to do with rises in cost of living or anything of the sort mentioned by Behrend as stated earlier. They

could be mere expressions of aggression towards management, based on other matters. We can now examine the likely cause of the greater militancy of the unions in the Ibo workplaces than those in the Hausa workplaces, in the light of the explanations offered by the two authors mentioned above.

The four workplaces, being located within one national context, could be argued to be similarly affected by the prevailing rate of inflation in the country. Table 23 below presents Government statistics which indicate the spread of living costs in three relevant cities in Nigeria. Lagos is the capital city. The two Hausa textile factories involved in our study were all located at Kaduna, while the two Ibo factories were located at Aba and Asaba, each of which is about 60 miles from Owerri. As shown by the figures on the Table, there are not great differences between costs of living

TABLE 23
COST OF LIVING INDICES IN THREE
NIGERIAN CITIES

	LAGOS		KADUNA		OWERRI	
	Food	All item	Food	All item	Food	All item
January 1970	158	147	141	136	145	140
June 1970	166	154	164	150	165	160
January 1971	186	165	153	147	160	153
March 1971	191	168	165	155	154	152
April 1971	193	169	171	159	169	160
Difference	35	22	30	23	24	20

NOTE: 1960 equals 100

Difference means the points difference from January 1970 to April 1971.

SOURCE: Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

in Kaduna and Owerri. If anything, the figures even suggest a slightly higher living costs in Kaduna than in Owerri. This suggests therefore, that rise in cost of living as Behrend (op. cit.) seemed to suggest, cannot be an appropriate explanation for the higher frequency of worker protests for wage increases in the Ibo than in the Hausa workplaces.

If one applies Gouldner's explanation to the situation, one will then have to consider each particular worker protest and its consequent wage rise, separately. This sort of consideration, will require a more detailed empirical research than the one done in our case studies, on each issue. But if one considers the fact that from the available data as shown on Table 21, a pattern can be observed, which suggests a similarity in whatever are the causes of the worker protests in the two Ibo workplaces. The question seems to be, why is it that those factors which make unions in the two Ibo workplaces to demand increases in wages more frequently than the Hausa, do not seem to exist in the Hausa workplaces, considering that the four workplaces have similar technology, are approximately of the same size, are in the same product and labour markets, and are under the influence of the same political, legal and general macro-economic systems? One can only look for the answer to this question, in the only aspect in which the circumstances that affect the attitudes and behaviours of the workers at these workplaces differ, and that is the expectations of the workers and the members of management team in those workplaces, which are to a large extent influenced by the different cultural attitudes and customary practices of the Hausa and the Ibo societies.

The differences in the traditional orientation to financial rewards is of particular relevance here. It was observed as explained earlier, that at the selection interview, the Ibo candidate would want to bargain individually on rates of pay. If the candidate succeeded in getting a higher rate than the existing workers, perhaps on the basis of the candidate's special skills, this would lead to the existing workers protesting and requesting for increases in their own rates. The traditional orientation of the Ibo worker to financial reward corresponds broadly to that type of instrumental orientation to work, which Goldthorpe et al (1968) described as being for 'deferred gratification'¹, because as pointed out by Peace (1977) in his study of 'Industrial Protest in Nigeria':

"The shopfloor worker, with little chance of promotion to highly skilled or supervisory work on high wages, sees such employment as a means to accumulating sufficient capital for the critical transition to the role of entrepreneur" (p.144),

because, as he went on to argue:

"It is the successful independent man, not the industrial manager or civil servant, alongside whom the wage-earner lives and establishes interpersonal relationships, who is the key reference point in the cognitive map of the industrial employee, and is the one with whom he can most clearly identify" (p.145).

The Ibo worker therefore, seems to be in a hurry to accumulate as much financial reward as possible to enable him leave the industrial workplace to set up his own business early in his

1. Goldthorpe et al (op. cit.) argued that some workers have an instrumental orientation to work in order to obtain financial benefits for immediate satisfaction of their needs, whereas others have an instrumental orientation to work to obtain financial reward for future accomplishment of their life plans. This second category they described as being for 'deferred gratification'.

life. Moreover, he is conscious of the fact that the sort of social recognition he is given by his Ibo community, depends on how rich he proves himself to be in the estimation of his community members, as the Ibo enjoys being referred to as a 'Big Man', which in Ibo society means a rich man.

Such orientation to work is not found among the Hausa workers, rather his orientation to financial reward is merely for immediate satisfaction of his needs, as his religion teaches him to believe that he should not bother for tomorrow, because tomorrow would provide for itself. The traditional attitude of the Hausa towards wealth and material benefits, has been stated earlier in Chapter Three to be that of little care, as his Islam religion urges him to believe that to be rich requires predestination by Allah (Moslem God) and not through his personal struggles. He is conscious of the fact that the recognition he gets from members of his community does not depend on his riches but on how religious he has been noted to be. Moreover the somewhat religiously-based diffuse relationship between him and the managers and Directors (who are predestined to be rich), make it possible for him to meet up his financial needs any time he is in difficulty, by simply approaching the rich ones for help, which is normally readily available. These circumstances help to reduce, if not remove from the mind of the Hausa worker, any thoughts of undertaking protests for wage increases. This Hausa traditional belief that every position one finds one's self is predestined, is related to their traditional high regard for people in authority, as those in authority are perceived as being divinely put in that position, and as such should be given absolute loyalty. These religiously-based beliefs of the Hausa, make

it difficult for Hausa unions to embark on confrontational policies while handling industrial relations matters.

The Ibo are different, as they traditionally do not give much special regard to persons in authority as the Hausa do. The Ibo traditional saying "Igbo enwe eze" which literally means that the Ibo do not recognise kings, shows that the Ibo regards himself as being equal to everyone else. So, the Ibo traditional attitude to authority as explained above, coupled with his high instrumental orientation to wage employment, largely explains why the unions in the Ibo workplaces were found to be more militant than the ones in the Hausa workplaces.

(c) Assessment of hypotheses III & IV

Hypothesis III posits that because of the Hausa high regard for persons in authority and low desire for the acquisition of wealth; and the Ibo less regard for authority and high desire to acquire wealth, the Ibo unions will tend to be more militant than the Hausa ones. Our results on the objectives of the unions, the methods they adopt in enforcing their demands and the frequency of worker protests for wage increases in the four workplaces, strongly suggest that the unions in the Ibo workplaces were more militant than the one in the Hausa workplaces. Evidence presented in the discussion suggest that the greater militancy of the Ibo unions than the Hausa ones, was largely based on the differences in the expectations of the Hausa and the Ibo workers, which are rooted in their culturally-based attitudes to the acquisition of wealth and regard for authority. These findings are consistent with the hypothesis.

Hypothesis IV on the other hand, presents the argument that because the Ibo is less interested in interpersonal relationships than the Hausa, the Ibo unions will be more likely than the Hausa ones to favour the use of third-parties in enforcing their demands or in settling disagreements with management generally. Our findings on the methods adopted by the unions in enforcing demands, which are presented on Table 20, are consistent with this hypothesis, as the findings show that the unions in the two Ibo workplaces sought for the assistance of Labour Inspectors from the Federal Ministry of Labour and the union Headquarters full-time officials, more frequently than the ones in the two Hausa workplaces.

4. CONCLUSION

One question which was examined in this chapter was whether any difference existed in the attitudes of workers to trade unions between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, and the extent to which the differences were due to the differences in the cultural characteristics of the Hausa and the Ibo societies. On the basis of the findings and the discussion presented in this chapter, we can conclude that significant differences existed between the Hausa and the Ibo workers' attitudes to unions. Hausa workers tended not to be favourably disposed towards unions on the ground that the main objective of unions, as perceived by the workers, was to secure increased material benefits for workers, and the Hausa traditionally do not attach much importance to wealth or any other form of material benefits. Any favourable feelings the Hausa might have towards unions was likely to be largely based on his personal relationship and regard for the union officials as individuals,

because of his traditional interest in maintaining warm interpersonal relationships with people. The Ibo, on the other hand, has high desire for the acquisition of wealth, and to achieve this at the workplace, the Ibo worker tended to support unions. Moreover, as the Ibo is largely individualistic, his attitude to unions was not likely to be influenced by his personal relationship or regard for the union officials as individuals, but was based on his support or lack of support for the union objectives and activities at the workplace.

Another question was whether there was difference between the sort of union that existed in the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, in terms of their objectives and the methods they adopted in pursuing the objectives, and whether such difference was due to cultural differences. Again our findings suggest that although the unions in the four workplaces belonged to one industrial union, they differed greatly in their domestic objectives and in the methods they adopted in pursuing those objectives at the workplaces. The Ibo unions were more militant than the Hausa unions. The greater militancy of the Ibo unions was considered to be based on the differences in the expectations of the Hausa and the Ibo workers which were rooted in the traditional Hausa attitude of less care for the acquisition of wealth and high regard for authority, and the Ibo traditional high desire for wealth and less regard for authority. The Ibo unions resorted to seeking for the assistance of third-parties in settling disagreements with management, more frequently than the Hausa ones, and this was considered to be due to the cultural difference in their attitudes to interpersonal relations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MANAGEMENT INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS POLICIES AT THE WORKPLACE

Introduction

In the last chapter we examined one of the two actors on the workplace industrial relations arena - the unions, focusing particularly on workers' general attitudes to unions and the sort of unionism that existed in each of the four workplaces, as could be deduced from the objectives of the unions and the methods adopted in pursuing those objectives. In the present chapter we intend to look at the other actor - management. The question to be examined here therefore, is: Are there differences between type of managerial industrial relations policies that exist in the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, and if there are, to what extent are the differences due to differences in the cultural characteristics between the Hausa and the Ibo societies?

We shall first review Fox' (1966 and 1977)¹ typology of managerial 'frames of reference', and argue that as the assumptions underlying them are somewhat illusive, the unitary and the pluralist frames of reference, do not provide an objectively useful basis for the analysis of managerial actions on industrial relations issues. An alternative analytical framework which focuses on the industrial relations policies of

1. Fox developed the concept of 'frames of reference' in his research paper for the Donovan Commission in 1966. He expanded his arguments in his later work entitled 'Beyond Contract: Work, Power and Trust Relations' (1974) Chap. 6.

management will be suggested. A hypothesis based on the suggested framework, generated to be used in examining the question being dealt with in this chapter will be stated. The findings from the empirical investigation will be stated, discussed and then conclusions will be drawn on the question being examined.

1. FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF MANAGEMENT ACTIONS ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ISSUES.

(i) Unitary and Pluralist frames of reference

The main attempt at producing a framework for the analysis of managerial actions on industrial relations issues, is the one made by Fox (1966). In explaining his original concept of 'frame of reference', Fox made reference to the work of Thelen and Whitehall in which they stated that everyone:

"perceives and interpretes events by means of a conceptual structure of generalisations or contexts, postulations about what is essential, assumptions as to what is valuable, attitudes about what will work effectively. This conceptual structure constitutes the frame of reference of that person".

He then outlined two frames of reference - unitary and pluralist. These are generally known now as managerial ideologies (Hyman: 1978, Jackson: 1978).

Fox argues that with the unitary ideology, the industrial organisation is regarded as being analogous to a team in which:

"each accepts his place and his function gladly, following the leadership of the one appointed. There are no oppositionary groups or factions, and therefore no rival leaders within the team. Nor are there any outside it; the team stands alone, its members giving allegiance to their own leaders but to no others" (1966, p.3)

The pluralist ideology, on the other hand, regards the enterprise as being made up of persons with variety of interests, goals and aspirations, who consequently owe allegiance to different interest groups and authorities. Conflict is therefore not abnormal but largely expected. Ross (1958) had earlier made a suggestion towards the introduction of the doctrine of 'pluralism' to Industrial Relations study, when he argued that what was needed was "a theoretical approach to management which treats the firm as a plural society rather than as the organic unity which most theorists appear hitherto to have represented it to be". This was owing to the fact that, as he went on to argue:

"The problem of government in a plural society is not to unify, integrate or liquidate sectional groups and their special interests in the name of some over-riding corporate existence, but to control and balance the activities of constituent groups so as to provide for action for sectional and group purposes consistent with the general interest of the society as conceived, with the support of public opinion, by those responsible for its government" (ibid. pp.101-102).

These two types of managerial ideology have received a great deal of comments and criticisms, particularly the pluralist ideology. Most of the comments and criticisms, among which include the ones made by Clegg (1975), Gouldner (1971) and Hyman (1978), are so well known that they need no further review here. But one question which no one has as yet examined is: How well do the assumptions underlying the meanings attached to the unitary and pluralist ideologies, match the basis of relations between the parties in the workplace? We now intend to deal with this question briefly here.

The unitary ideology, as explained earlier, looks at the organisation as a team with one-way flow of authority, loyalty

and allegiance; all members focusing absolutely towards one objective. One can deduce the obvious meanings attached to them. One probable assumption is that there are no parties in an organisation, rather there is a 'people', and this is why there is only one flow of authority, loyalty and allegiance. There is also the assumption that all the members of an organisation are aware of all the circumstances of the organisation and perceive the achievement of the 'one' objective, as fully beneficial to them as a team and also as individuals in some pre-determined way, which equitably satisfies the individual's purpose for joining the organisation. A reflection on the situation of industrial relations in modern capitalist countries will show that it is sheer utopia to postulate such assumptions as a true description of reality. Although, it has sometimes been suggested that the unitary ideology could exist in small scale enterprises, if such suggestion is accepted, it becomes difficult to explain the root of conflict or disagreements which do exist in such organisations, as disagreements however trivial, are evidence of differences in objectives and values between workers and management.

It is amazing to find that in Industrial Relations literature, academics seem to have been more interested in focusing their criticisms on the pluralist ideology than on the unitary ideology. Fox (1973, pp.228-229) himself, seem to have realised later that the unitary 'frame of reference' as he called it, does not provide a true picture of the situation in the workplace, when he appeared to be pleading that the pluralist ideology should not be totally rejected, since in his opinion, it provided a better picture of the workplace, than the unitary ideology. On the whole, the stand of Kahn-Freund (1977) in

the whole debate is considered here as the most acceptable one, as he argued that:

"Whatever the source of this 'unitary' approach to labour relations, and whatever the use to which it is put in practice, it should be firmly rejected. The conflict between capital and labour is inherent in an industrial society and therefore in the labour relationship. Conflicts of interest are inevitable in all societies. There are rules for their adjustment; there can be no rules for their elimination" (ibid. p.17).

The term 'pluralism' is used in Philosophy as the opposite of 'monism' - a term which conveys a theory that there is really only one fundamental kind of thing in the universe, whether it be material as in 'materialism', mental as in 'idealism', or abstract as in 'platonic realism' (Quinton: 1977). Pluralism as the opposite of monism is then used to convey the idea that there are different kinds of everything. In Political Science, 'pluralism' is used to denote any situation in which no particular political, ideological, cultural or ethnic group is dominant. Such a situation normally involves competition between rival elites or interest groups (Dahl: 1966, Miliband: 1969). Fox (op. cit.) probably adopted this meaning when he described the workplace as pluralistic. He may therefore have assumed that the political interests and environments of a person are similar to his interests and environments in the workplace, and the power of worker collectivities may have been assumed to equal that of the employer or management. One danger in such politically based assumptions is that they are likely to make one forget that political situation is quite different from employment situation, because as pointed out by Kahn-Freund (op. cit. p.7):

"there can be no employment relationship without a power to command and a duty to obey... However, the power to command and the duty to obey can be

regulated. An element of co-ordination can be infused into the employment relationship.... but however strong the element of co-ordination a residuum of command power will and must remain".

It is this inevitable existence in the workplace, of the power to command and the duty to obey, among other points, that makes the application of the concept of 'pluralism' in the analysis of industrial relations problems inappropriate.

One practical implication of Fox' typology of managerial ideologies is that many managers in Britain, Jackson (op. cit. p.29) reports, accept the unitary ideology more readily than they do with the pluralist ideology, as expected, because as Fox points out, the unitary ideology is "a useful instrument of persuasion and can serve to confer legitimacy on management's actions". The unions on the other hand, find the pluralist ideology more plausible and would therefore want management to adopt such ideology in the management of industrial relations in organisations. Fox' (1973) arguments suggest that he may originally have intended the pluralist ideology to be accepted by managers instead of the unitary one, because, as he argues, apart from the fact that the pluralist ideology gives a truer picture of the workplace, its acceptance by managers will offer a practical way of working for piecemeal change of attitude towards conflict, thereby resulting in more cordial relationship between managers and workers. But unfortunately, this aim does not seem to materialise in British industrial relations.

This Fox' work has also resulted, as observed by Hyman (op. cit. p.22) in some Oxford academics such as Clegg, Flanders and Fox himself, being labelled 'pluralists'. Fortunately no one has as yet been labelled a unitarist Industrial

Relations academic. The consequent practice of attaching any of the ideologies to a manager or an academic, has the effect of creating a mental set both in the manager or the academic, and in those who are in a position to perceive and evaluate the policies, work or activities of that manager or academic, towards them. A manager who accepts a unitary ideology for example, will tend to design all his policies in conformity to that ideology, even in circumstances where such policies are impracticable. And where workers have labelled a manager to be a unitarist, even if the manager in certain matters pursues policies more related to the pluralist ideology, the original opinion which workers have about the manager is likely to affect their interpretation of the manager's actions. This is because, whatever ideology a person has, tend to draw sympathy and strength from his ideals, beliefs, passions, values, political philosophies and moral justifications, and people who have identified that person with the particular ideology, will always be likely to perceive and interpret his actions in the light of the ideology (Plamenatz: 1970; Lichtheim: 1967). It is therefore more useful while analysing management's industrial relations actions to focus not on ideologies but on identifiable policies.

(ii) The alternative framework

Management industrial relations policies are statements or understandings which establish a framework of norms on specific aspects of relations with workers, to which every day actions and practices on industrial relations matters are supposed to conform (Cutbert and Hawkins: 1973). Policy is a practical concept while ideology is a mental construct

based on beliefs and values. Consequently, ideology is much more personal than policy. Change in policy is more easily noticeable than change in a professed ideology. There is undoubtedly a connection between policy and ideology, as policy could be regarded as the manifest off-spring of ideology. But the difficulty involved in describing an ideology as acknowledged by Fox (1974, p.260) and Clegg (1975, p.312), renders the attempt at categorising management ideologies unnecessary. It is therefore easier and much more objective to analyse management's actions on the basis of its policies which are identifiable, than basing on ideology which is much more difficult to identify unless inferred from the policies themselves.

For analytical purposes, a management industrial relations policy on a matter, could be described as either 'paternalistic' or 'collaborative'. These two words are not regarded here as opposites but as alternative ways of describing the general effects of different industrial relations policies. The Pan English Dictionary (1980) describes 'paternalism' as:

"the principle of treating those over whom one has control in the same way that a father treats his children".

Paternalistic policies therefore, reflect this principle. Such policies elicit from workers, a feeling of belonging towards the organisation. The policies aim at developing in the workers a sincere and active endeavour to establish friendly relations with fellow workers and members of management team. Paternalistic policies do not positively encourage the existence of unions, because the responsibility for making rules are exclusively vested in management, to whom workers are expected to give absolute loyalty as children are assumed to

give their father, but because trade unionism has become a fact of life in modern industrial workplaces, their existence is simply accommodated, and not regarded as an opposition to management.

Collaborative policies, on the other hand, are aimed at making workers perceive their relationship with management as that of partnership. The organisation where such policies operate predominantly, could be said to apply what Thomason (1978) has called 'participative systems' which he argues are:

"founded upon mutually shared control, possibly because the subordinate workers in the system have sought to establish an 'equality' with the superordinate management through independent organisation...but whatever the means, the end sought is that in which Jack is as good as his master and of equal status with him"
(ibid. pp.309-310).

Such policies encourage the existence of unions, and the design of procedures whereby both parties participate in the making of rules on matters of mutual interest.

2. HYPOTHESIS AND FINDINGS

In Chapter Three, while describing the cultural characteristics and customary practices of the Hausa and the Ibo, it was shown that the Hausa regards his subordinates as his followers and cares for them as such, whereas the Ibo, although he likes to assert his authority on his subordinates, regards them as his partners. In examining the question regarding the differences in managerial industrial relations policies between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, as stated at the beginning of this chapter, the following hypothesis which is based on the analytical framework described above, is applied:

V Because of the cultural differences in attitudes to subordinates between the Hausa and the Ibo societies, the managements in the Hausa workplaces will tend towards paternalistic policies, whereas the ones in the Ibo workplaces will adopt more of collaborative policies in their handling of industrial relations matters.

A schedule of statements which describe likely management policies on industrial relations was given to all managerial and professional staff in the four workplaces. They were asked to tick one out of the three choices of answers - 'always', 'sometimes' and 'never', on each of the statements, which described the true position of management in their organisation, as could be deduced from recent managerial actions and decisions on related matters. It could have been simpler here to carry out a content-analysis of the exact documentary official statements of policies of the four workplaces for purposes of categorisation into the two types of policies explained earlier, but two circumstances made this approach unadvisable. One of them was that documents containing specific statements of policy on industrial relations issues could not be obtained from all the workplaces; the only official policy statements that were found in the Works Rule Books were considered to be mere ideological means of persuasion adopted by management to elicit obedience and co-operation from workers. For example, a statement included under the heading of 'Company Policies on Industrial Relations' in the Works Rule Books given to workers in Workplace 2 read thus:

"Your job whether big or small, is an essential part of the whole organisation and at all times

is important to 'A' Textile Ltd, and regarded as such by the Board and the management.

The advancement of the employees and indeed their livelihood depend on the success of 'A' Textiles Ltd. 'A' Textiles must look to its employees to manifest loyalty and devotion and to maintain a high standard of capability and hard work. 'A' Textiles in turn is concerned with the well-being and security of all its employees".

Secondly, even if specific official statements of policies were available from these workplaces, it would still have been inappropriate to depend solely on the official statements of policy, because it was possible for what might be presented as the official statements of policy of a company to be mere window dressing, having little or no relationship with real managerial actions on industrial relations issues. For these reasons it was decided to adopt our present method of involving all managerial and professional staff in the workplaces and obtaining general descriptions of the approaches adopted by them in dealing with industrial relations issues.

The information obtained from the managers and the professional staff in the four workplaces are presented on Table 24 on the next two pages. The Table therefore, contains the aggregated observations and impressions of members of management team of what could be regarded as the 'Collective Management Approach' to industrial relations issues in those workplaces. The statements marked P₁ to P₇ under the 'Group' column, are taken to describe paternalistic policies, while the ones marked C₁ to C₇ describe collaborative policies. The grouping of each of the statements was done by relating the ordinary meanings of the statements to the descriptions of 'paternalistic' and 'collaborative' policies given earlier. The results of the analysis of the managers' responses on the

TABLE 24

DESCRIPTIONS OF MANAGEMENT INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS POLICIES

Group	HAUSA										IBO									
	1					2					3					4				
	a	s	n	a	n	a	s	n	a	n	a	s	n	a	n	a	s	n	a	n
1. The organisation is regarded as a family and workers are therefore treated as members of a family.	27	5	1	24	2	24	11	2	4	16	6	10	4	5	28	15	N=63 R=48			
2. Management prefers to deal with workers individually than as a group.	20	10	3	28	4	28	5	4	3	13	10	4	19	25						
3. Workers are encouraged to make constructive suggestions for the improvement of production methods and working conditions.	2	10	21	3	15	3	19	15	16	2	8	2	32	13	3					
4. Management expects absolute loyalty from workers.	31	1	1	25	2	25	10	2	1	13	12	13	5	16	27					
5. Workers are encouraged by Management to join unions.	6	8	19	9	15	9	13	15	23	1	2	1	35	8	5					
6. Management regards rule-making as its exclusive prerogative, but gives due consideration to workers' interests.	25	6	2	26	3	26	8	3	4	12	10	12	8	11	29					
7. Management does not care whether workers regard themselves as belonging to the company as a family, as long as they work hard enough for their wages.	4	9	20	4	21	4	12	21	20	2	4	2	39	6	3					

(continued on next page)

(TABLE 24 CONTINUES)

8. Management encourages Joint Consultation to enable workers to have the opportunity of meeting and speaking with Management on matters of mutual interest.	C ₄	9	18	6	19	16	2	16	7	3	33	14	1
9. The existence of unions in the workplace is generally regarded by Management as being unnecessary.	P ₅	23	7	3	26	9	2	3	8	15	2	6	40
10. Workers are encouraged as much as possible to participate in making decisions in the workplace, on matters where their expertise and experience are of advantage.	C ₅	3	11	19	4	10	23	10	15	1	28	15	5
11. Management recognises that workers' objectives may differ from the company's on some issues.	C ₆	1	9	23	1	11	25	10	10	6	23	19	6
12. Management expects everyone in the company to work together towards the achievement of company objectives.	P ₆	29	3	1	30	4	3	7	17	2	14	30	4
13. Management recognises the inevitability of disagreements with workers on some issues.	C ₇	5	7	21	7	10	20	18	6	2	31	10	7
14. Management seeks to develop in the workers a sincere and active endeavour to co-operate and establish friendly relations with fellow workers and members of Management team.	P ₇	23	8	2	20	15	2	5	11	10	10	9	29

NOTE: N - Number of all managers and professional staff in the organisations, each of whom one schedule of statements was issued.

R - Number of all returned schedules that were consistently completed. Some statements were deliberately included in the schedule, to be used in checking consistency in respondents' answers. For example a respondent who ticked 'always' on statements 5 and 9, would be considered inconsistent. Such inconsistencies completed schedules were 3, 1, and 1 in work-places 4, 3, and 1 respectively, and were not considered.

a - means 'always'

s - means 'sometimes'

n - means 'never'

SOURCE: Schedule of statements completed by managers and professional staff in the four work-places.

on the statements, are presented on Table 25 on the next page. Considering only the answers in the 'always' and the 'never' columns on Table 25, the results suggest that the Hausa organisations were high on paternalistic policies (77% and 69% respectively) but low on collaborative policies (13% and 18% respectively), whereas the Ibo organisations were high on collaborative policies (62% and 66% respectively) but low on paternalistic ones (15% and 14% respectively).

3. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND EXAMINATION OF CULTURAL INFLUENCES

The results presented above indicate strongly that the managements in the two Hausa workplaces adopted more of paternalistic policies while the ones in the Ibo workplaces adopted more of collaborative policies. In thinking of the roots of the paternalistic policies of the Hausa managements and the collaborative policies of the Ibo ones, it is considered useful to examine historically how the traditional Hausa and the Ibo communities governed themselves, and the relationships between the ruler and the ruled in those communities, as it is possible to see a connection between the method of government adopted in these communities traditionally and the type of policies adopted in dealing with industrial relations issues.

Sokolski (1965, p.16) commenting on how the traditional Hausa community existed up to the early part of the 20th century stated:

"The cultural and linguistic group known as the Hausa, hamitic and negro in origin, has populated the land for at least a millenium,a group of seven pagan kingdoms, these people were, overlain and more or less, unified by Islam".

TABLE 25

(a) ANALYSIS OF MANAGEMENT PATERNALISTIC POLICIES

	HAUSA						IBO					
	1			2			3			4		
	a	s	n	a	s	n	a	s	n	a	s	n
P ₁	27	5	1	24	11	2	4	6	16	5	28	15
P ₂	20	10	3	28	5	4	3	10	13	4	19	25
P ₃	31	1	1	25	10	2	1	12	13	5	16	27
P ₄	25	6	2	26	8	3	4	10	12	8	11	29
P ₅	23	7	3	26	9	2	3	8	15	2	6	40
P ₆	29	3	1	30	4	3	7	17	2	14	30	4
P ₇	23	8	2	20	15	2	5	11	10	10	9	29
Totals	178	40	13	179	62	18	27	74	81	48	119	169
Percentages	77	17	6	69	24	7	15	40	45	14	36	50

(b) ANALYSIS OF MANAGEMENT COLLABORATIVE POLICIES

	HAUSA						IBO					
	1			2			3			4		
	a	s	n	a	s	n	a	s	n	a	s	n
C ₁	2	10	21	3	19	15	16	8	2	32	13	3
C ₂	6	8	19	9	13	15	23	2	1	35	8	5
C ₃	4	9	20	4	12	21	20	4	2	39	6	3
C ₄	9	18	6	19	16	2	16	7	3	33	14	1
C ₅	3	11	19	4	10	23	10	15	1	28	15	5
C ₆	1	9	23	1	11	25	10	10	6	23	19	6
C ₇	5	7	21	7	10	20	18	6	2	31	10	7
Totals	30	72	129	47	91	121	113	52	17	221	85	30
Percentages	13	31	56	18	35	47	62	29	9	66	25	9

The Hausa governed themselves in small kingdoms but unified by their common Islam religion. The relationship between the kings, whom they called the 'Emirs', and their subjects, was largely defined by Islamic religious teachings, which hold that 'Allah' (God) is the father of all persons and the Emirs are ordained by Allah to protect and look after His people (Burns: 1955; Ali (ed): 1975). When the Hausa area of Nigeria was taken over by Britain as the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in January 1900, Sir Frederick Lugard acting as the first High Commissioner of the Protectorate, showed a great regard for this traditional Hausa system of governing themselves, and instituted what was known as 'Indirect Rule', by which Britain governed the area through the traditional rulers, thereby encouraging the continuation of the traditional system of government (Smith: 1960, pp.249-250). The fatherly position of leaders in the Hausa community still persists up to the present time, and is to a large extent carried over to the workplace. For example, the casual money-handouts from the Senior managers and Directors to workers observed in the Hausa workplaces, as will be discussed in Chapter Nine later, was a practice based mainly on this perceived fatherly position of the leaders and kings, which obtained in the Hausa wider traditional society.

The Ibo, on the other hand, has a different traditional system of government. Uchendu (1965) while discussing the Ibo traditional way of governing themselves, stated that:

"At the village level of government...the accepted practice is a direct democracy, a system which has survived the British contact. At the village-group level, a representative system is adopted; equality among the associating villages is maintained through the principle of equal 'sharing of kola' and equal contribution of material resources needed for

the survival of the group. The varying internal segmentation of each village does not change the principle of equality among the village-group. Each village is autonomous and 'sovereign' in most matters affecting it. What may modify this sovereignty is the 'charter', the myth from which the village-group derives its solidarity. The village is further segmented into a number of lineages and each lineage into major and minor sublineages" (p.39).

The three emphatic words in Uchendu's statement above, are 'equality', 'democracy' and 'autonomy'. These words highlight the main features of the traditional Ibo system of government. Every person regarded himself as equal to everyone else, and as such, everyone sought to participate in making rules that regulated the affairs of the community. The situation was such that when Britain took over the Ibo area as a Protectorate, the British Administrators could not understand the system, as it appeared to them as if there was no system at all. Uchendu put it this way:

"The British Administrators, which took over control of Iboland in the first decade of this century, did not understand the traditional political institutions of the people. Failing to find powerful chiefs who wielded influence over a large territory, as were found in the northern and western parts of Nigeria, they naively concluded that the Ibo were living in 'ordered anarchy'. Without considering its implications, they imposed a system of direct administration on the Ibo" (ibid. p.46).

One might expect that the contact with foreign cultures, especially during the period of colonisation, might have affected the Hausa and the Ibo traditional expectations of leadership roles and the relationship between the ruler and his subjects, but anthropological evidence suggest that the effects of such culture contact was not significant. This was because in the case of the Hausa community, as their general way of life and the way their social affairs were

organised were largely prescribed by the principles of Islam religion, changes in such traditional practices were difficult owing to the strong religious backing (Hill: 1972). The Ibo situation was also similar in this regard, because as found by Uchendu in his anthropological study of the Ibo community, the 'Euro-Ibo' culture contact, as he called it:

"has not greatly disturbed the continuity of social patterns and cultural transmission among the Ibo. Socialisation of children is still shared by the village and the city and interaction in many city affairs is based on kinship cues" (op. cit. p.104).

Ottenberg (1962, p.142) had earlier made a similar observation when he paradoxically stated that "of all Nigerian peoples, the Ibo have probably changed the least while changing the most", by which he meant, as he went on to argue, that the nature of culture-contact which the Ibo had with the early Europeans, made it possible for them to accept certain innovations, modify certain elements of their social, religious and economic structures in order to accommodate the changes, but largely retained their basic social patterns of living, such as achievement-orientation, long term goals, hatred of autocracy, and strong communal character. So, the main point which the three anthropologists whose works are cited above are stressing, is that inspite of the so-called 'contact with the white man' the Hausa man still remained Hausa, while the Ibo man still remained Ibo.

One might also think that the extent of industrialisation of the Hausa and the Ibo societies, might account for the differences in the sort of policies that managements in the four workplaces adopted, because Kerr (1964, p.274) grouped industrial societies into four - authoritarian, paternalistic,

competitive and class-conscious, and seemed to suggest that paternalistic societies are usually backward in industrialisation, and are therefore likely to hang on to pre-industrial work practices. Considering this argument, one may be inclined to think that because the managements in the Hausa workplaces adopted paternalistic policies, the Ibo community may be more industrialised than the Hausa community. But this is certainly not the truth, because the Location Quotient of regional distribution of manufacturing establishments in Nigeria presented on Table 26 on the next page, shows that the Hausa area is more industrialised than the Ibo area. The Industrial Location Quotient for the Hausa area of Nigeria - North state and Kano state are shown to be 1.47 and 0.71 respectively, while that for the Ibo area - East-Central state is shown to be 0.47. So the differences in the extent of industrialisation does not offer any explanation for the differences in policies between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces. The situation in the Hausa workplaces suggests that even if advancement in industrialisation will ever affect the paternalistic approach to industrial relations of the Hausa managers, the change will certainly be towards what Dore (1971, p.119) has called 'Welfare Corporatism' which he described as 'paternalism' without a 'pater', in which the diffuse fatherly relationship between the Employers and the employees will continue to exist, but the employers' responsibility for the employees' welfare will become institutionalised and contractual, and not subject to individual manager's discretion, as is the case at present.

The paternalistic policies of the Hausa managers and the collaborative policies of their Ibo counterparts, have in discussion above been shown to reflect the traditional systems

TABLE 26

**NIGERIA: LOCATION QUOTIENT OF REGIONAL
DISTRIBUTION OF MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS BY STATE (1973)**

State	Location Quotient
Lagos	17.51
Benue-Plateau	0.30
Kano (Hausa)	0.71
Kwara	0.70
North-Central (Hausa)	1.47
North-Eastern	0.08
North-Western	0.14
East-Central (Ibo)	0.47
Mid-Western	1.37
Rivers	0.52
South-Eastern	0.70
Western	0.48

SOURCE: Federal Office of Statistics
Industrial Survey, 1973.

NOTE

Location Quotient measures the degree of industrial concentration in a sub-area compared with the general concentration in the whole area. Either the labour or value added index can be used. Location quotients can vary from zero to infinity. The formula adopted in calculating the Location quotients in the above Table is as follows:

$$\text{Location Quotient} = \frac{\text{Number Employed in Manufacturing in a State}}{\text{Number Employed in Manufacturing in Nigeria}}$$

$$= \frac{\text{State Population}}{\text{Population of Nigeria}}$$

A unitary quotient indicates that the stated share of industry is proportional to its size, and similarly, coefficients of less or more than one indicate a less or more than proportional concentration (Adejogbe: 1979, p.35).

adopted by the two communities in governing themselves. The fact that these cultural conceptions of the roles of a leader or a head of a group of people, has not been significantly affected by industrialisation, shows the nature and strength of these

cultures, because as argued by Kerr et al (1973, pp.106-107):

"The cultural patterns of industrialisation may move in rapidly, advance slowly, or be sealed off in a particular society. They may penetrate deeply or shallowly, depending upon the nature and strength of the pre-existing culture".

The traditional attitudes of the Hausa and the Ibo persons in authority towards their subordinates, conform to these traditional systems of political administration, which is then reflected in the management of industrial relations at the workplace. The Hausa, as explained earlier, tend to regard their subordinates as followers, and therefore assume the responsibility for protecting them. One of the paragraphs under the statements of policy in the Employee Handbook of one Hausa workplace (Workplace 1), read thus:

"You will be told those things you do not know by your officers, superiors and managers by asking...."

Such policy of expecting the workers to depend on their officers and superiors for any information they may require in the course of their employment, has the effect of bringing the manager and the workers to constant face-to-face interaction, and this fosters the expected paternal relationship between the managers and the workers. The Ibo, on the other hand, likes to stand as individual and not lean or have any one lean on him, and as such subordinates are treated as partners and everyone is expected to play his own role, and to some extent, participate or be given the opportunity to participate in the control of affairs at the workplace.

4. ASSESSMENT OF HYPOTHESIS V AND CONCLUSION

Hypothesis V posits that because the Hausa traditionally regards his subordinates as his followers whom he owes the duty of protection, and the Ibo regards his subordinates as his partners, the industrial relations policies of the Hausa managements will be paternalistic while those of the Ibo managements will tend to be collaborative. Our findings strongly support the hypothesis. We have also in discussion shown that the differences in the approaches to industrial relations between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, were rooted in the different traditional systems of government of the two societies.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE RULE-MAKING PROCESS

Introduction

The first two chapters of this part of the Thesis have focused on the actors on the workplace industrial relations arena - the unions and the management, examining the differences between the sort of unions and the sort of managerial industrial relations policies that existed in the four workplaces. In the immediate preceding chapter it was found that differences existed between the type of policies adopted by the management in the two Hausa workplaces and the ones adopted in the two Ibo workplaces, in that the management in the Hausa workplaces adopted more of paternalistic policies whereas those in the Ibo workplaces adopted collaborative policies, and this difference was considered to be rooted in the different traditional attitudes to subordinates as also evidenced in the traditional systems of government that existed in the Hausa and the Ibo societies. In this chapter we intend to look at the rule-making processes adopted in the four workplaces. The question to be examined is: Are there differences between the dominant rule-making processes adopted in the four workplaces, and if there are, to what extent are they due to the differences in cultural characteristics and customary practices of the Hausa and the Ibo societies?

We shall first describe the framework adopted in analysing the rule-making processes found in the workplaces. The hypotheses generated on the basis of the analytical framework

and the cultural characteristics of the Hausa and the Ibo societies, which are applied in examining the question being dealt with in this chapter, will be stated. The analysis and discussion of the results of the empirical investigation will be presented, with a view to establishing the extent to which each of the hypotheses is challenged or supported by the findings.

1. FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF RULE-MAKING PROCESSES

Flanders (1965, pp.21-22) has distinguished rule-making processes into unilateral regulation (either by unions, employers associations or management), joint regulation, tripartite regulation, statutory regulation and social regulation. He argued that his classification of rule-making processes was not based on "the nature of sanctions available for the enforcement of the rules, but by the parties actually responsible for their authorship". He however emphasized that these types of rule-making processes, "easily shade into each other at the margins". In a later work, Flanders (1973) expressing a similar view of the problems of demarcation between his types of rule-making processes, implied in his explanations, that there could be several approaches to categorising regulatory processes, but that authorship was certainly one of them, although he did not mention what the other approaches could be.

Clegg's (1980, p.2) taxonomy of rule-making processes is slightly different from Flanders'. Clegg distinguishes rule-making processes into collective bargaining - where unions and employers or managers jointly make the rules; managerial

regulation - where management makes the rules unilaterally on matters of 'managerial prerogative'; trade union regulation - where the unions make rules concerning the jobs of their members and try to enforce them on employers or management; statutory regulation - where the State "prescribes legal rules governing aspects of employment generally or for particular classes of undertaking, with statutory arrangements for their enforcement". He recognises the distinct nature of 'custom and practice', but argues that "it is, properly speaking, not a method of making rules, but a method through which rules emerge" (ibid. p.2). Clegg also makes a distinction between collective bargaining and joint consultation, and explains that the process of 'joint consultation' is:

"a half-way house between joint regulation and employer or managerial regulation. Managers discuss issues with representatives of their employees, setting out their problems and proposals, and listening to what the representatives have to say, but the final responsibility for the decisions remains with management" (ibid. pp.2-3).

The processes identified by Flanders and Clegg as stated above, can be described as direct rule-making processes, but Goodman et al (1975) have identified an indirect rule-making process which they called 'Adjudicative rule-making process', which they argue results from the rule-administration function. The authors argue that rule-administration plays important functions in three situations in which the application of rules becomes problematic. The first situation is where individuals or groups in the workplace oppose the rules, resulting in their trying to evade the rules or refuse to acknowledge their legitimacy. The function of rule-administration in such situation is 'rule enforcement'. The second situation is where workers are generally unaware of the exact details

or even the existence of some particular rules, rule-administration will then involve 'informing' the parties about the rules. The 'informing' function is particularly important where literacy level among workers is very low. The third situation is where the rules themselves or the circumstances in which they are applicable, are generally vague or ambiguous, the function of rule-administration here will be 'interpretation' of the rules. Goodman et al then argue that in carrying out these functions, rule-administration has the effect of enlarging and amending the scope of the rules themselves, thereby performing a rule-creating role. It is this role that the authors describe as the 'Adjudicative rule-making process'.

It is worth pointing out here that as our present study focuses on workplace industrial relations, we are concerned only with what Flanders (op. cit.) has called 'the domestic industrial relations of the enterprise' or the 'internal job regulation' of the organisation. Because of the paucity of research on Nigerian workplace industrial relations, we were not aware of the general range of the likely rule-making processes that would be expected in the Nigerian context for the purpose of planning the present study. So, a simple preliminary study of ten industrial workplaces sited at PortHarcourt in Rivers State of Nigeria, was carried out. No consideration was given to any characteristic details of the organisations while selecting them, as the aim was simply to obtain a general knowledge of what happens in Nigerian workplaces, with regard to job regulation. The preliminary study was based on only semi-structured interviews and informal discussions with Personnel managers and supervisors, and union officials in few occasions. On the basis of the information obtained from

TABLE 27
CLASSIFICATION OF RULE-MAKING ACTIVITIES

PROCESSES	METHODS
Managerial Regulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Managerial Prerogative (MP) - Managerial regulation with consultation (MR^{+c})
Joint Regulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deputation (DPT) - Joint Consultative Committee (JCC) - Work group Committee (WGC) - Collective Bargaining (CB)
Social Regulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social interactional processes at workplace (SIP) - Community customary practices (CCP)

this preliminary study, the framework for the analysis of rule-making activities shown on Table 27 was constructed.

The peculiar nature and the variety of the rule-making activities found to exist in the Nigerian industrial workplaces, made it necessary to distinguish between a 'process' and a 'method' of rule-making, as shown on Table 27. A rule-making process is taken to include all activities involved in making or changing rules regarding a particular aspect of work or employment relationship at a time. These activities could involve only one method or in some cases, more than one method of rule-making. For example, some rule-making actions, as will be explained later, started with Deputation from workers and ended with Collective Bargaining between the unions and

management. The classification is based on the authorship of the rules and the parties involved in the rule-making activities. The general features of the processes and the methods, and the meanings attached to each of them here which are based mainly on the way they were found to operate in the Nigerian context, will now be explained.

(i) Managerial Regulation

The term Managerial Regulation as used here, carries the same meaning as that given to it by Clegg (op. cit.) when he coined it originally. The process refers to all activities involved when management unilaterally makes rules to be applied in the workplace. This process can be applied in two ways, one of which is described here as being through the exercise of 'Managerial Prerogative'. This term describes a situation where management makes the rules without consulting the workers in any form. The other method is where management makes the rules after consulting the unions or workers' representatives and this is described as 'Managerial Regulation with Consultation'. In both of these methods of rule-making, authorship of the rules belongs to management.

(ii) Joint Regulation

When Flanders (op. cit.) coined the term 'Joint Regulation', he probably had in mind only the method of collective bargaining, but here the term is used to cover all methods of rule-making in which management and workers or their representatives are involved. One of such rule-making activity is 'Deputation' of workers to management. Management discusses the matter with the workers' representatives, and in some occasions the

matter may be resolved jointly by the parties through the deputational method; where this happens, the authorship of the resulting rules belongs to management and workers jointly. It was observed during the fieldwork, that in majority of cases the rule-making process did not end with Deputation, especially with very serious matters; another method such as Managerial Regulation with Consultation ended the process. This meant that after management had discussed the matter with the workers' deputation, management dismissed the workers, promising that it would consider the matter further and would take an acceptable decision on it. Management then, after due deliberation on the issue and further consultation with the unions, came out with rules unilaterally made on the issue, which the workers accepted. The authorship of rules in such situation belonged to management, but the details of the resulting rules might to some extent have been influenced by the original deputational activities of workers.

Another method of the Joint Regulation process is 'Joint Consultative Committee'. Representatives of workers and managers from all the sections of the workplace, meet at regular intervals to discuss matters which include staff welfare, factory safety, job grading, workers holidays, pensions, productivity, changes in hours of work, and other employment issues. The chairman of the committee meetings is usually appointed by management from senior members of the management team. Proceedings of the meetings of the committee are recorded in the form of minutes. Decisions reached in the meetings on vital issues of employment are usually regarded as rules and are expected to be implemented by management. Work group Committee is similar to Joint Consultative Committee. The only difference being that the Work group Committees are based

in the Departments or sections of the workplace and the matters discussed in such committee meetings are mainly on departmental operational issues.

Collective bargaining is usually the most thought of when Joint Regulation process is mentioned. The term 'Collective bargaining' was originally coined by the Webbs (1897) and they applied it in describing the process of negotiations concerning wages and conditions of employment, between unions and employers. Flanders (1968) has criticised the Webbs' view of collective bargaining, by arguing that the Webbs erroneously saw collective bargaining as a collective equivalent of individual bargaining. Flanders argued that collective bargaining is a rule-making activity which regulates but does not replace individual bargaining. It is best seen as a method of job regulation which should be compared to unilateral and other methods of job regulation, rather than to individual bargaining. But Fox (1975) on the other hand, has argued that Flanders' criticism of the Webbs' notion of collective bargaining is erroneous. Firstly he pointed out that the definition of 'bargaining' offered by Maciver and Page (1953, p.474) which Flanders based his argument was wrong in assuming that bargaining necessarily ends in an act of exchange, because:

"Sometimes one or both parties break off negotiations, and no exchange is concluded. The concept of bargaining does not, therefore include the notion of the bargainers necessarily entering into a contract. If we follow up this loose we find ourselves having to disentangle, for theoretical purposes, three distinct elements. There is (1) a bargaining process during which the parties deploy arguments, present evidence, issue threats. This may or may not end in (2) an agreement which adjusts the antithetical interests of buyer and seller. This may not be embodied in (3) a contract into which both parties decide to enter. To be sure, in practice these elements often appear to be fused in a single process..." (Fox: 1975, pp.153-154).

Fox' main argument therefore, is that it is erroneous to suggest that individual and collective bargaining are different because one ends in a contract whereas the other ends in rule-making, because as he argues, neither bargain necessarily ends in agreement, though there is a possibility in both cases. He then concludes that the difference between the individual and the collective bargaining is not that the 'diplomatic use of power' is seen in one and not in the other, the difference is "precisely what the Webbs said it was - a difference in the disparity of power".

With due regard to the above debate, collective bargaining is conceived here as the making of rules jointly by management and unions through negotiations. A lot of effort has been made before and after Nigerian Independence, by Governments, to encourage the establishment of collective bargaining as the dominant rule-making method in all workplaces in the country. But as pointed out by Kilby (1973, p.236), "despite the carefully constructed institutional framework and the avowed commitment of all parties concerned, voluntary collective bargaining has failed to function as a significant mechanism for fixing wages". But managements and unions of most workplaces in the Nigerian private sector including the four that were involved in our study, still claim that they operate collective bargaining. These managements and unions do enter into negotiations which result in the production of signed agreements, but what makes Kilby's argument valid is that, because the Nigerian managements negotiate on a much stronger power position than the unions, the agreements from such negotiations tend in effect to be largely dictated by management, rather than being the product of a 'bargain', for as argued by Kilby, "majority of these agreements appear to be management

creations, formally codifying existing terms of employment and having involved little if any bargaining or negotiating from labour' side" (ibid. p.237). Considering the meaning given to the term 'collective bargaining' in the Western World, particularly the usual understanding that the parties negotiate on equal power bases, what happens in Nigeria cannot rightly be called 'collective bargaining', but because the Nigerian managements and the unions regard what they do as collective bargaining, we shall adopt the same term here when referring to that rule-making method. But the meaning we attach to the Nigerian type of collective bargaining here, is, a process whereby management and unions make rules jointly through negotiations in which management commands greater influence than the unions.

(iii) Social Regulation

Brown (1972), commenting on Flanders (op. cit.) categorisation of social regulation as one of the processes of rule-making, has pointed out the obscurity of authorship of Custom and Practice rules. But Flanders certainly had an author in mind when he coined the term 'Social Regulation', and this must be what he described in an earlier work as:

"the informal structure of the organisation which is intermediary between the unions and the men as individuals - the work group based on similarity of occupation, function and status...enjoying as it does a life and authority of its own" (1964, pp.139-140).

The view expressed by Clegg (op. cit.) that Custom and Practice should not be regarded as a method of rule-making, but rather as a method through which rules emerge, appears to be shared by Goodman et al (op. cit.), when they argued that "the emergence of Custom and Practice should be seen not so much as the

outcome of conscious intention with specific authorship, but rather as evolving gradually as the outcome of a rule-making process within the context of management-worker interaction" (ibid. pp.26-27).

So, the term Social Regulation is used here to cover methods of social interactional processes between workers and individual managers in the workplace which result in the development of norms and codes of conduct which are acknowledged as rules in the workplace. It is also thought that some culturally-based customary practices are likely to be observed at the workplace, and as such another form of social regulation is considered to be the community-based processes and methods through which societal customary rules, which are re-institutionalised into the workplace, are made and protected.

2. HYPOTHESES AND FINDINGS

From a consideration of the relevant cultural characteristics and customary practices of the Hausa and the Ibo societies stated in Chapter Three, and basing on the analytical framework described above which is to be adopted in analysing the rule-making activities in our four workplaces, the following hypotheses are generated to be applied in dealing with the question being examined here, which is stated at the beginning of the present chapter:

- VI Because of the Hausa traditional high regard for authority and low desire for individual achievement, managerial regulation will tend to be the dominant rule-making process in the Hausa workplaces.

VII Because the Ibo traditionally does not have much special regard for authority, and because of his high desire for individual achievement, joint regulation will be the dominant rule-making process in the Ibo workplaces.

VIII Because the Hausa traditionally does not react favourably to change in social customary practices as much as the Ibo does, and because the Hausa is more interested in interpersonal relations than the Ibo is, social regulation will tend to feature more in the Hausa workplaces than in the Ibo ones.

Structured interviews¹ were held in each of the four workplaces with the Personnel managers, departmental heads and one supervisor from each of the Departments - Spinning, Weaving, Printing and Finishing; and with all the workplace union full-time officials sitting together in the form of a meeting. Information was also obtained by direct observation, particularly on social regulation, during the 3½ weeks of full participant observation in Workplace 1, 6 consecutive weeks of full-three-days-a-week visit to Workplace 4 and series of visits to the other two workplaces. Supporting information was also obtained from documents obtained from the workplaces which included Works Rule Books and Employee Handbooks, union files containing correspondences with management (in Workplaces 1, 2, and 4), management notices on Notice Boards, copies of documents containing collective agreements, and minutes of

1. See Appendix V for a copy of the interview schedule used in these structured interviews.

Consultative Committee meetings. Table 28 on the next two pages presents the methods and processes which were found to be adopted in the four workplaces in the past five years in making rules. The findings will be stated under four headings - remuneration, working conditions, hours of work and discipline. The processes and the methods adopted in making specific rules of job regulation in the four workplaces, as shown on the Table, will now be described. The nature of the rules themselves will be dealt with in the next chapter, as our focus here is mainly the processes adopted in making the rules rather than the rules themselves.

A. REMUNERATION

(i) Basic time rates

The making of new rules or changes in existing ones regarding basic time rates, normally started with Deputation from workers, spearheaded by the workplace full-time union officials. This was found to be the case in all the four workplaces. But the difference between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, was that although the process started with Deputation in the four workplaces, it ended with Managerial Regulation in the Hausa workplaces and Collective Bargaining in the Ibo ones. In one of the Hausa workplaces management sometimes consulted the workers' representatives and had further discussion with them before taking a decision on the issue.

(ii) Bonus, overtime, and redundancy payments; duty allowances

In the two Hausa workplaces, rules on all the above aspects of work and employment, were made through Managerial

TABLE 28

PROCESSES AND METHODS ADOPTED IN RULE-MAKING
IN THE FOUR WORKPLACES IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS
(CASE STUDY FINDINGS)

JOB REGULATION MATTERS	HAUSA			IBO	
	1	2	3	4	
Remuneration	DPT/MP	DPT/MR ^{+c}	DPT/CB	DPT/CB	
Basic time rates	MP	MP	DPT/CB	JCC	
Bonus payments	JCC	JCC	DPT/JCC	JCC	
Job grading	MP	MP	MP	MP	
Promotion	MP	JCC	JCC	MR ^{+c}	
Pension	CCP	CCP	-	-	
Money handout to workers by Directors	CCP	CCP	MP	-	
Wedding and child naming presents from Management	MP	MP	DPT/CB	DPT/CB	
Overtime payments	MP	-	DPT/CB	MR ^{+c}	
Redundancy payments	MP	MP	DPT/CB	DPT/MP	
Duty allowance					

(Continued on the next page)

(TABLE 28 Continues)

	1	2	3	4
Working Conditions				
Allocation of work	MP	MP	WGC	WGC
Pace of work	MP	MP	MR ⁺ c	WGC
Manning of machines	MP	MP	WGC	WGC
Quality of work	MP	MP	MP	MP
Health and safety	MP	MP	MP	MP
Hours of work				
Starting and stopping times	MP	MP	MP	MP
Overtime arrangements	MP	MP	MR ⁺ c	MR ⁺ c
Breaks in working hours	CCP/MP	CCP/MP	MP	MP
Holidays	JCC	JCC	JCC	JCC
Discipline				
Suspension	MP	MP	JCC	JCC
Dismissal	MP	MP	JCC	DPT/JCC

NOTE: MP - Managerial Prerogative

MR⁺c - Managerial regulation after consultation with workers' representatives

DPT - Deputation by workers

CCP - Community customary practice

JCC - Joint Consultative Committee

CB - Collective Bargaining

WGC - Work Group Committee

Regulation process. Management made the rules and workers as expected by management, did nothing than to accept the rules without questioning. The situation in the Ibo workplaces was different. The process adopted in the two Ibo workplaces in making rules on bonus, overtime and redundancy payments, started normally with Deputation and ended with Collective bargaining. One organisation adopted Joint Consultative Committee method in making rules on bonus payments. For rules on duty allowance, one Ibo workplace used Managerial Regulation but had consultations with workers representatives on the issue while the other workplace adopted a process which started with Deputation and ended with Managerial Regulation.

(iii) Job grading, promotion
and pension

The four workplaces made rules on job grading through Joint Consultative Committees. It was observed that although it was claimed by both managers and workers who were interviewed in the Hausa workplaces, that the rules were made by Joint Consultative Committees, the rules were infact drawn out by management and presented to workers representatives in the Committee meetings, and the rules were accepted with little or no further amendments. In the Ibo workplaces, changes in rules on job grading were normally prompted by petitions from individual workers, which were then referred to the Joint Consultative Committees. In one Ibo workplace it was a regular occurence for workers to send Deputations to management on job grading issues, and after brief discussion on the issue between union and management, the matter would be referred to the Joint Consultative Committee. It was found that in many occasions, the services of workstudy experts had been used by

the Committee in settling matters on job grading in those Ibo workplaces, when matters had dragged on for a long time, as had been the case in several occasions. Promotion issues were found to be dealt with through Managerial Regulation in the four workplaces. Pension matters in the Hausa workplaces were dealt with through Managerial Regulation in one, and in the other through Joint Consultative Committee method, whereas in the Ibo workplaces pension matters were dealt with through Joint Consultative Committee in one, and in the other through Managerial Regulation after consultation with the unions.

(iv) Money handouts to workers, wedding and child-naming presents to workers

The above practices, as will be explained in the next chapter, were part of the normal customary way of living of people in the wider Hausa community, which were carried over into the workplace. There were therefore, no formal processes adopted in making rules on them at the workplace. We have in the next chapter, classified these as community-generated informal rules and the process through which they were made and changed is here regarded as the social regulation process based on the traditional customary practices of the wider community. This process was found to exist only in the Hausa workplaces. Wedding presents to workers was practiced in one Ibo workplace for three years, and was based on management discretion, but was recently discontinued because of certain disagreement between management and the unions, when the unions wanted the practice to be formalised as a rule.

B. WORKING CONDITIONS

Matters regarding allocation of work, pace of work, manning

of machines, quality of work and Health and safety, were dealt with through Managerial Regulation in all the two Hausa workplaces. All the workers, including the union officials whom were interviewed in the Hausa workplaces, showed a strong conviction that workers should not take part in making decisions regarding the general organisation of work, as they strongly believed that that was the prerogative of management. In the Ibo workplaces, most of the rules regarding allocation of work, pace of work and manning of machines were made through Work group committees in different sections of the workplace. Meetings of these committees were not held at regular intervals but only when there was a matter to be discussed. Matters on quality of work and Health and safety in the Ibo workplaces were dealt with through Managerial Regulation.

C. HOURS OF WORK AND DISCIPLINE

Rules on starting and stopping times and on overtime arrangements were made through Managerial Regulation in the four workplaces, but in the Ibo ones, management in some occasions consulted workers before taking final decision on the issues. Breaks during working hours were determined through Managerial Regulation in the Ibo workplaces. The staggered break system which existed in most sections of the Hausa workplaces was managerially regulated, but the break for mid-day prayers was regulated by the religious customs and traditional practices of the wider community. No formal process in the workplace was applied in regulating the mid-day prayer break. Rules on holidays were made and changed through Joint Consultative Committee meetings in the four workplaces. Matters of discipline were regarded in the Hausa workplaces to be the

prerogative of management. In the Ibo ones, rules on discipline were made through the Joint Consultative Committees. In one of the Ibo workplaces, there were two instances out of three, in which rules on dismissal changed in the past five years through the process of worker Deputation ending with Joint Consultative Committee, although those cases were reported to have dragged on for quite a long time.

D. RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS OF DATA

Table 29 on the next page presents the results of the analysis of findings already shown on Table 28. Table 30 which presents a summary of percentages of the three groups of rule-making processes in the four workplaces for the past five years, shows that rules on 81% and 75% of the total matters of work and employment relationships in the two Hausa workplaces respectively, were made through Managerial Regulation, while rules on 45% and 42.1% of the matters in the two Ibo workplaces respectively, were made through the same process. The Table also shows that rules on 9.5% and 15% of matters in the two Hausa workplaces respectively, were made through the process of Joint Regulation, while rules on 55% and 57.9% of matters in the Ibo workplaces respectively, were made through the same process. The results suggest therefore that there was remarkable dominance of Managerial Regulation process in the Hausa workplaces and a slight dominance of Joint Regulation in the Ibo workplaces. The results presented on the Table, also show that rules on 9.5% and 10% of activities in the two Hausa workplaces respectively, emerged from Social Regulation, while nothing of the sort was found to have happened in the Ibo workplaces. The main findings which will now be discussed

TABLE 29

PROCESSES AND METHODS ADOPTED IN RULE-MAKING
(ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDY FINDINGS)

PROCESSES AND METHODS	HAUSA				IBO			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
	JR Matters	JR Matters	JR Matters	JR Matters	JR Matters	JR Matters	JR Matters	JR Matters
Managerial Regulation	15	71	13	65	6	30	5	26.3
	-	-	-	-	3	15	2	10.5
	1	5	-	-	-	-	1	5.3
	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	-
	1	5	1	5	-	-	-	-
Joint Regulation	2	9.5	3	15	4	20	4	21.0
	-	-	-	-	1	5	1	5.3
	-	-	-	-	4	20	3	15.8
	-	-	-	-	2	10	3	15.8
Social Regulation	2	9.5	2	10	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	21	100	20	100	20	100	19	100

TABLE 30

SUMMARY OF PERCENTAGES OF THE
THREE GROUPS OF RULE-MAKING
PROCESSES IN THE FOUR WORKPL-
ACES CALCULATED FROM TABLE 29

	HAUSA		IBO	
	1	2	3	4
Managerial Regulation	81	75	45	42.1
Joint Regulation	9.5	15	55	57.9
Social Regulation	9.5	10	0	0
	100	100	100	100

are the following:

- (i) Dominance of Managerial Regulation
in the Hausa workplaces
- (ii) Dominance of Joint Regulation
in the Ibo workplaces
- (iii) Social Regulation in the Hausa workplaces.

3. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND EXAMINATION OF CULTURAL INFLUENCES

(i) Dominance of Managerial Regulation in the Hausa workplaces

The major factor considered to be responsible for this situation in the Hausa workplaces, was the workers' acceptance

of the unlimited scope of Managerial authority and prerogative in all matters in the workplace, so far as their traditional and Islam religious principles were not trampled upon. The Assistant Secretary to the union in one of the Hausa workplaces, who was from the Yoruba tribal group, said that one of the major problems the union in his workplace was having, was that it was usually very difficult to convince an Hausa worker that an action taken by management on an issue was wrong. This was because, as he went on to explain, the average Hausa worker saw his position in the workplace as that of subservience, and therefore would not bother himself thinking about how rules were made, as he regarded that to mean encroaching on the managerial divine prerogative to manage the affairs of the workplace.

Connected to the above point is the 'work of the white man' notion, which Hausa workers still have of industrial employment, which influences their attitudes and behaviour in the industrial workplace. Wage-earning employment was non-existent in Nigeria before the advent of the British Colonial Administration (Ananaba: 1969, p.1; Yesufu: 1962, p.6; Fapohunda: 1977, p.1). The average Hausa man engaged in subsistence farming and cattle-rearing or some cottage industry like weaving, pottery and carving. Working for another, even for payment, was associated with slavery and was looked upon as degrading, by contrast with the independent status of a farmer or self-employed entrepreneur. The first wage earners in Nigeria were probably the porters and domestic servants of the explorers and missionaries who came to West Africa. There is evidence that wage employment was first accepted in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria (Fapohunda: op. cit.). The situation was such

that at first, the labour used by the British colonial administrators in Northern Nigeria (Hausa area), had to be imported from the south (Ibo and Yoruba areas) and a neighbouring colony - Sierra Leone. In 1918 the shortage of labour in the Hausa area was so acute that the British Governor Lord Lugard resorted to forced-paid labour, arguing that:

"among primitive tribes a measure of compulsion through their tribal chiefs, in order to obtain labour for railway construction and other important works, is justifiable as an educative process to remove fear and suspicion" (1919, p.24).

Fapohunda (op. cit.) reports that between October 1942 and March 1943, about 30,000 Hausa people were conscripted to work in the tin mines at Jos (Hausa town), and that after the period of conscription, about 60% of the workers continued to work in the mines.

This brief history of wage employment in Nigeria, shows how the early Hausa worker was introduced to the industrial workplace. These circumstances made the early Hausa worker and indeed the early workers in Nigeria generally, to regard industrial mode of work as the creation of a 'stranger' who at the same time happened to be their colonial Masters, to whom they owed absolute obedience. What made the difference between the Hausa and the Ibo peoples, regarding this 'work of the white man' notion, was that the early Ibo man saw the white man's mode of employment as a quicker way of earning the white man's money which was different and by far more valuable than the cowries, which were used as money locally (Fapohunda: *ibid*). As a result, the Ibo man accepted wage employment from the white man easily. But the traditional conservative attitude of the Hausa made him to give a very negative attitude to the white man's work, which then resulted

in the institution of forced-paid labour in the area. Under this forced labour employment, the Hausa worker probably developed a passive subservient attitude to the organisation of affairs at the workplace, and only did what he was told to do by his master.

This sort of attitude which the early Hausa worker developed towards industrial and other forms of wage employment has tended to linger on as to become almost traditional, because although the white man has gone, the members of management team, who are now Nigerians are perceived as having replaced the white man at the workplace, and as such the high level of regard that was given to the 'white man manager' is to a large degree transferred to the 'black man manager'. There is some evidence which suggests that even the Nigerian managers themselves do expect this type of regard from workers, for as pointed out by Akerele (1975) while discussing the likely origin of the arrogant behaviour of the indigeneous managers in Nigeria:

"In Nigeria, when indigeneous managers evolved they shared the same philosophy with the expatriate managers and they both treated employees as subordinates in the absolute sense of the word. Indigeneous managers were often more contemptuous of the workers. For one thing they wanted to show how efficient they could be if the expatriate owners were to entrust the task of management to the indigenes. The indigeneous managers seemed to believe that arrogant behaviour ensured speedy assimilation into the expatriate class" (ibid. p.283).

Another circumstance which is considered to encourage the Hausa workers' high regard and loyalty for managers is the fact that most of the Hausa workers did not have any formal education based on the Western system, such as primary and secondary schools. Majority of them attended only the traditional Koranic schools between the ages of four and ten.

Pupils in such schools were only meant to learn how to read and write Arabic language, to enable them read and understand certain phrases from the Koran, and to memorise certain Islamic prayers and religious practices. But members of management team have all received formal education in one form or the other, either by attending primary and secondary schools and through to the university, or with those managers who rose from the ranks, by attending some short courses at Technical colleges. In the Hausa community those comparatively few people who are known to have had formal education, are normally given high regard, as they are respected for being people with 'higher knowledge'. Managers in the workplaces belong to this group, and are therefore regarded by workers as having better knowledge of the organisation of affairs of the workplace than themselves, and should therefore be left with the absolute responsibility of taking charge of the workplace. The common reply from most of the Hausa workers when they were engaged in conversations by the author while carrying out the field-work for this study, trying to find out how much of the rules on terms and conditions of employment they were aware of, was:

"I no sabi regulason as I no sabi dogo
mturenchi, because me no go bukuru".

By this statement, the workers were saying that they did not care to know about rules and rule-making, as they could neither understand nor speak English Language because they were not educated (meaning having the formal Western form of education). The argument advanced in the foregoing, is that the Hausa traditional attitudes to authority, education and wage employment were the factors that largely encouraged the dominance of Managerial Regulation in the Hausa workplaces.

(ii) Dominance of Joint Regulation
in the Ibo workplaces

Before discussing the factors and cultural variables which are considered to be responsible for the dominance of Joint Regulation in the Ibo workplaces, it will be useful here for analytical purposes, to distinguish between 'Employment Contractual Rules' and 'Labour Utilisation Rules'. Employment contractual rules are rules which are made on those aspects of work and employment that form the fundamental basis of the contractual relationship between the Employer and workers. Examples of these, are rules on wages and salaries, bonus, overtime and redundancy payments; rules on such matters as these, form the terms on which the services of workers are hired. Labour utilisation rules, are rules on those aspects of work organisation which directly relate to the utilisation of workers' services towards production. Such are rules on allocation of work, pace of work, manning of machines, starting and stopping times.

The case study findings show that in the two Ibo workplaces, Collective Bargaining and Joint Consultative Committee, featured most in the making of employment contractual rules. The Ibo workers were always conscious of the basis of their relationship with management, and therefore would always want to take part in making rules which affected their contractual relationship with management. Most of the processes through which those employment contractual rules were made usually started with Deputation from workers and ended with either Joint Consultative Committee or Collective Bargaining. It was found that each time any matter arose between management and workers which started with workers' Deputation, management would want the matter to be dealt with in the Consultative

Committee meetings, while workers would want the matter dealt with in Collective Bargaining negotiations. The union officials in those workplaces explained that as the monthly Joint Consultative Committee meetings were chaired by senior members of management team, workers who attended the meetings usually found it difficult to put across their views strongly to management in those meetings.

The findings suggest that both the Ibo workers and their management seemed to agree on the point that the making of the labour utilisation rules, are unchallengeably within the prerogative of management, as matters of manning of machines, quality of work, starting and stopping times and overtime arrangements, were dealt with through Managerial Regulation. But Work group Committees in the sections of the workplaces dealt with matters regarding the allocation of work and manning of machines. This also showed the Ibo worker's eagerness to have some amount of control over matters which affect his work.

The Ibo man's traditional purpose for taking up wage employment has been shown earlier to be the acquisition of money which he hopes to use in the future in setting up his own business. He has also not got as much high trust and regard for authority as the Hausa does, so he simply endeavours to be party to the making of those rules which affect his aims for taking up the wage employment, which are the sort of rules we have categorised as 'employment contractual rules'. The general view about the industrial workplace as the work of the white man has died down among the Ibo people, as the Ibo worker feels he can as well set up his own business and employ people to work for him, if only he is able to obtain the necessary funds. With these cultural attitudinal

characteristics, the Ibo worker, although he feels that the making of the labour utilisation rules at the workplace should be within the scope of managerial prerogative, still wishes to participate as far as possible in making decisions which enable him to have some amount of influence on the organisation of work. So, the Ibo traditional attitudes to authority and orientation towards wage employment coupled with their view towards business enterprise and individual achievement, have a great deal of influence in making Joint Regulation the dominant rule-making process in the Ibo workplaces.

(iii) Social Regulation in the Hausa workplaces

A distinction is made in the next chapter between 'work-generated' and 'community-generated' informal rules. Work-generated informal rules are rules which originate from the interactional processes which take place between managers and workers at the workplace (Goodman et al: 1975; Terry: 1977; Brown: 1972), whereas the community-generated informal rules are the ones that originate from the direct influence of the customary practices of the wider society. Workers in the Hausa workplaces regarded rules that were made through the interactional processes between workers and managers, as managerial rules. But the informal rules on such matters as breaks for mid-day prayers and the employment of women, were not made through any formal or social transactional processes at the workplace, but were re-institutionalised into the workplace from the traditional and religious customary practices of the Hausa community.

These customary practices of the Hausa society, have constituted authorities who are entrusted with the responsibility

of making and administering them. The Emir (traditional ruler) and the Imam (religious leader) are the authorities. For example, if the Imam decides that the number of praying times a day should be increased from five to seven in the Hausa community, this automatically changes the rules on breaks for prayers at the Hausa workplaces. It will not need any further legitimation from management. In such situation, the authorship of such community-generated informal rules belongs to the Islamic religious leader. The same thing can happen with other matters in which the Emir has the authority to make and change rules. So, the argument put up by Clegg (op. cit.) that Custom and Practice should not be regarded as a method of making rules, but as a method through which rules emerge, can only be valid in the case of work-generated custom and practice and not with the community-generated ones. Also Brown's (op. cit.) and Rimmer's (1972) doubts on the validity of Custom and Practice as a rule-making method because of the obscurity of its authorship, cannot apply to the community-generated custom and practice that existed in the Hausa workplaces, because the authorship of such customary practices was clearly known to belong to the Emir and the Imam (the traditional and religious leaders) in the wider Hausa community.

Smith (1968, p.91) has made an observation which is particularly true of the Hausa industrial worker, in which he stated that "the urban African at his new workplace is a tribesman who has never faltered in his allegiance to his village". This observation seems to be supported by Melson (1971, p.161) when he described the Nigerian worker as a 'cross-pressured' worker "who is torn between loyalty to his ethnic group and loyalty to his economic interest group". Gluckman (1960)

has also made a comment which is particularly true of the Hausa industrial worker, when he stated that "an African townsman is a townsman, and African miner is a miner, but he is secondarily a tribesman" (ibid. p.57). All the above cited observations point to one direction, which is that the Hausa worker being conservative in relation to changes in his social way of living, is always conscious of the traditional norms, values and customary practices of the Hausa community, which he has to hang on to even at the industrial workplace, hence the observance of the community customary practices at the Hausa workplaces.

4. ASSESSMENT OF THE HYPOTHESES AND CONCLUSIONS

Hypotheses VI and VII present the argument that because of the cultural differences between the Hausa and the Ibo societies in attitudes to authority and individual achievement, the dominant rule-making process in the Hausa workplaces are likely to be Managerial Regulation, whereas the dominant process in the Ibo workplaces will tend to be Joint Regulation. Our results have shown that there was a strong dominance of Managerial Regulation in the two Hausa workplaces and a slight dominance of Joint Regulation in the Ibo workplaces. These findings are therefore consistent with the two hypotheses. But it came out from the discussion that in addition to the differences in attitudes to authority and individual achievement, differences in literacy levels and the orientation to wage employment between the Hausa and the Ibo societies, were also important in accounting for the differences in the dominant rule-making processes between the workplaces of the two

societies.

Hypothesis VIII states that because of the cultural differences in attitudes to change and interpersonal relations between the Hausa and the Ibo societies, Social Regulation will tend to be more recognised in the Hausa than in the Ibo workplaces. Our results have shown that Social Regulation did not feature as a rule-making process in the two Ibo workplaces. But Social Regulation was found to exist in the Hausa workplaces, as our results showed that in addition to the work-generated custom and practice, the Hausa customary practices such as the mid-day prayers and rules on the employment of women were directly observed at the two Hausa workplaces. This was found to be a direct influence of culture on job regulation in those workplaces, as the authorship of such rules were based outside the workplace, on the traditional and customary practices of the Hausa society.

CHAPTER NINE

RULES OF JOB REGULATION

Introduction

In the last chapter we examined the processes adopted in making the rules of job regulation in our four workplaces, but here we shall focus on the nature of the rules themselves. The question we intend to examine in the present chapter is: Do the rules of job regulation differ in extent of formalisation between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, and if they do, to what extent does culture account for the differences? The hypothesis which is generated on the basis of the already identified cultural differences between the Hausa and the Ibo societies, as stated earlier in Chapter Three, is as follows:

- IX Because of the cultural differences in attitudes to authority and interpersonal relations, between the Hausa and the Ibo peoples, rules of job regulation will tend to be more formalised in the Ibo workplaces than in the Hausa ones.

The commonly used method of categorising rules in industrial relations, is into substantive and procedural rules (Dunlop: 1958, p.14; Flanders: 1965, pp.11-12), but in our model on Figure A we have distinguished between two sets of procedural rules. One set are those that govern the rule-making processes while the other set are the products of the rule-making processes that are governed by the first set of procedural rules, and this latter set of procedural rules are

concerned with the administration of the substantive rules. In this chapter we shall be concerned only with the latter set of procedural rules and the substantive rules themselves. These distinctions are only useful for analytical purposes, for in practice, as rightly pointed out by Thomassen (1978, p.447), the both types of rules are "close in how they are negotiated and what they portend for the relationships of the parties". The findings of the empirical investigation on the nature of rules in the four workplaces will now be presented, to be followed by a discussion of the influence of culture on the form of the rules in the workplaces.

1. FINDINGS

Before presenting the data obtained from our empirical investigation, it is considered necessary here to explain the meanings of the letters adopted in coding the information presented on the Tables in this chapter. 'FD' means 'formal and definite'; this means that the rules and their details are formally recorded either in Works Rule Books or in any other documents at the workplace; the rules are not merely referred to in a document, but all the necessary details are clearly stated in the relevant documents that they need no further explanations. 'FND' means 'formal but not definite'; this means that the rules are merely mentioned in a relevant document such as the Works Rule Books or the Employee Handbooks, but the details of the rules are not clearly stated, so much that they need further interpretations by the party administering them. 'ID' means 'informal but definite'; this means that the rules are informal as they are not put down in writing in any document, but their details and manner of operation

are definite and clearly understood by all the parties involved. 'IND' means 'informal and not definite'; this means that the rules in question exist informally, but their exact details are not clearly understood by all the parties involved, the rules require further interpretation and often depend on the discretion of the party administering the rules. The extent to which the details of an informal rule was definite to the workers was established through unstructured and semi-structured interviews of selected workers at each workplace. '0' means that no rules on that aspect of remuneration existed in that particular workplace. The findings will be presented in three sections; first the findings on the rules regarding aspects of remuneration, secondly, the rules on other employment matters, and finally, the results of the analysis of all the empirical data will be stated.

A. RULES ON REMUNERATION

Table 31 on the next page shows the nature of the substantive and the procedural rules that were found to exist in the four workplaces on aspects of remuneration. These are explained below.

(i) Basic time rates

Details about basic wages and salaries on time basis were clearly stated in Employee Handbooks and Works Rule Books and on notice boards in all the four workplaces. The two Hausa workplaces had their schedule of wages and salary scales included in their Employee Handbooks. These booklets were given to employees who requested for them from the Personnel Department. The Personnel managers in these companies explained

TABLE 31

THE FORM IN WHICH RULES ON ASPECTS OF REM-
UNERATION EXISTED IN THE FOUR WORKPLACES

		HAUSA		IBO	
		1	2	3	4
Basic time rates	Substantive	FD	FD	FD	FD
	Procedural	FD	FD	FD	FD
Bonus payments	Substantive	IND	IND	FD	FD
	Procedural	IND	IND	FD	FD
Job grading	Substantive	FND	FND	FD	FD
	Procedural	IND	IND	FD	FD
Promotion	Substantive	FND	FND	FD	FD
	Procedural	IND	IND	FD	FD
Pensions	Substantive	FD	FD	FD	FD
	Procedural	ID	ID	FD	FND
Money hand-outs to workers by Directors and senior managers	Substantive	ID	ID	0	0
	Procedural	IND	IND	0	0
Wedding and child- naming presents from management	Substantive	ID	ID	IND	0
	Procedural	IND	IND	IND	0
Overtime payments	Substantive	FD	FD	FD	FD
	Procedural	FND	FND	FND	FND
Redundancy payments	Substantive	FND	0	FD	FND
	Procedural	IND	0	ID	ID
Duty allowance	Substantive	IND	IND	FD	FD
	Procedural	IND	IND	FD	FD

that in practice, only very few workers requested for the Handbooks. So, copies of the Handbooks were usually given to sectional heads, to enable them answer questions from workers regarding the exact details of their wages, salaries and other entitlements.

The two Ibo workplaces in addition to Employee Handbooks given to workers, had in the Personnel Departments, two books entitled 'Junior Staff Terms and Conditions of Employment' and 'Senior Staff Terms and Conditions of Employment'. These books contained not only the terms and conditions of employment of the employees, but also Recruitment and Selection policies and procedures, grievance procedures and the company's training policies and procedures. Infact, all matters that related to employment and industrial relations generally, were all included in these books. The union officials and majority of the workers, when interviewed, referred to these books as 'AKWUKWO IWU OLU', which in English translation, means 'Rules Book on Employment'. These companies made extensive use of notices on Notice Boards in the factories and in offices. The Personnel manager of workplace 3 explained that any time there was a change in the existing rules or a new rule was made, this was entered in the 'Terms and conditions of Employment' book, and then the new rule was put in the form of a notice and put on all Notice Boards. He explained that as soon as one person read the notice, it would spread to every body in the workplace within a short time, as that new rule would become the object of discussions in the canteens and everywhere workers sat together. So, any changes in the rate of wages and salaries were usually notified to employees by putting up notices on the Notice Boards and a note included on the notice stating

that the new rule had been included in the 'Terms and Conditions of Employment' books.

In the two Ibo workplaces, the daily-rated factory workers were paid in every two weeks, while the rest of the workers were paid monthly. A notice on the Notice Board of one of the workplaces stated thus:

DAILY PAID WORKERS

Daily paid payroll for every 14 days finished and wages will be paid in next Friday/Saturday. In cases of Public Holiday falling on these days, payment will be made on the next previous day.

MONTHLY PAID STAFF

Salaries for monthly paid employees will be paid on the 26th of the month. In case of Public Holiday falling on the 26th, payment will be made on the previous day.

GENERAL

Any employee who thinks he is wrongly paid must report immediately to Pay Clerk. Mistakes cannot be amended unless reported at once on the spot.

In the two Hausa workplaces, no mention was made in the Works Rule Books nor on Notice Boards, regarding any procedures or any administrative formalities that would be adopted in the payment of wages and salaries, but in practice, as was observed, payments of wages and salaries were made at the end of the month for all categories of workers in the two workplaces.

(ii) Bonus payments

Rules regarding bonus payments were all clearly stated in the 'Terms and Conditions of Employment' books in the two Ibo workplaces. In the Hausa workplaces, there were informal rules on bonuses which were not very definite in their details and in the way they were administered. The managers explained

that any year the Directors felt it was necessary, they would decide that workers should be given certain amount of money as bonus, during the Moslem Idel Fitre festival. They said that the bonus, had been obtaining in their workplaces for the past five years, but that the actual amount of money, had varied from year to year. The workers simply took whatever they were given thankfully. One of the managers explained that his Directors (workplace 1) had decided that during the 1980 Idel Fitre celebrations, the workers would be given pieces of finished textile materials instead of money as their bonus for that year.

(iii) Job grading

Rules about the grading of jobs were clearly stated in the 'Terms and Conditions of Employment' books in the two Ibo workplaces. Details regarding the standard of training and the number of years of experience that would put a worker on a particular grade (especially for factory workers), were clearly stated in the rules book. These rules were not only meant for the use of workers, but also to serve as guides to Personnel managers when grading new employees or when there were petitions for up-grading from old workers who might have passed their trade tests recently, or who felt that they were wrongly graded initially. In the two Hausa workplaces, there were statements in their employee Handbooks, regarding the grading of workers, but these statements did not contain definite details about the grading of workers. A statement in a Handbook in one of the Hausa workplaces which is similar generally to the one in the other Hausa workplace, read thus:

GRADING OF POSTS

All posts on various establishments are graded in accordance with responsibilities attached to each particular post. An employee is paid according to the salary and wages scale applicable to the grade of the particular post or the establishment to which he has been assigned.

There were no definite details or explanations as to the points on which the actual grading of a worker would be based, as was the case in the Ibo workplaces.

(iv) Promotion

A typical statement on promotion in the Employee Handbooks of the Hausa workplaces read thus:

PROMOTION

Promotion from a lower to a higher grade will be dependent upon vacancies and availability of a suitable person.

By the end of that Part in which Promotion was included, there is a statement which reads thus:

PRAISE

Management recognises if an employee is honest, obedient and hardworking. Prizes will be awarded to any employee that has exceptionally impressed management.

But no details were given in any part of the Handbook, as to how "a suitable person" would be determined by management. The procedures applied for the selection of workers to be promoted, were only in the minds of the managers, on whose recommendations the promotion of workers was based. Most of the trade union officials interviewed in the Hausa workplaces, and all the workers spoken to during participant observation by the author, explained that the managers based their recommendations for promotions on how obedient, honest and generally

religious a worker showed himself to be, as it was generally believed that a religious Moslem who was known to pray five times a day (two at home and three at the workplace) was a reliable worker. All the Moslem managers spoken to, confirmed this general belief. One of them said:

"Any worker who fears 'Allah' and keeps His rules as laid down by Prophet Muhammed in the holy Quran must always be a good worker".

Statements on promotion in the Ibo workplaces were similar to this one from a notice board in one Ibo workplace:

YEARLY PROMOTION EXERCISE

Any employee who has served the company for a minimum of two years, is eligible for promotion. But employees of all grades may be called upon to pass a trade test or promotional examination set by the company, before such promotion can be effective.

Every Ibo worker was definitely aware and conscious of the fact that if he worked hard and was able to pass a Government trade test or pass the company's promotional examinations, he would definitely be promoted to an appropriate grade, and that his religion had nothing to do with his advancement on his job. The Ibo managers expressed the same feeling, as one of the managers narrated a story of an incident in the recent past, when three workers in his section, who belonged to a religious group known as 'God's Kingdom Society', were dismissed, because they were reported in several occasions by the Supervisors to be spending substantial part of their time preaching to other workers in the factory, and as a result, did not give full attention their work assignments.

(v) Pensions

The details of the rules regarding pensions were all

formally defined in both the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces.

(vi) Money hand-outs to workers by Directors and Senior managers

The circumstances surrounding the way Directors and senior managers gave money on request to workers freely, could convince an observer that such manifestation of diffuse personal relationship between the Directors and workers, had the status of a rule in the workplaces. Any time the workers were in short of money, they simply walked to their favourite Director or manager, and the Director or manager gave them sufficient money to cater for their immediate needs. This was observed as a regular occurrence in the two Hausa workplaces. The workers, when spoken to, gave the impression that Allah had made the Directors and the managers rich and as such it was the responsibility of the rich ones to help the poor. The Moslem managers accepted this responsibility willingly. This sort of practice was not observed in any of the Ibo workplaces.

(vii) Wedding and child-naming presents from management to workers

The rules regarding wedding and child-naming presents were observed to exist informally in the two Hausa workplaces. These rules, like the Money hand-outs to workers by managers, developed as custom and practice. Infact, they were part of the normal way of life of the Hausa people in the wider society which were carried over to the industrial workplace. Although those rules were not stated in the company's Works Rule Books, they were definitely accepted rules in the workplaces. The giving of wedding presents to workers, existed in one Ibo workplace for about three years, but was recently stopped by

management when workers demanded that the rule be included in 'Terms and Conditions of Employment' book.

(viii) Overtime payments

The details of the rules regarding overtime payments were clearly stated in the Employee Handbooks in the Hausa workplaces and in the 'Junior Staff Terms and Conditions of Employment' book in the Ibo workplaces.

(ix) Redundancy payments

The one Hausa workplace that had a statement on redundancy payments in Employee Handbook, stated thus:

REDUNDANCY

'A' Textiles Ltd retains the right to declare any employee redundant and payment to such employee shall be determined by management.

There was no detailed explanation as to how management would determine the payment. A shopsteward in the workplace, explained that there had never been a case of redundancy in that workplace as far as he could remember, but that there had been series of what he called "Lay-offs" of workers, and that during those lay-offs, no extra payments were made to the workers affected. The shopsteward himself did not seem to understand what was meant by redundancy.

On the Notice Board in one Ibo workplace, a statement which was similar to the one in the 'Terms and Conditions of Employment' book in the other Ibo workplace, read thus:

REDUNDANCY

Under serious circumstances, the company may make some employees of any grade redundant. Such employees shall be entitled to payments as stipulated in the collective agreements.

And then in the collective agreements, the following details of the rules on redundancy payments were stated:

REDUNDANCY

0 - 1 year, monthly paid staff - 1 month pay
0 - 1 year, daily paid workers - 2 weeks pay
1 - 3 years, monthly paid staff - 2 months pay
1 - 3 years, daily paid workers - 3 weeks pay
3 years and above, monthly paid - 3 months pay
3 years and above, daily paid - 4 weeks pay.

From conversations with workers in this Ibo workplace, it was gathered that almost all the workers were fully aware of all the above details, and indeed all other rules, particularly rules on all aspects of remuneration.

(x) Duty and Acting allowances

There were formally definite rules on duty and acting allowances in the two Ibo workplaces. A typical rule on acting allowance in the Ibo workplaces read thus:

ACTING ALLOWANCE

An employee will be paid an acting allowance of 50% of the difference between his and the substantive holder's basic earning when the substantive holder of a post is absent for more than thirty (30) consecutive days. The employee covering his duties shall be deemed to be acting.

The details of duty allowance are clearly stated and tabulated and put on the Notice Board as shown in Appendix XVI.

In the two Hausa workplaces, it was observed and later confirmed by the sectional managers, that Acting allowance existed, but there was no mention of it in the Handbooks or in any other document. The practice was for management to give a sum of money to an employee who had worked in Acting

position for a period when the substantive holder of the post was away. The amount varied depending mainly on how well the worker performed his job, as perceived by the sectional manager, on whose recommendation the determination of the amount to be paid would be based.

(xi) General findings on remuneration

One point which came out very clearly while having informal conversations with workers during breaks and after working hours in their palm-wine drinking places (in the case of the Ibo workers) and evening gatherings outside some of their praying places (in the case of the Hausa workers), was that every Ibo worker was fully aware of all the details regarding the terms on all aspects of his employment, particularly his entitlements in terms of remuneration. Most of the time during breaks, in the workplace canteens and nearby eating places, the Ibo workers discussed nothing but recent changes in rules and any new circulars from the Federal Ministry of Establishments, which give new remuneration in the form of allowances to their counterparts in the Civil Service, and how they could make their managements to implement such allowances in their own organisations. The Ibo workers were very conscious of changes in rules in the neighbouring establishments, especially when the changes affected remuneration of any sort.

The Hausa worker generally, did not seem to bother about knowing the details of the terms of his employment. When in several occasions many of the Hausa workers were engaged in informal conversations either individually or in a group by the author, on the rate of wages and other rules regarding

workers' entitlements at the workplace, the workers became bored very quickly and introduced new jokes to change the topic of the conversation. During my period of participant observation in workplace 1 (Hausa), one of the workers in one occasion, speaking in pidgin English said to me as a joke:

"As ibi say you get interest for work rule and entitlement, and as I see say you go bukuru, make you tell them for office, say make them transfer you for Personnel Department, as na there you go belle-ful for rules and regulason. Kai nyamili".

What the worker was telling me was that as I showed a lot of interest in talking about employment rules and entitlements, and as he felt I was literate, I should speak to the Authorities of the workplace to transfer me to the Personnel Department, as that was the place where I could fill my stomach with rules and entitlements if I wanted to. When he said this, all the other workers in the group, burst out laughing at me, and that ended the topic. Management in these Hausa workplaces seemed to be aware of this attitude of their workers generally, hence they did not bother to specify the details of the rules in the Handbooks, rather they made this statement under INTRODUCTION in the Handbook:

"You will be told those things you do not know by your officers, supervisors and colleagues by asking, and at the same time as your work is explained to you, you will be told of the normal channel of communication with the management".

B. RULES ON OTHER MATTERS

Table 32 on the next page sets out the nature of the other rules that existed in the four workplaces, other than remuneration.

TABLE 32

THE FORM IN WHICH OTHER EMPLOYMENT RULES
EXISTED IN THE FOUR WORKPLACES

			HAUSA		IBO	
			1	2	3	4
Working conditions	Allocation of work	Substantive	ID	ID	ID	ID
		Procedural	IND	IND	ID	ID
	Pace of work	Substantive	IND	IND	IND	IND
		Procedural	IND	IND	IND	IND
	Manning of machines	Substantive	ID	ID	ID	ID
		Procedural	IND	IND	ID	ID
	Quality of work	Substantive	FD	FD	FD	FD
		Procedural	FD	FD	FD	FD
	Health and Safety	Substantive	FD	FD	FD	FD
		Procedural	FD	FD	FD	FD
Hours of work	Starting & stopping times	Substantive	ID	ID	FD	FD
		Procedural	IND	IND	FD	FD
	Overtime arrangement	Substantive	FD	FD	FD	FD
		Procedural	ID	FD	FD	ID
	Breaks in working hours	Substantive	ID	ID	FD	FD
		Procedural	IND	IND	FD	FD
	Holidays	Substantive	FD	FD	FD	FD
		Procedural	FD	FD	FD	FD
Discipline	Suspension	Substantive	IND	IND	FD	FD
		Procedural	IND	IND	FD	FD
	Dismissal	Substantive	FD	FD	FD	FD
		Procedural	IND	IND	FD	FD

(i) Working conditions

Rules on allocation of work, pace of work and manning of machines, existed informally in all the four workplaces, but the exact details of the rules varied with circumstances and were solely dependent on the discretion of the managers. There were records in the minutes of union meetings and correspondences which showed that disagreements between union officials and management in one Ibo workplace, in the recent past had centred on the reduction in the number of workers expected to man some machines in the factory. But this did not result in definite formal rules being made on that. There were formal rules on quality of work and Health and Safety measures in the four workplaces. A typical statement of the rules on Health and Safety measure from one of the workplaces is shown at Appendix X.

(ii) Hours of work

(a) Starting and stopping times

Starting and stopping times were not formally stated in the employee Handbooks of the two Hausa workplaces, but all the workers knew that work started at 7.30 am and closed by 4.00 pm Monday to Friday, and closing by 1.00 pm on Saturday. On Notice boards in the Ibo workplaces, the starting and closing times were stated, including also the penalties for defaulting.

(b) Breaks during working hours

The one hour break period of between 1.00 pm and 2.00 pm, in the Ibo workplaces, was clearly stated in notices on Notice boards. But in the two Hausa workplaces no mention of break

periods was made in any documents. It was observed that in sections of the Hausa workplaces, workers had systems of staggered breaks, whereby workers individually decided on when to take their breaks between 12 noon and 2.00 pm. In addition to this, at 1.30 pm every day, the prayerful Moslems who form majority of the workers in the workplace, left their work positions and went out to pray. This afternoon prayer usually lasted for about forty-five minutes (this included the time they used in washing their feet, hands and faces in preparation for the prayers). On Fridays, the Moslems left the workplace by 10.00 am to worship in their Mosques. In theory, as explained by the Personnel manager of workplace 1 (who himself was a Moslem), the workers were supposed to come back to work by 2.00 pm after their worship, but in practice majority of them never did. So Friday was unofficially regarded as a half-working day. The surprising thing was that no statements on all these religious practices were contained in any of the official documents of the workplaces. The rules only existed as custom and practice.

(c) Overtime arrangements and Holidays

There were definite formal rules on overtime and holidays in all the four workplaces. The usual statement on overtime arrangements was as follows:

OVERTIME

There may be occasions on which overtime work is unavoidable, and in these circumstances employees must work overtime if required by sectional heads.

(iii) Rules on Discipline

The details of the rules on discipline in the two Hausa

workplaces were similar to this one from one Hausa workplace:

TERMINATION

- (a) The company reserves the right to terminate any employees employment without assigning any reasons whatsoever.
- (b) The following termination procedure after expiry of the probation will apply except where a person is summarily dismissed:-
 - Daily-paid employee - 14 days notice
 - Monthly paid employee - a month notice
 - Daily paid employees who have spent over 5 years - one month notice.
- (c) The company may terminate employment instantly. Money in lieu of notice may be paid to employees whose employment is so terminated.

There were no other explanations as to what offences a worker would commit that would result to termination or dismissal. But it came out from conversations with managers and workers, that termination of employment due to offences committed by workers was not common in the Hausa workplaces. There were usually cases of lay-offs of the daily rated workers, which was not regarded as redundancy cases. In the Ibo workplaces, the rules regarding discipline were much more detailed. One picked from the 'Junior Staff Terms and Conditions of Employment' book in the Personnel Department of workplace 4 is shown in Appendix XI.

(iv) Employment of women

A remarkable difference was observed between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces regarding the employment of females. A statement in the Employee Handbook of workplace 1 (Hausa) read thus:

FEMALE EMPLOYEES

As a general policy, the company is interested in the employment of females, both married and

single, but with the following provisos:

- (a) A lady who marries an employee of the company must resign her appointment forthwith.
- (b) Married women may not marry any of the employee of the company. That is to say cannot divorce her husband and marry an employee of the 'A' Textiles Ltd without both of them loosing their jobs.

It was observed that in practice, females were hardly employed in the Hausa workplaces, except the few non-Hausa girls who were employed as telephone operators and in the canteens.

There were no such rules in the Ibo workplaces. In the Finishing Department of the Ibo workplaces, majority of the workers were females.

C. RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS OF DATA

Table 33 on the next page presents the results of the analysis of the findings on the nature of rules in the four workplaces, which have already been shown on Tables 31 and 32. What is likely to strike one first in these results, is the high degree of informalisation of rules in the Hausa workplaces especially the procedural rules, where 77% and 70% in the two Hausa workplaces respectively, were informal. The results also show that both substantive and procedural rules in the two Ibo workplaces were highly formalised (substantive rules: 80% and 84% respectively; procedural rules: 75% and 74% respectively). The main findings regarding the nature of the rules of job regulation at the four workplaces, which will be explored more fully in the discussion that follows, are:

- (i) Low level of formalisation of rules in the Hausa workplaces, particularly the procedural rules.

TABLE 33

RESULTS OF ANALYSIS OF DEGREE OF
FORMALISATION OF RULES IN THE
FOUR WORKPLACES

		HAUSA		IBO	
		1	2	3	4
		%	%	%	%
Substantive	Formal	52	50	80	84
	Informal	48	50	20	16
Procedural	Formal	23	30	75	74
	Informal	77	70	25	26

$$\chi^2 = 23.27$$

$$p_{.05} = 3.33$$

$$df = 9$$

NOTE: The Chi-square test calculation was done with the absolute figures, not the percentages. See Appendix XII for all the calculations, both of the percentages and the Chi-square test.

Formal = FD + FND

Informal = ID + IND

(see pages 253-254 for the meaning of these notations).

(ii) High level of formalisation of rules in the Ibo workplaces, in both substantive and procedural rules.

2. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND EXAMINATION OF CULTURAL INFLUENCES

(i) Low level of formalisation of rules in the Hausa workplaces.

It is considered useful here to examine first the current

views on the sources of informal rules in workplace industrial relations, before going on to discuss the likely roots of the low level of formalisation of rules in the Hausa workplaces. Industrial Relations literature tend generally to attribute the source of informal rules to Custom and Practice in the workplace. Loveridge (1976, p.9) argues that "informal control mechanisms are often articulated in the use of Custom and Practice", while Fox (1971, p.136) viewing the issue politically and introducing the concepts of power on the side of the unions and complacency on the part of management, argues that "if the collectivity is powerful and management complaisant enough, the collectivity may be able unilaterally to establish norms of its own either in the form of explicit rules or in the form of C & P". But Flanders has given a more embracing explanation by describing custom and practice as:

"all manner of unwritten rules regulating work and employment. Some of them may be officially upheld by trade unions but most are enforced on the shopfloor by work or union groups....it has also resulted in the growth of unilateral regulation by workers on the shopfloor which is expressed in employment or working practices acquiring the force of institution" (1967, pp.69-70).

The important point made by Flanders in the above statement, is that the bulk of these custom and practice, which form the source of informal rules, develop on the shopfloor. These informal rules develop through what Barth (1966) has called 'transactional'¹ processes on the shopfloor. Brown (1972) has therefore defined custom and practice as "transactional rule of job regulation that arises from informal processes".

1. Barth (1966) defines 'transactions' in this context as "those sequences of interaction which are systematically governed by reciprocity".

As these custom and practice rules develop from work processes, and require managerial legitimation either expressly or by implication, it means that their development and nature of effect generally, are bound to be influenced by the internal environment of the particular workplace.

Weber's (1964) classic investigation of the ordering of social relationships, seems to add another dimension to the understanding of the source of informal rules in the workplace. He distinguished between 'custom', 'convention', 'law' and 'rational behaviour'. We are here concerned with his explanation of custom only. He said that customs are behaviour patterns to which:

"The actor conforms of his own free will, whether his motivation lies in the fact that he merely fails to think about it, that it is more comfortable to conform or whatever else the reason may be. But it is always a justified expectation on the part of the members of the group that a customary rule will be adhered to" (ibid. pp.121-122).

This type of customary rule does not need further legitimation by any party, as it is protected against violation by sanctions of disapproval by all parties involved. The severity of the sanction will depend on the degree of commitment to that customary rule by members of the group. This type of informal rule does not necessarily need to develop in the workplace, it could develop outside the workplace or form part of the custom of the wider community, which is carried over or using Bohannan's (1967) expression, 're-institutionalised'¹ into the internal work community as generally accepted informal rules.

1. Bohannan explained that norms could, through the process of double-institutionalisation, be re-institutionalised into legal orders. This concept of double-institutionalisation, can also be applied in understanding how the status of custom and practice in the workplace is raised to formal rules, for as argued by Brown, "formalised agreements are often no more than consolidated agreements; they merely place a seal of approval upon rules well-established under C & P".

For purposes of the discussion that follows, we shall use the term 'work-generated informal rules' to mean the usual rules based on workplace custom and practice, and 'community-generated informal rules' to mean customary rules as described by Weber and explained above. This distinction is considered useful in examining the root of the low degree of formalisation of rules in the Hausa workplaces.

The informal rules in the Hausa workplaces could be divided into two categories - some as community-generated informal rules and the others as work-generated informal rules. The community-generated rules include rules on individual and general praying time breaks during working hours, money-hand-outs to workers by Directors and senior managers, non-employment of females, wedding and child-naming presents and other similar informal rules. These rules exist in the wider Hausa community as customary rules, and as such are part of the ordinary Hausa traditional way of life which are carried over to the workplace. It is therefore not surprising that those rules exist informally, because as they are part of the traditional way of life of both the Hausa manager and worker, they do not require any further legitimation by management. Although those rules exist informally, they are definite and all the parties are conscious of their existence. As these rules have their base on the cultural traditions of the Hausa community, they are protected against violation by severe sanctions of disapproval by the parties, so much that in the event of conflict between this type of informal rules and management-created formal rules, the informal rules superceded. An incident reported by Lubeck (1975) in his sociological study of "unions, workers and consciousness" in three factories in Kano in the Hausa area of

Northern Nigeria, shows what happened in a Hausa workplace when there was conflict between a community-generated informal rule and company's formal rule. The incident is better narrated in Lubeck's words:

"The first example took place in a textile firm that was owned and managed by indigenous Hausa entrepreneurs, which we will call factory C. As one of the first such ventures it enjoyed a considerable level of trust from the workers because, as one of them remarked, 'Our relatives had money in the firm'. Although the upper echelon of management was Hausa, the technical direction was conducted by a British engineer. Initially, the workers' conflict with the technical manager concerned allocation of time for prayers. Some time during 1961 a worker was caught praying without permission and was penalised by a seven-day suspension from work. He was able to arouse support for his position among fellow workers, so that an appeal was made to the Emir resulting in the worker's immediate reinstatement along with a provision for proper prayer breaks" (ibid. pp. 145-146).

That the workers took the case of what happened in an industrial workplace to a Traditional Ruler (the Emir), instead of taking it to an Industrial Tribunal which the Nigerian Government had established to deal with such matters, and considering also how effectively the traditional ruler handled the matter, show that the workers were aware of the root of the existence of the community-generated informal rule which was violated. The Emir is known to be the Custodian of all the cultural traditions of that Hausa community, and his authority in adjudicating on issues regarding those rules and securing members' absolute compliance to the rules in the locality, including the industrial workplace, was regarded as unquestionable. In concluding his comments on the above cited incident, Lubeck emphasized that:

"Stress must be placed upon the significance of Muslim culture among workers in northern Nigeria. Although the grievances might be

identical to those in non-Muslim situations, they are likely to be interpreted as violations of Muslim practice" (ibid. p.146).

We now turn to work-generated informal rules that exist in the Hausa workplaces. These rules relate to actual work processes, but they could be argued to defer slightly from the type that exist in many Western countries such as Britain, judging from the way they develop in the workplaces, in that most of them originate from precedents set by managers and supervisors in organising work activities, as there was no evidence of any of the existing work-generated informal rules having originated from the work-groups or the unions. A number of factors could be responsible for the existence of this category of informal rules in the Hausa workplaces, one of which is, using Loveridge's (op. cit.) expression, the low "degree of articulation" of rules by the Hausa workers. The Hausa workers did not seem to be interested in knowing or discussing the details of their terms of employment. They just accepted things as they came to them. Although there is lack of other supportive empirical studies of industrial workers in Sub-Saharan Africa as pointed out by Peace (1977), while reporting his study of Industrial Protest in Nigeria, Hastings (1925) had this to say about the general attitude of the Hausa farmer:

"The farmers are not provident, they never take thought about the morrow, or keep a reserve in hand for times of scarcity. The average man just sows and reaps for present needs. He has to feed himself and his wife and children for a year and keep enough grain for next year's seed, for paying his tax and a bit for charity and hospitability. That is all the great majority bother about. In an abundant year they will have an extra surplus, but it is Allah's will, not their own effort, that they gain it. At first sight it is difficult to understand why they do not guard against the rainy or in Nigeria the non-rainy day, but they have their reasons, and one can suppose they know best

what suits them. Constitutionally they are lazy, and will not work more than they need, though while they are at it they work hard. Another thing they know is that rain shortage is rare on the whole, and they trust that to luck and Allah" (pp. 112-113).

The Hausa worker carries on with this attitude to work generally even when he is in the industrial workplace, because there was hardly any difference between the attitude of the Hausa farmer as described by Hastings above and that observed of the Hausa workers in their industrial workplaces. It could be argued that the situation, to some extent, is slightly the same with the Hausa managers, because as pointed out by Hill (1972), "the Hausa enjoy a high degree of cultural, linguistic and religious uniformity, the differing patterns of social and economic organisation (if any) relate rather to the contrast between rural and urban life than to ethnic and social class differentiation".

The only thing the Hausa worker seemed to be conscious of, was his religious practice, even at the workplace. Even where he is working in the midst of non-Hausa workers, he still hangs on to his religious practices as much as he can. Seibel (1967) in his study of inter-ethnic relations in Nigerian industrial workplaces, which involved a random sample of 509 workers in 10 industrial firms in Ibadan and Lagos (non-Hausa area), reported the responses given by non-Hausa workers on the impressions they had of the Hausa workers in those workplaces. The responses were as follows:

"They are better, honest, very sincere; they always speak the truth; they are faithful, holy, very religious (response from an Anglican), straight-forward, friendly; they like to collaborate; their culture is similar, their religion is the same, their dressing as well; they are not as harsh as other tribes in dealing with".

Another point to be considered is the fact that the Hausa workers were made to depend on their managers and superiors generally for any information they would require regarding their terms of employment. The Employee Handbooks given to the workers, were written in English language, while a large majority of the workers could neither read nor write English. This seemed to suggest that the reason why the Hausa managers did not bother to put the details of the rules in writing was because of the high illiteracy level among their workers. But it was found that a large majority of the Hausa workers were literate in Hausa and Arabic languages. If the managers had felt any necessity for the details of rules to be written down and given to workers, they could have done this in either of the two languages which the workers could read, or if the workers themselves were keen, they could have requested management to produce the Handbooks in any of the languages. There was no evidence that such request had ever been made in those workplaces. What seemed to be the truth of the situation, was that both the Hausa workers and their managers, did not deem it necessary for all rules to be reduced to writing, because the form the rules took did not necessarily matter to the parties, as the individual Hausa worker was always normally prepared to accept as true, all that he was told by his superiors.

Connected to the point made above, is the high trust-relations and sincere respect for each other, which was observed to exist between workers and managers in the Hausa workplaces. The statement made by Etukudo (1977, p.8) that "respect for age and good character is characteristic of African culture", is particularly true of Hausa community.

It was observed in the Hausa workplaces, that each time a younger worker came across an elderly worker, the younger one would, as a social obligation, bow down to the elderly worker, as a mark of respect, irrespective of whether both people had met before or not. This also happened with greater emphasis whenever a worker came across a supervisor or manager. This was done, as explained by one elderly worker, to show humility to one's superior. This sort of practice was not observed in the Ibo workplaces; the only thing similar to this which was observed in the Ibo workplaces was that every worker answered 'Sir' when called by any manager or supervisor, but not in the same sincere and humble manner as would be the case in an Hausa workplace.

A great deal of diffuse interpersonal relationships existed between the Hausa workers and their managers. For example, it was observed that many of the workers, when they received their monthly wages or salaries, because they did not maintain any Bank account, gave some part of their money to the managers to keep for them. Usually no written records of such transaction were kept, but there never was any problem arising from such informal affair, as confirmed by workers and managers who were spoken to on this issue. So, apart from work relationships between workers and managers, there existed other informal relationships outside the workplace, which the parties were always conscious of, and this was likely to affect their behaviour towards, and impressions of one another at the workplace. Etukudo (op. cit. p.8), commenting on this complex network of relationship in an African society, which is particularly true of the Hausa community, argues:

"One fact stands out loud and clear concerning the traditional African society. It is its

multiplex nature, whereby people are constantly engaged in face-to-face social relations wherein they play many roles. A person may at one time be for the same people, a teacher, a preacher, a judge, a medicine man as well as a father. Economic analysis alone cannot explain the interaction of these roles because they do not operate in isolation one from another".

We have stated in Chapter Three, that one of the cultural features in the attitudes of the Hausa people, is their high regard for authority and their keen interest in interpersonal relations. These were shown to be due to the Islamic religious influences on the socialisation process which the people undergo, which make them to believe and perceive anybody in authority as being divinely put in that position. This to a great extent accounts for the high degree of trust and respect which the Hausa workers have for the managers, and which the managers reciprocate to the extent that the way the parties (especially the worker) were observed to perceive the relationship between them, could be said to correspond generally to Weber's concept of 'status contract' which Fox (1974), making use of expressions from Selznick (1969, p.54) and Rheinstein (1954, p.106), described as:

"a voluntary agreement for the creation of a continuing relationship, especially one that affects the total legal situation of the individual. By means of such a contract a person was to become somebody's child, father, wife, brother, master, slave, kin, comrade-in-arms, protector, client, follower, vassal, subject, friend, or quite generally comrade. The conditional element of the contract is attenuated because only a general reciprocity is expected. The commitments are diffuse and are not premised on explicit consent to particular obligations. Such a contract fits the requirement and the ethos of a status-based society" (p.153).

In such situation it is not surprising for the community-generated informal rules to be re-institutionalised in the workplace without further formalisation, and for the workers

to depend on the managers as sources of workplace rules, rather than bothering themselves with written documents.

(ii) High level of formalisation of rules in the Ibo workplaces

One remarkable observation made of the Ibo workers, was the high level of awareness of the individual Ibo workers of the details of their terms of employment. Changes in workplace rules normally formed the object of discussion among workers both in the workplace and in their palm-wine drinking places outside the workplace. It was also noticed that in the wider Ibo community, when friends met and stopped to greet each other, just as a British man would ask his friend "How do you feel about the weather?", the Ibo man would ask his friend "Kedu maka olu?", which means "How is work?". This question would then lead them into discussing events in their respective workplaces, including particularly any recent changes in rules, and if any of them was self-employed, he would talk about the progress of his business.

The Ibo worker and managers seemed to hold the view that an informal rule was not a rule. An incident in one of the Ibo workplaces illustrates this point. Management use to give wedding presents to workers. This practice had gone on for about three years that it appeared as if it had become an accepted custom and practice rule. In March 1980, one of the workers whom many managers regarded as a trouble-maker at the workplace wedded and management did not give him any presents. After the wedding, the worker came back, annoyed with management's action, influenced the union into demanding that the giving of wedding presents to workers by management should be

written in the "Junior Staff Terms and Conditions of Employment" book. The union did not demand that management should give presents to that particular newly wedded worker. When the secretary of the union in that workplace was asked why they did not insist that management should give wedding presents to the newly wedded worker, he replied that as the practice had not been written in the "Terms and Conditions of Employment" book, they felt they had no 'right' to make such demand. However, management quickly put up a notice informing the workers that the giving of wedding presents to workers which happened in the past was a mere "gesture of generosity from the company", and that a decision had been taken that the practice had to be stopped with immediate effect. As soon as the notice was out on Notice Boards at the workplace, the matter about wedding presents ended, and the unions did not pursue their demand any further. This was the way the Ibo workers and managers were seen to regard informal rules.

The traditional attitude of the Ibo to constituted authority, has earlier been described to be that of distrust and no special regard, and moreover he is not as interested in interpersonal relations as the Hausa is. With these cultural attitudes influencing the Ibo worker and manager at the workplace, the parties are most likely to perceive their relationship as 'purposive contract' which as argued by Fox (1974) is "strongly market oriented" and not very much influenced by any interpersonal relationship. Selznick (op. cit. p.54), described this form of contract as:

"made to complete a specific transaction or to further a discrete objective. Only a tenuous and temporary association is created. The purposive contract is infused with the spirit of restraint and delimitations; open-ended obligations are alien to its nature; arms-length negotiation is the keynote".

The circumstances of such situation, then demands that the terms of the relationship between the parties should be in the form that enables them to be specifically spelt out to the awareness of the parties. Hence the high level of formalisation and articulation of rules in the Ibo workplaces.

3. ASSESSMENT OF HYPOTHESIS IX AND CONCLUSIONS

Hypothesis IX posits that because the Hausa traditionally has higher regard for authority and is more keenly interested in interpersonal relations than the Ibo is, the rules of job regulation of the Ibo workplaces will tend to be more formalised than those of the Hausa workplaces. Our findings strongly support the hypothesis, as our results show that significant differences along the lines suggested by the hypothesis, existed between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces. These differences have in discussion been considered to have their roots in the cultural differences in attitudes to authority and to the direct influence of the culturally-based customary practices of the wider society, especially in the Hausa workplaces. The differences in the cultural attitudes to interpersonal trust relations in the two societies were also considered to be a strong variable accounting for the differences in the levels of formalisation of rules in the workplaces.

PART THREE:
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Our main theme has been the study of cultural influences on the main aspects of job regulation at the workplace. Culture was conceived as the pattern of beliefs, values and customs of a people which form the basis of the people's traditional attitudes which are reflected in their patterns of social behaviour. Twelve attitudinal variables were identified as being related to job regulation. Job regulation, on the other hand, was defined as involving all formal and informal structures and processes that relate to the making and administering of rules which regulate employment relationships. These structures and processes were seen as falling into four main compartments - workplace union organisation, management's industrial relations policies, rule-making processes, and the rules themselves.

The major assumption underlying this study has been that human attitudes are culture-bound, in that through the process of socialisation, human beings imbibe the norms, values and beliefs of the group or society to which they belong. This acquired set of values and beliefs bears dominant influence on the way the individual interprets, reacts and adjusts to situations, thereby forming the basis of the individual's mode of social behaviour. People carry these culturally defined attitudes and modes of behaviour into the workplace. In their comparative study of organisational and managerial roles in

British and West German firms, Child and Kieser (1979, p.268) indicated that cultural factors have most bearing upon modes of individual conducts and interpersonal relationships in the industrial workplace. Our general plan was therefore, to identify the relevant culturally-based attitudinal characteristics of two cultures and then to go into the workplaces of those cultural groups to see whether differences exist in their patterns of the conduct of job regulation, and to examine the extent to which the observed differences are due to the identified cultural differences in attitudinal characteristics and customary practices.

The Hausa and the Ibo tribes of Nigeria were chosen for the study, as they were found, through preliminary survey of anthropological literature, to have distinct cultural characteristics. There are other tribes in Nigeria, but the Hausa and the Ibo tribal groups were found to possess contrasting cultural characteristics, which made them suitable for such comparative study. The reason for basing the study on two cultures that are within one national boundary, was to be able to carry out the empirical part of the study in organisations that are under similar political, legal and general macro-economic influences, as it is known that these factors also affect aspects of job regulation at the workplace (Craig: 1975, pp.11-12). The workplaces in which the fieldwork was carried out were matched for technology and size. By basing the study on workplaces where the influences of the other environmental factors except culture were constant, it was then possible to identify specific cultural influences on aspects of job regulation in the two cultural groups.

The main empirical findings of the study will now be

stated, and then the general conclusions drawn from the findings regarding the specific cultural influences on aspects of job regulation will be stated. The practical implications of the conclusions on the management of workplace industrial relations in Nigeria will be examined, and this will be followed where appropriate, by recommendations on the possible ways of coping with the situation. A brief evaluation of the study will be made, and possible direction for further research will be suggested.

A. SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

The main findings of the study are as follows:

1. The attitudes of the individual Hausa workers to the union organisation was largely influenced by the personal regard which the workers had for the union officials as individuals, particularly the union stewards; as the majority of Hausa workers did not differentiate between the personalities of the union officials and the trade union organisation as separate entities. Consequently, the Hausa workers regarded their union stewards as their sectional union leaders, and relied greatly on them whenever they had problems both at the workplaces and in their private homes. This was considered to be due to the Hausa traditional interest in interpersonal and face-to-face relations, as they preferred identifying themselves with persons with whom they could establish trust relations in a friendly and informal atmosphere, to identifying with an organisation which has merely an impersonal existence.

2. The Ibo has a proverb that states thus: "Igwe bu Ike" which means that a group has stronger power than an individual. The Ibo workers seemed to join unions on the basis of this proverb, as they believed that the strong bargaining power they needed at work in order to achieve their individual objectives in their dealings with management, could only be obtained through collective action. Those who joined unions, did so because of the material benefits they hoped to get. The personalities of the union officials did not have much influence on their attitudes to the union organisation. The Ibo traditional saying "Igbo enwe eze" meaning that the Ibo people do not recognise kings, which expresses the Ibo traditional low regard for persons occupying positions of authority, explains why the individual Ibo worker preferred taking their complaints directly to the workplace-based full-time union officials, rather than relying on their stewards as the Hausa did.
3. The Hausa unions adopted more of oral representations when putting their demands to management, and whenever there was disagreement, they preferred to settle the matter through face-to-face negotiations with management. As the Hausa workers did not distinguish between the owner/directors of a company from the company itself, and because the Hausa traditionally regards anyone in authority as having been divinely put in that position and as such gives him absolute loyalty, the Hausa unions did not favour the use of industrial sanctions in enforcing their demands. They preferred

repeated oral representations and negotiations with management on the issue, as that would foster the mutually cherished personal trust, respect and general cordial relationship between the parties.

4. The Ibo unions tended to use written representations when presenting their demands initially to management. When there were disagreements, the Ibo unions easily resorted to seeking help from outside bodies such as the Labour Officers from the Federal Ministry of Labour, and the full-time officials from union Headquarters. The Ibo traditional attitude of low trust towards another person in business dealings and low regard for authority, were considered to be responsible for the Ibo unions' preference for the use of third-parties for the settlement of disagreements on industrial relations issues with management.
5. The Hausa managements adopted paternalistic policies in dealing with industrial relations issues. Workers were encouraged to see the organisation as being analogous to a Hausa family or kingdom, in which the leaders are regarded as being pre-ordained by Allah (Moslem God), to lead the people. The Hausa traditionally regards his subordinates as his followers and endeavours to protect them as members of his group. This traditional attitude was found to be demonstrated in the individual Hausa manager's way of handling industrial relations matters at the workplace.

6. The traditional Ibo system of government emphasizes equality, democracy and autonomy. The Ibo managements reflected this in their management of industrial relations at the workplace, by adopting collaborative policies, whereby workers were allowed to participate as much as possible in the making of rules that regulate affairs of the workplace, particularly the Labour-utilisation and the employment contractual rules.
7. Managerial regulation was found to be the dominant rule-making process in the Hausa workplaces. This was considered to be based on the influence of the system of government in the traditional Hausa community, in which those in authority are given absolute loyalty in accordance with Islamic religious teachings. The customary practice whereby the Hausa are socialised in the family to give high respect to their fathers and seniors, had the effect of making the Hausa workers happily tolerate the managements' wide scope of the exercise of managerial prerogative.
8. The Joint regulation process was found to be dominant in the Ibo workplaces. The Ibo has high desire to acquire wealth and material benefits, and is traditionally individualistic. With these attitudinal characteristics, the Ibo workers and managers seemed to find joint regulation process to be more acceptable to them for the making of industrial relations rules at the workplace.

9. The community-generated informal rules that existed in the Hausa workplaces, such as rules on the employment of female workers and rules on mid-day prayers breaks, were found to be made through the customary rule-making process in the Hausa community and re-institutionalised into the workplace. This was found to be a direct influence of culture on workplace industrial relations. This was considered to be due to the Hausa traditional high regard for customs which makes them react unfavourably to change. This direct cultural influence was so strong that in situations where there was conflict between the community-generated informal rules and the formal managerial rules, the community-generated informal rules superseded. This form of social regulation did not exist in the Ibo workplaces.
10. A greater proportion of rules in the Hausa workplaces, especially the procedural rules, were found to be informal, and this was considered to be due to the high level of trust and interpersonal relationships that existed between the Hausa workers and their managers, which was a reflection of the Hausa traditional high regard for persons in positions of authority and respect for subordinates.
11. There was a high degree of formalisation of both substantive and procedural rules in the Ibo workplaces. The low trust relations which existed between the Ibo workers and their management seemed to make them disregard informal rules. As the Ibo traditionally

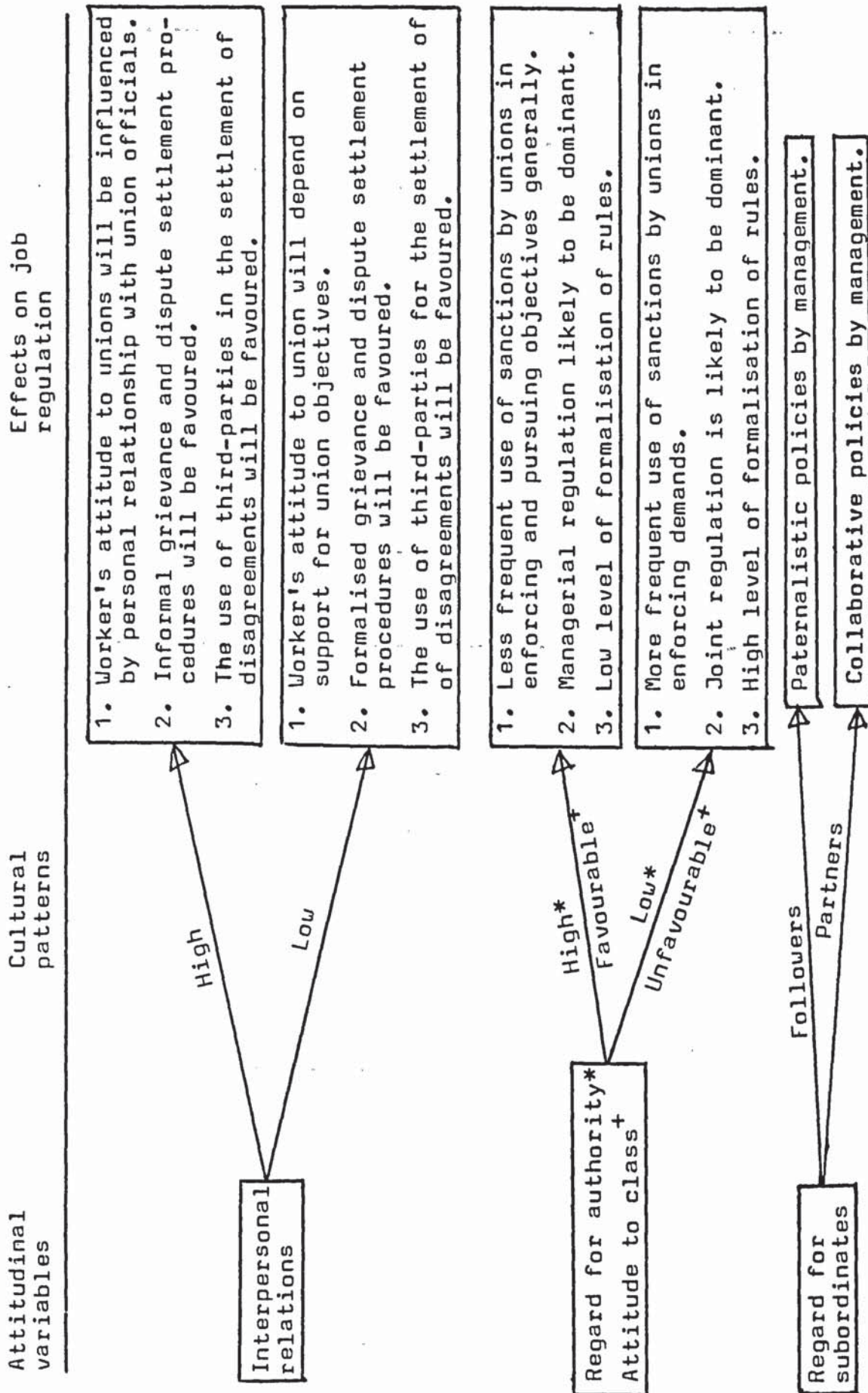
has an instrumental attitude to wage employment and is usually cautious in handling business matters, the Ibo workers and their management were inclined to formalise all industrial relations rules and actions in order to make the rules definite for easy reference by the parties, during negotiations.

12. Although the four organisations involved in this study were equally affected by the national ban on strikes in Nigeria during the period covered by the empirical part of this study, a greater number of conflict manifestations were recorded in the Ibo workplaces than in the Hausa ones. It was considered that the Hausa traditional favourable attitude towards persons in higher social status, and their negative attitude to risk-taking, might have made them to disfavour adopting sanctions as a means of achieving their objectives. They would normally want to settle disagreements peacefully in order to maintain trust and cordial relationship with management. The Ibo traditional attitude to the acquisition of wealth and their low regard for those in authority, coupled with their interest in group solidarity for the achievement of individual objectives, were considered responsible for the Ibo workers' adoption of a variety of industrial sanctions and restrictive practices in enforcing their demands and pursuing their general objectives at the workplace.

B. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS, PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although the above findings are directly based on the information obtained from four workplaces, the empirical investigation was carried out in a way that makes it logical for the findings to be generalisable as approximately representing the situation in all other workplaces in the respective cultural (tribal) groups. This is because, the characteristics of the two Hausa and the two Ibo workplaces, and the general nature of culture whose influence on job regulation was being studied, make the case-studies 'representative' ones in terms of Eldridge's (1968, p.6) classification. The general conclusions which can be drawn from the findings, regarding the specific cultural influences on aspects of job regulation are as stated in Figure H on the next two pages. These general conclusions are explained as follows:

1. The degree to which a culture emphasizes interpersonal relationships among its members in the community, relates to workers' attitudes to union, the nature of grievance and disputes settlement procedures that exist at the workplace and the extent to which unions and management favour the use of third-parties for settlement of disagreements. In a culture where emphasis on interpersonal relationships is high, workers' favourable or unfavourable attitudes to unions is likely to be influenced by the degree of personal regard which the workers have for the union officials as individuals. The use of third-parties in the settlement of disagreements between unions and management is not likely to be favoured in such situation, as the parties will tend to prefer the use



(Continued on the next page)

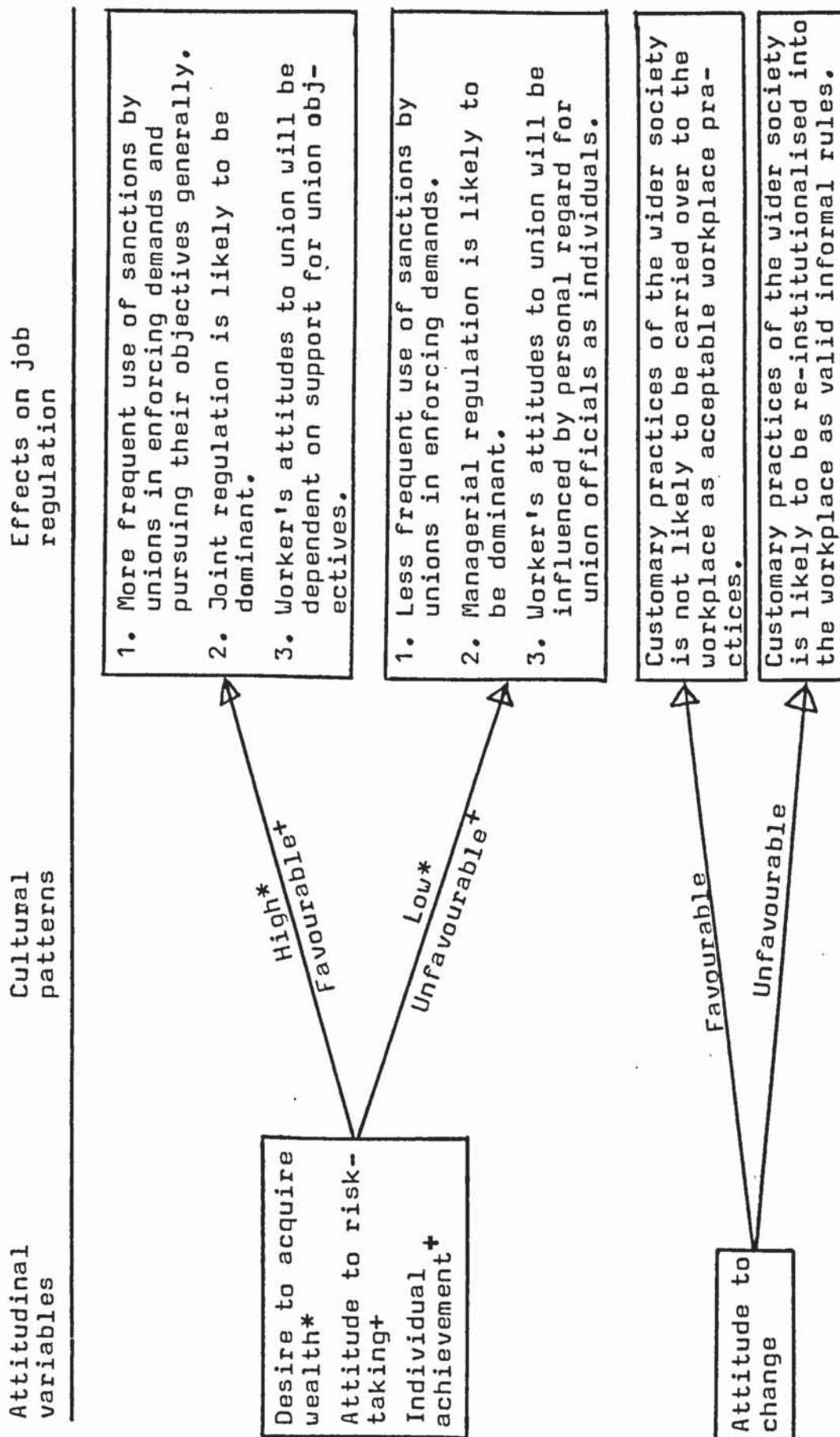


Figure H: The influences of culturally-defined attitudinal variables on aspects of job regulation.

of informal and more relaxed procedures in settling grievances and disputes, as that is more likely to foster trust relations and friendly atmosphere which form the basis of the traditionally cherished interpersonal relationships. But at the workplace of a cultural group where emphasis on interpersonal relationships is low, workers' attitudes to unions will depend on their support for union objectives and the extent to which these objectives are achieved. The use of formalised procedures and the employment of third-parties in the settlement of grievances and disputes will be favoured by the parties.

2. The traditional regard for authority and the attitude to social class or status, form a cluster of culturally-defined attitudinal characteristics that relate to job regulation similarly. Where there is high regard for authority and/or favourable attitude to social class or status, and particularly where such high regard and favourable attitudes are based on some kind of strong religious beliefs and principles, there is likely to be less frequent use of industrial sanctions by unions to enforce their demands. Management and workers will prefer to settle disagreements by themselves rather than employing the assistance of third-parties. Managerial regulation will tend to have greater recognition than other rule-making processes at the workplace, and greater proportion of rules at the workplace are likely to be informal, especially the procedural rules. On the other hand, in a culture where low regard is given to authority

and/or attitude to social class is generally unfavourable, there is likely to be more frequent use of industrial sanctions by unions, and the use of third-parties in settling disagreements between management and unions is likely to be resorted to more easily rather than trying to achieve negotiated settlement on their own. Joint regulation will tend to be the dominant rule-making process at the workplace, and the level of formalisation of rules will be high, as both management and unions will want to have all the rules of job regulation formalised to make for ease of reference during negotiations.

3. In a culture where a person's subordinates are regarded as his followers, the industrial relations policies of management will tend to be paternalistic. But where a person's subordinates are regarded as his partners, the industrial relations policies of management will be collaborative.
4. The level of the traditional desire to acquire wealth, attitudes to risk-taking and individual achievement, form another cluster of attitudinal characteristics which relate to aspects of job regulation similarly. Where the desire to acquire wealth is high and/or the attitude to risk-taking and individual achievement are favourable, there is likely to be more frequent use of industrial sanctions by unions to enforce their demands, and Joint regulation process of rule-making will tend to be dominant at the workplace. Workers' attitudes to unions will depend mostly on

union objectives and how effective the union organisation has been in achieving those objectives. But in a culture where less emphasis is placed on the acquisition of wealth, and/or the attitudes to risk-taking and individual achievement are largely unfavourable, the use of industrial sanctions by unions will tend to be less and Managerial regulation will be the dominant rule-making process. Workers' attitudes to unions will be likely to depend greatly on the degree of personal regard which the workers have for the union organisers at the workplace.

5. In a culture where people are conservative, and consequently react unfavourably to change, as they like to cling to traditional practices and customs, it is likely that the customary practices of the wider community will be informally re-institutionalised into the industrial workplace, whereas in a culture where people give less resistance to change, those practices will tend generally not to be accepted as applicable at the workplace.

The above conclusions have practical implications for the management of workplace industrial relations in Nigeria, regarding the present pattern of certain aspects of job regulation, particularly at the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces. We shall now examine these implications and where they reveal any problems, we shall suggest possible measures that can be adopted to ameliorate the situation.

(1) The management of workplace industrial relations in the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces in Nigeria.

Owing to the traditional Hausa interest in interpersonal relations which makes them to prefer to identify themselves with persons rather than with organisations, the general attitudes of the Hausa workers to the union organisation was largely influenced by the workers' personal regard for the union officials as individuals, particularly the union stewards who were closest to them at the workplace. But in selecting persons for appointment to the post of union stewards and other union posts in these Hausa workplaces, a great deal of emphasis had always been placed on educational attainments, as measured by the individual's ability at spoken-English. If while selecting the union officials, greater consideration had been given to those personal attributes which the Hausa values greatly, such as one's observed extent of piety in Islamic religion, the general attitudes of the Hausa workers to unions, would have been better than it was found to be.

The observed culturally-based differences between the role-expectations of Hausa union stewards by their members and the Ibo stewards by their own members, suggest that the present practice of the National Union of Textile, Garment and Tailoring Workers of Nigeria, of laying down the same set of administrative functions and specific union duties for all union officials including the stewards at all its workplace branches in Nigeria, does not serve much useful purpose. To the Hausa worker, his union steward is the most important union official. It would therefore, be more appropriate for the administration of the unions in the Hausa workplaces, for more powers to be given to the stewards so that they could deal

with all the more personal union duties without having always to refer to the workplace-based union full-time officials. This would also require increasing the number of stewards and decreasing the number of the full-time officials, particularly the 'union executives' in those workplaces. The administrative arrangements should certainly be different with the Ibo unions, where workers would prefer taking their complaints direct to the full-time officials rather than talking to their union stewards. In their case, the position of the union stewards should be abolished and the union administration at the workplace decentralised in such a way that every department of the workplace would be allocated two or more union executives, who would be physically located in the respective departments to carry out union duties. The central union offices at these workplaces, being manned by the branch President, treasurer and secretary, would then be involved mainly with the co-ordination of the activities of the departmental sub-union offices.

The assumption which formed the bases of the national industry-wide collective agreements between the industrial union and the employers association, was wrong owing to cultural differences between the workplaces of different tribal groups in Nigeria. Consequently the extent to which the agreements were complied to, differed between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces. A statement in the preamble of the Collective Agreements document, which showed the assumption on which the agreements were based, stated thus:¹

"The association holds that the basic interests of employees are the same...."

Such assumption did not represent reality since it neglected

1. See Appendix XIII for a copy of this document.

the influences of the respective cultures on the interests of the workers from the different tribal groups of Nigeria. Moreover, what seems to be more important in industrial relations is not so much the nature of the workers' interests, but their individual and collective perception of the right way of pursuing those interests at the workplace. This perception is a direct product of the workers' individual and collective attitudes, which are to a large extent culturally defined as evidenced in the results of this study.

On the basis of the above cited assumption underlying the Collective agreements, clause 15 of the agreements set out the procedure that should be followed in all workplaces in settling grievances. Evidence from the empirical research showed that these general grievance procedures were hardly adopted fully in practice in all the four workplaces involved in this study. This was because, as explained earlier, the general approach to the ventilation and settlement of grievances differed between Hausa and Ibo workplaces as a result of the direct influence of the different customs, social norms and values of the peoples. Article III of the agreements which set out the hours of work, specified the same days of the week as the days for work in all workplaces. But in practice, the Hausa usually leave their workplaces by mid-day on Fridays to attend their Mosque for Islamic religious worship, and though theoretically, they are expected to come back to work later in the day, they usually do not return to the workplace for the rest of the day. So, Fridays are customarily regarded as half-working days in all Hausa workplaces, contrary to the stipulations in the Collective Agreements, whereas for the Ibo workplaces, Friday is a normal full-working day.

Clause 13 of the Collective Agreements provided for a check-off system to be adopted in all the member workplaces in Nigeria, in collecting union dues from union members. This system is obviously a useful one for administrative convenience with the purpose of achieving what Weber and most organisation theorists have called 'administrative rationality'. But in the Hausa workplaces, this administrative rationality was being achieved at the expense of what Child et al (1973) have called 'representative rationality', which they defined as "a flexibility of operations to suit the needs of different membership groups located within different working conditions" (ibid. p.77). From all indications it could be seen that what the present situation of general unfavourable attitude of Hausa workers to trade union organisation, and the Hausa traditional regard for interpersonal relations required, was a system of union administration in those workplaces which would result in frequent personal contacts between the union stewards and their members. The dues check-off system was likely to result in a limitation in the frequency of personal contacts between the union stewards or other union officials and the members, because under the present situation it is only a member who has complaints or problems in the workplace that would go to the steward, and as the Hausa workers did not normally complain against managerial actions, it meant much less or no personal contact between the union stewards and majority of the Hausa workers. As most of the Hausa union members could be classified as 'alienated union members' in accordance with Child et al's (ibid. p.76) typology of member-union attachment, it was not surprising to find during the fieldwork for this study, that most Hausa union members were not sure of their membership

until their union stewards came to confirm it, by showing that union dues were checked-off the particular workers' wages regularly.

The alternative method of personal collection of dues from individual members by stewards, would have ensured a somewhat regular personal contact between the stewards and the individual union members. This would have obviously led to improvements in the individual members' consciousness of their union membership, thereby favourably influencing their interests in trade union activities. The check-off system was alright with the Ibo unions, because owing to the Ibo traditional individualism and lukewarm attitude towards interpersonal relations, the alternative method of personal collection of dues would likely not have made any difference in the attitude of workers to the union organisation.

The instances cited above regarding the differences in the extent to which the industry-wide collective agreements were complied with in the Hausa and Ibo workplaces, shows the futility of the exercise of drawing out a set of terms and conditions of employment for implementation in all workplaces in Nigeria, especially on those employment issues such as hours of work, the employment of women, grievance procedures, and general administrative systems for the organisation of union activities at the workplace, on which practices are bound to differ due to different cultural influences. On the face of it, it may appear as if these employers and employees who prepared and signed the national agreements were not aware of the differences in practices between the workplaces of the different tribal groups. But this is most probably not the truth of the situation. The enlightened Nigerian normally pretends to be

protecting the political notion of 'One Nigeria'¹ in order to avoid being branded a 'tribalist'². For this reason such specific culturally-based workplace practices were likely to have been deliberately not put down in any documents. What will be better for the union and the employers association, will be to organise their member organisations in zones which will correspond to the three major cultural (tribal) groups in Nigeria - Hausa in the north, Ibo in the south-east and Yoruba in the south-west. These zones can then work out individual collective agreements which will take account of the specific cultural characteristics and customary practices which relate to the relevant aspects of the industrial relations issues on which the agreements are made. This method will make such collective agreements meaningful and realistic, because the present national collective agreements are mere window dressing as some of them do not have any bearing on the practical situation.

The same thing can be said of the present practice of centralising the making of state policies on industrial relations with the Federal Ministry of Labour in Lagos. In making these employment and industrial relations policies, certain evidence suggest that little or no consideration is given to the cultural diversities of the tribal and ethnic groups in Nigeria. The Federal Government tend to ignore the realities of the cultural influences on peoples' attitudes and general reactions to situations in Nigeria. For example, sections

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1. The nationalist political leaders coined the term 'One Nigeria' as an ideological means of making all people from the twelve tribes and over two hundred ethnic groups, to develop a national feeling of oneness.
 2. The term 'tribalist' is used in Nigeria in a derogatory manner to refer to someone who favours people and practices from his own tribal or ethnic group.

72 and 73 of the Nigeria Labour Decree of 1974¹ enacted rules prohibiting the use of what the Decree called 'forced labour'. In making exemptions for the type of work which forced labour could be used, section 73(3a) stated that "juju houses and places of worship" are not exempted. Juju houses are usually the shrines of village gods, and this exists in almost all traditional compounds and villages of the Ibo cultural group. It is traditional practice that these juju houses are built and attended to communally through the general forced labour system. But irrespective of this statutory prohibition, the Ibo people still use the communal forced labour system in building and redecorating their village juju houses, and the Hausa Moslem villages adopt the same method when building their local Mosques and other places of worship. The fact that no member of the society complains about the use of such system because it is traditional, makes the system go on unnoticed by the courts.

It may appear as if the policy-makers on the national system of industrial relations in Nigeria, are not aware of the peoples' cultural differences based on the different tribal and ethnic groupings in Nigeria, as to give adequate considerations to these cultural features while making policies and Laws on industrial relations. This is certainly not the case, rather what seems to be the problem is what Ake (1981) has called "the overpoliticisation of social life in Nigeria". While examining the current social and political situation in Nigeria, Professor Ake succinctly summed up the situation by arguing that:

"the salient feature of the state of the nation and the crux of the problem of Nigeria today is

1. See Appendix XIV for the relevant sections of this Decree.

the overpoliticisation of social life. We are intoxicated with politics, the premium on political power is so high that we are prone to take the most extreme measures in order to win and to maintain political power, our energy tends to be channelled into the struggle for power to the detriment of economically productive effort, and we habitually seek political solutions to virtually every problem" (ibid. pp.1162-1163).

If social issues were not to be treated politically, and if greater consideration was to be given to social rather than political factors when making policies on social issues in Nigeria, then a more useful approach to the handling of employment and industrial relations policies, in the light of the findings of this study, would be to decentralise policy making on industrial relations and hand over the responsibility for the formulation and execution of state policies on industrial relations issues to the State Governments, as the present 19 states of Nigeria represent distinct cultural groupings to some large degree. It would then be possible for state industrial relations policies and codes of practice to reflect the distinct cultural characteristics of the people.

(2) Industrial relations policies for the branches of multi-national organisations in Nigeria.

Perlmutter (1974, p.21-50) described the policies open to multinational enterprises in organising the affairs of their branch organisations in different countries, to be either geocentric, ethnocentric or polycentric. Considering only the industrial relations aspect of the organisations of multinational enterprises, to pursue geocentric policies involves "the search for the best industrial relations policies which promote values which relate to workers' pay and organisational requirements for productivity from everywhere in the world"

(ibid. p.29), and then applying those 'best industrial relations policies' to all the branches of the multinational enterprise in the world. Ethnocentric policies are centred on the home country of the multinational enterprise - that is the country in which the Head Office of the enterprise is situated. The policies are then applied similarly in their branches irrespective of the national and cultural differences of the different geographical locations of those branches. The polycentric policies are centred on the host country, such that the policies for each branch are made to reflect the national contexts in which they are situated.

Before applying the Perlmutter's typology of multinational policies explained above, in examining the implications of the findings of this study for the industrial relations policies of multinational organisations in Nigeria, it will be useful to make a distinction between 'unitribal' and 'multitribal' organisations. Every organisation in Nigeria can be classified as either unitribal or multitribal. A unitribal organisation is one in which greater proportion of members in each of the following categories - Owners/Directors, Managerial/Professional staff, Foremen/Supervisory staff, and all junior workers, belong to one tribal group. This means that there is one dominant tribal culture in that organisation. All the four workplaces involved in this present study fall within this group. A multitribal organisation, on the other hand, is one in which no tribal group can be identified as dominant, which means that there is no dominant tribal culture in the organisation. This distinction is thought necessary for purposes of analysis, because although the empirical part of the present study does not specifically cover multitribal organisations

in Nigeria, there is some indication that the pattern of job regulation in unitribal workplaces are likely to be more predictable than that of multitribal ones. Because, as pointed out by Walton and Mckersie (1965, p.184) "the attitudes of each party towards the other, taken together, define the relationship between them", and in unitribal workplaces these attitudes of management and the unions, being influenced by one culture, makes it possible for the resulting relationship between the parties to be fairly predictable, as long as one is able to identify the specific influences of the particular culture on job regulation; whereas in multitribal workplaces the situation will be different, since the attitudes and expectations of the parties are influenced by different cultural traditions. We are here concerned only with unitribal organisations as our four workplaces fall within this group.

One implication of the findings of this study is the difficulty that is likely to result from the application of geocentric industrial relations policies in both Hausa and Ibo unitribal branches of multinational enterprises in Nigeria. Geocentric industrial relations policies are normally based on the assumption that a policy which is regarded as 'good' because it worked in one industrial relations context will necessarily work elsewhere. Such assumption may not be true in all cases because as suggested by Thomason (1978, pp.478-479), it is wrong to "automatically assume that every formal relationship between organised labour and management is to be regarded as the same as every other". This is because, as he went on to argue, even in one cultural setting, there could be sub-cultural differences which could affect the relationship between employers and employees, as:

"The sub-cultural values held by employers are not homogeneous, nor are those by trade unionists or their representatives. On both sides of the bargaining table, there is to be found a spectrum of value positions ranging from complete acceptance of central cultural values of the society to complete rejection of these values and a desire to set up a society based on quite other values" (ibid. p.479).

The Hausa are generally conservative, and as their attitudes and expectations are largely influenced by the Islam religion, which prescribes a pattern of thinking and living which must be strictly adhered to, the Hausa workers are very likely to react unfavourably to any geocentric policy which does not conform to the Hausa customary and traditional practices. An example of the reaction of Hausa workers to a policy that is not in conformity with their traditional practices, is the one reported by Lubeck (1975, pp.145-146) of a factory in Kano, which has been mentioned earlier in Chapter Nine. But a more recent example is the rioting of Hausa people in Kano on the 10th of July 1981¹ which was caused by a letter which the Governor of Kano State (political leader) sent to the Emir of Kano (traditional ruler), which the rioters regarded to be insulting to their traditional ruler. The rioting was reported to have resulted in the death of Government officials and damages to property valued at over one hundred million naira (about eighty million pounds sterling). Webster, the 'Financial Times' reporter commented that the riots:²

"represent a clash between the progressive governor and the traditional authority, something which modern Nigeria will have to accommodate".

1. See the 20th July 1981 issue of West Africa pp.1627, 1633-1635 for reports on this riot.

2. See the 16th July 1981 issue of the 'Financial Times' (London).

Although these Kano riots did not take place specifically at the industrial workplace, they illustrate the way the Hausa workers are likely to react to policies which are alien to their own culture.

A geocentric policy may not be totally welcome in an Ibo workplace either, although as the Ibo traditionally reacts favourably to change, a geocentric industrial relations policy may meet with opposition at the beginning, but at the long run such policy will have a greater chance of being accommodated by the Ibo workers and managers, than by the Hausa ones. Generally, in view of the strong evidence of cultural influences on job regulation found in this study, geocentric policies are unadvisable for unitribal organisations in Nigeria; even Perlmutter (op. cit. p.28) himself has doubts as to the possibility of there ever being "purely geocentric companies for several decades".

But this view and Perlmutter's doubts regarding geocentric policies, are not shared by Kerr et al (1973), who in developing their central thesis of the 'inherent logic of the industrialisation process', which they argue is leading societies toward a common future - the state of 'pluralistic industrialism', postulated that industrialisation has its own culture which it imposes on the pre-existing culture (ibid. p.106). Although the authors recognised culture as one of the 'unique' factors shaping the process of industrialisation, they still tended to assume that technology (machines and technical knowledge) which they regard as the 'universal' factor in the industrialisation process, bears a dominant influence towards a two-way total convergence of all industrial societies. On the basis of this argument, geocentric policies will be

favoured, as in Kerr et al's view, the world is heading towards a situation where all industrial policies will become geocentric, because when the state of 'pluralistic industrialism' is reached through this two-way convergence¹ process, all industrial societies will become similar. But if industrialisation had a culture of its own, as these authors claim, then one would expect all affairs in the industrial workplaces to be similar as being solely determined by the characteristics of such a culture, irrespective of whichever cultural setting the industrial workplace is situated. The findings of our present study supply strong empirical evidence which suggests that the patterns of formal and informal relationships between individual managers and workers and between management and unions in unicultural organisations, are more largely influenced by the people's cultural characteristics and customary practices than by any universally-specific cultural pattern of industrialisation. This finding is consistent with Perrow's (1979, p.118) argument that:

"The cultural norms and values of a society set limits upon what can appropriately be done with the 'raw materials' of organisation. Generally, these limitations pertain to the treatment of human beings".

The acceptability of ethnocentric policies on industrial relations by members of any unitribal organisation in Nigeria

1. Dunning and Hopper (1966, pp.163-186) have made a distinction between total and partial convergence, and between one-way and two-way convergence. A total convergence occurs when all the structural elements of the industrial societies are converging, while a partial convergence refers to a situation where only some elements are converging. One-way convergence is where one general form of industrial society, such as the Capitalist type, remains the same while those of the Communist type are moving closer to it. The one-way convergence theory is similar to that described by Perlmutter (op. cit. p.31) as 'submergence theory'. The two-way convergence, on the other hand, implies that all the forms of the industrial society are moving closer together towards some common pattern.

will depend greatly on the extent of compatibility between the home-culture of the multinational enterprise and the host-culture of the branch in Nigeria, with special regard to the attitudinal characteristics which are related to job regulation. It is therefore advisable for the relevant characteristics of the host-culture to be identified and matched with the home-culture before considering adopting ethnocentric industrial relations policies. It does not mean that where the attitudinal characteristics of the host-culture and that of the home-culture are compatible, that there will not be any industrial relations problems, rather what is argued here is that where such compatible cultural characteristics exist, it will be possible to predict the acceptability of the ethnocentric policies, and the likely reactions of both managers and workers from the branch to the policies.

On the basis of the findings of our study, it seems that polycentric policies are likely to be the most acceptable ones to Hausa and the Ibo workplaces and indeed to other unitribal organisations in Nigeria. The approach should not be to introduce policies expecting that cultural tradition will change to suit the alien policies, but rather to identify the customary practices of the host-culture and make use of them in formulating the industrial relations policies. For example, Kerr et al (op. cit. p.100) noted that in Japan "many of the old customs persist side by side with advanced technology", which shows that it is wrong to think that anything which is culturally traditional, will not fit into the industrial system. Culture is a factor that should never be ignored in organising any form of human processes at the industrial workplace, for as argued by Child (1975, p.154):

"socio-cultural differences are likely to continue as a factor making for variation in forms of business organisation....(as) there is no good evidence that different value systems are ceasing to leave their stamp upon social institutions".

C. EVALUATION OF THE STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As explained earlier in Chapter One, most studies of Nigerian industrial relations have focused mainly on the national system, as a result little or nothing was known about the system of workplace industrial relations in Nigeria. Our present study has thrown light on the pattern of workplace industrial relations in our four workplaces, and particularly, on the existence of rules and rule-making processes which are peculiar to the Nigerian case. This is likely to serve as a useful base for future studies of workplace industrial relations in Nigeria.

We have earlier in Chapter Two established through a review of relevant literature, that the attitudes people hold, through their influence on people's behaviour at the workplace, affect job regulation. The major assumption made in this study was that these attitudes are largely culturally-defined and as such, people's cultural characteristics and customary practices influence their pattern of job regulation. The discriminating results obtained in this study on the pattern of union organisation, management industrial relations policies, rule-making processes and the nature of the rules of job regulation, between the Hausa and the Ibo workplaces, which were considered to be directly related to the differences in the cultural characteristics and customary practices of the respective cultures, have satisfactorily validated this assumption. This

is one main contribution of this study, in that hitherto researchers have tended to underestimate or totally ignore the place of culture as a factor making for differences between the patterns of workplace industrial relations in different cultural settings. For example, Dore (1973, pp.375-403) recognises the likelihood of there being cultural influences on the Japanese employment system; unfortunately he failed to consider these cultural influences to be significant in accounting for the differences between the British and the Japanese systems, rather he seemed to be influenced by Stinchcombe's (1965) argument that the organisational forms of an industry present in a society is partially a product of the period that the industry developed, to attribute the differences to the seemingly functional effects of the late development of the Japanese industries. Dore's (ibid. pp.404-420) 'Late Development' thesis could be valid with regard to substantive structural arrangements of activities and relationships, but not in relation to procedural patterns which involve elements of interpersonal relational processes, because this latter group of variables are greatly influenced by people's attitudes which are largely culturally-defined as evidenced by the findings of our present study. A description of the Japanese system of industrial relations given by Hanami (1980) shows that most features of the present Japanese system of workplace industrial relations have their origins in the Japanese culture, especially the procedures adopted in the settlement of disputes and the effects of what he called the Japanese 'Personal relations in industrial relations' (ibid. pp.42-72).

Another strength of our present study lies in the research strategy adopted. We started the study with the model on page

123, which shows the different internal and external clusters of variables which are relevant in cross-cultural comparison of workplace industrial relations. This model helped to identify the specific variables whose influences on job regulation needed to be held constant, in our case, in order to be left only with cultural influences. The fact that the study was based on workplaces in two cultures that were within a situation in which the influences of the other environmental factors, such as political, legal and general macro-economic systems, together with technology, size, product market and labour market, were held constant, made the findings of the empirical investigation to be very valid. The use of a series of interviews and direct observational methods which apart from personal observation, involved series of informal meetings, discussions and conversations with managers, workers and union officials at the four workplaces, made it possible for the study to be based solely on original information. Because the study was largely exploratory, as no empirical study of cultural influences of workplace industrial relations has hitherto been carried out in any African society, the study and the general research process were organised in such a way as to make the analysis and presentation of findings as clear and simple as possible, by deliberately avoiding the application of sophisticated statistical techniques, because as rightly argued by Brown (1973, p.13):

"At times emphasis upon methodological and technical devices can be a waste of valuable resources and can easily inhibit the development of ideas by introducing barriers between the investigator and his material. Often the most valuable part of any one piece of research is not the testing of particular ideas but the systematic exposure it gives the worker to a particular range of phenomena".

This study has therefore, made valid original contributions in the following directions:

- (1) It has opened up a new approach to the comparative study of workplace industrial relations, by strongly indicating the vital role of culture in shaping the pattern of workplace industrial relations of organisations in different cultural settings. Kerr et al (op. cit.), although they recognised the initial effects of the unique historical and environmental circumstances of countries on their industrial relations systems, they still placed emphasis on 'Technology' as playing the central unifying role in shaping the system of industrial relations in different national contexts. Dore (1973) has added 'period of development' and the 'late development effect' to the debate. Our present study has introduced another dimension to the debate by arguing that because the procedural rules play a greater role than substantive rules in shaping the pattern of workplace industrial relations in an industrial workplace, and because procedural rules are to a large extent influenced by the culturally-defined attitudinal characteristics and customary practices of workers and managers, culture is the dominant factor accounting for differences in the patterns of workplace industrial relations of organisations in different cultural contexts.

- (2) It has indicated the directions of the influences of the specific culturally-defined attitudinal variables

on aspects of job regulation at the workplace. This has not hitherto been done by any empirical study in the field of industrial relations. Even in Organisational Behaviour where cultural influences have recently started to be given some attention, Hofstede (1978, p.128) has commented that many organisation theorists have tended to treat culture as 'Variable X' to which any observation left unexplained by other factors, are simply attributed. Such treatment of culture is not helpful to the advancement of knowledge. Our present study has therefore, given valid indications of the directions of cultural influences on job regulation, which can form the basis for the generation of hypotheses to be used in further related studies. The findings of this study are therefore, likely to form the foundation of the emerging general theory of cultural influences on workplace industrial relations.

- (3) It has drawn attention to specific aspects of the present system of workplace industrial relations in the Hausa and the Ibo areas in particular and in other parts of Nigeria generally. Useful practical suggestions have been offered on the likely ways of coping with the situation. It is also hoped that the attention drawn to workplace industrial relations in Nigeria by this study, will have the effect of diverting the present focus of industrial relations research in Nigeria from the national level to the workplace, which has largely been ignored. The model on page 123 which was fruitfully used in this study

as a device for ordering data should be found useful for related studies in other industries and other cultural settings.

Although our present study has made the above stated contributions, there are other related areas which need to be researched in order to enrich our knowledge of cultural influences on workplace industrial relations. The following directions of research are suggested:

- (i) Since our present study was based mainly on uni-cultural (one tribe) workplaces in Nigeria, our results and conclusions can be said to be valid only for uni-cultural organisations. It will therefore, be necessary to adopt a similar research strategy and conduct an empirical investigation of job regulation in multi-tribal workplaces in Nigeria or other parts of Africa. The workplaces need to be selected in such a way as to hold the influences of other internal and external environmental factors, except culture, constant.
- (ii) The systems of workplace industrial relations in both unitribal and multitribal organisations of multinational enterprises in Nigeria or other African countries can be studied to examine the extent to which they reflect the traditional attitudinal characteristics and customary practices of the host-culture. The effects of the multinational's industrial relations policies on the quality of industrial relations in the workplaces, can then be studied in the light of the implications of the findings of our study and

our recommendations.

- (iii) We have explained earlier in Chapter Three that although culture is largely stable, it is also dynamic over a long period. Our model on page 123 has also indicated that changes in certain environmental systems of the society, such as the political, legal and general macro-economic systems, coupled with any changes in the society's history of social and economic development, can result in some sort of gradual change in culture over a long period, although the pattern of the particular culture, irrespective of whatever changes may have occurred, still retains its unique characteristics. A longitudinal study of the relationship between changes in culture and changes in the pattern of workplace industrial relations, can be carried out based on historical records. The study could be based on an industrially-advanced country such as Japan, Britain or any other European country, so long as the country chosen for the study can be shown to represent a distinct cultural group historically. The results of our study, as stated in Figure H could be used in generating hypotheses for such a study.

CLOSING REMARK

Commenting on culture, Ross Webber (1977, p.48) once said:

"We are immersed in a sea. It is warm, comfortable supportive and protecting. Most of us float below the surface; some bob about catching glimpses of

land from time to time;... That sea is our culture. Most of us act, think and dream in terms of the norms and standards we have absorbed from the culture in which we are reared. That which our culture values, we value; that which our culture abhors, we abhor".

We all spend our lives in the specific seas of our cultural groups. Even when we are in the workplace or conducting research on culture itself, we are still wallowing in our respective cultural seas. It is likely that anyone who subscribes to what could be called the 'culture-free thesis' of aspects of social structures and processes in organisations, is unable to 'bob' above the influence of his own culture, to become conscious of the cultural influence on his own way of thinking; just as fish in the sea is rarely likely to give thought to the importance of the sea on its existence and general behaviour patterns, untill it is taken out of the sea. That the fish is unable to recognise the influence of the sea on it, does not mean that such influence does not exist. It is therefore necessary that greater attention should be given to the influences of culturally-based attitudinal characteristics and customary practices, than has hitherto been the case, while trying to understand the patterns of employment relational processes and how they are regulated at the workplace in a particular cultural context. We hope that our present study has made a useful contribution to the advancement of knowledge in this area.

APPENDICES
AND
REFERENCES

Appendix I

Characteristics of Hofstede' Dimensions of National culture.

THE POWER DISTANCE DIMENSION

<u>Small Power Distance</u>	<u>Large Power Distance</u>
Inequality in society should be minimized.	There should be an order of inequality in which everybody has a rightful place; high and low are protected by this order.
All people should be inter-dependent.	A few people should be independent; most should be dependent
Hierarchy means an inequality of roles, established for convenience.	Hierarchy means existential inequality.
Superiors consider subordinates to be "people like me".	Superiors consider subordinates to be a different kind of people
Subordinates consider superiors to be "people like me".	Subordinates consider superiors as a different kind of people.
Superiors are accessible.	Superiors are inaccessible.
The use of power should be legitimate and is subject to the judgement as to whether it is good or evil.	Power is a basic fact of society that antedates good or evil. Its legitimacy is irrelevant.
All should have equal rights.	Power-holders are entitled to priveleges.
Those in power should try to look less powerful than they are.	Those in power should try to look as powerful as possible.
The system is to blame.	The underdog is to blame.
The way to change a social system is to redistribute power.	The way to change a social system is to dethrone those in power.
People at various levels feel less threatened and more prepared trust people.	Other people are a potential threat to one's power and can rarely be trusted.
Latent harmony exists between the powerful and the powerless.	Latent conflict exists between the powerful and the powerless.
Cooperation among the powerless can be based on solidarity.	Cooperation among the powerless is difficult to attain because of their low-faith-in people norm.

(Appendix I Continued)

THE UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANCE DIMENSION

Weak Uncertainty Avoidance	Strong Uncertainty Avoidance
The uncertainty inherent in life is more easily accepted and each day is taken as it comes.	The uncertainty inherent in life is felt as a continuous threat that must be fought.
Ease and lower stress are experienced.	Higher anxiety and stress are experienced.
Time is free.	Time is money.
Hard work, as such, is not a virtue.	There is an inner urge to work hard.
Aggressive behaviour is frowned upon.	Aggressive behaviour of self and others is accepted.
Less showing of emotions is preferred.	More showing of emotions is preferred.
Conflict and competition can be contained on the level of fair play and used constructively.	Conflict and competition can unleash aggression and should therefore be avoided.
More acceptance of dissent is entailed.	A strong need for consensus is involved.
Deviation is not considered threatening; greater tolerance is shown.	Deviant persons and ideas are dangerous; intolerance holds sway.
The ambiance is one of less nationalism.	Nationalism is pervasive.
More positive feelings toward younger people are seen.	Younger people are suspect.
There is more willingness to take risks in life.	There is great concern with security in life.
The accent is on relativism, empiricism.	The search is for ultimate, absolute truths and values.
There should be as few rules as possible.	There is a need for written rules and regulations.
If rules cannot be kept, we should change them.	If rules cannot be kept, we are sinners and should repent.
Belief is placed in generalists and common sense.	Belief is place in experts and their knowledge.
The authorities are there to serve the citizens.	Ordinary citizens are incompetent compared with the authorities.

(Appendix I Continued)

THE INDIVIDUALISM DIMENSION

Collectivist	Individualist
In society, people are born into extended families or clans who protect them in exchange for loyalty.	In society, everybody is supposed to take care of himself/herself and his/he immediate family.
"We" consciousness holds sway.	"I" consciousness holds sway.
Identity is based in the social system.	Identity is based in the individual.
There is emotional dependence of individual or organisations and institutions.	There is emotional independence of individual from organisations or institutions.
The involvement with organisations is moral.	The involvement with organisations is calculative.
The emphasis is on belonging to organisations; membership is the ideal.	The emphasis is on individual initiative and achievement; leadership is the ideal.
Private life is invaded by organisations and clans to which one belongs; opinions are predetermined.	Everybody has a right to a private life and opinion.
Expertise, order, duty, and security are provided by organisation or clan.	Autonomy, variety, pleasure, and individual financial security are sought in the system.
Friendships are predetermined by stable social relationships, but there is need for prestige within these relationships.	The need is for specific friendships.
Belief is placed in group decisions.	Belief is placed in individual decisions.
Value standards differ for in-groups and out-groups (particularism).	Value standards should apply to all (universalism).

(Appendix I Continued)

THE MASCULINITY DIMENSION

<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Masculine</u>
Men needn't be assertive, but can also assume nurturing roles.	Men should be assertive. Women should be nurturing.
Sex roles in society are more fluid.	Sex roles in society are clearly differentiated.
There should be equality between the sexes.	Men should dominate in society.
Quality of life is important.	Performance is what counts.
You work in order to live.	You live in order to work.
People and environment are important.	Money and things are important.
Interdependence is the ideal.	Independence is the ideal.
Service provides the motivation.	Ambition provides the drive.
One sympathizes with the unfortunate.	One admires the successful achiever.
Small and slow are beautiful.	Big and fast are beautiful.
Unisex and androgyny are ideal.	Ostentatious manliness (machismo) is appreciated.

Source: Hofstede (1980, pp.46-49).

Appendix II

A STUDY OF WORKPLACE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN NIGERIA.
PRELIMINARY QUESTIONNAIRE (A)

1. In which State is your establishment located?.....

(a) Which one of the following describes the environment
in which your establishment is located:

☐ Urban area

☐ Rural area

(b) Does your establishment have branches in other States?

☐ Yes

☐ No

(c) If 'Yes', in which State is your Head Office
located?

.....

(d) Is your establishment a branch of a foreign owned
multinational?

☐ Yes

☐ No

(e) If 'Yes', in which country is the Headquarters of
the multinational organisation located?

.....

(f) In which year was your establishment set up?.....

2. What does your establishment produce?.....

(a) In which one of these product groups do you classify
your establishment?

☐ Footwear (Shoe)

☐ Textile

☐ Others (specify).....

- (b) Which one of the following do you consider your establishment to be?

Capital intensive (more machines than people)

Labour intensive (more people than machines)

50/50 between machines and people.

3. How many employees are there in your establishment?
(Please put the figures in the appropriate columns below)

	Males	Females
Professional and managerial staff.		
Foremen and supervisory staff		
Clerical workers		
Operatives/Labourers		

- (a) Give percentage estimates of the age brackets of members of your establishment (e.g. what percentage of your managerial staff are within the age bracket of 20 to 30 years):

Age group	Professional/Managerial	Foremen/Supervisory	Clerical	Operatives/Labourers
Under 20				
20 to 30				
31 to 40				
41 to 50				
Over 50				

(b) What are the tribal origins of members of your establishment? Put the estimated figures or percentages in the appropriate spaces below. If percentages are given, please indicate with this sign (%).

Tribal groups	Owners/ Executive Directors	Professional/ Managerial staff	Foremen/ Supervisory staff	Clerical Workers	Operatives/ Labourers
Hausa					
Kanuri					
Serkawa					
Gwari					
Nupe					
Tiv					
Yoruba					
Weppa-Wano					
Yako					
Ibo					
Ijaw					
Efik					
Others*					
Non- Nigerians [†]					

*If 'others' please specify the particular tribal group(s)

.....

+ If 'Non-nigerians' please state their nationalities.
.....
.....

4. Are there trade unions in your establishment?

☐ Yes

☐ No

(a) If 'Yes' tick one statement below which describes the type of union it is:

☐ There is a single union for all workers of different occupations in the establishment.

☐ The unions in your establishment form by occupations, consequently there are more than one separate unions in your establishment.

(b) Which one of the statements below describes the density of union membership in your establishment?

☐ Highly unionised (over 60% of your total employees belong to unions.

☐ Fairly unionised (20% to 60% of total employees belong to unions.

☐ Poorly unionised (below 20% of total employees belong to unions.

(c) Are the unions in your establishment recognised officially for purposes of negotiations on employment matters?

☐ Yes, all the unions

☐ Yes, some of the unions

☐ No.

5. Your establishment is a member of which of the following:

- ☐ Chamber of Commerce
- ☐ Employers Association of your Industry
- ☐ Nigerian Institute of Management
- ☐ Others (specify).....
.....
.....
- ☐ None

6. Do you have a separate section of department in your establishment which deals with employment and industrial relations matters?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Thank you very much for your assistance in filling in this questionnaire. The information you have given above will undoubtedly be of immense value to me in my doctoral research. As I am sure you will like to know the final results of this research, it would be appreciated if you would state the postal address and/or telephone number of your establishment in the space provided below, so that I can contact you to communicate the results to you, and to obtain further information from you in the course of the research if necessary. Once again, thank you for your assistance.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Telephone Number.....

Appendix III (a) JOB CLASSIFICATION - DAILY PAID - MILL WORKER

CATEGORY	D E F A R T M E N T S									
	SPINNING	WEAVING	FINISHING	PRINTING	POWER					
Operative III	Carrier Sweeper Assistant " M/C Operator " Mechanician Bale Maker Roving Waste Opener	Carrier Sweeper Assistant " M/C Operator " Mechanician " Inspector " Folder Arranger Automizer Repairer All Workers Recei- ving Incentive Pay	Carrier Sweeper Assistant " M/C Operator " Mechanician " Chem. Handler " Inspectors " Finder " Stamper " Folder	Carrier Sweeper Assistant " M/C Operator " Mechanician " Chem. Handler " Camera Worker " Tracer	Assistant " Electrician " Boiler man " Plumber " Water Treatment Attendant " Machinist " Welder " Carpenter " Bricklayer " Painter " Safety					
Operative II	Operator Mechanician Testing Worker Bobbin Taker Carrier Room Controller Tape Joiner	Operator Mechanician Inspector Folder	Operator Mechanician Chemical Handler Inspector Cutter Folder Stamper Baler Recorder	Operator Mechanician Chemical Handler Camera Worker Tracer	Electrician Boilerman Plumber Water Treatment Attendant Machinist Welder Carpenter Bricklayer Painter Safety					
Operative I	Head: Operator " Mechanician " Tester R e c o r d e r	Recorder Store Keeper Head Operator " Mechanician Trainer	Head: Operator " Mechanician " Chemical Handler Recorder	Head: Operator " Mechanician " Chemical Handler Tracer " Cameraman	Head: Electrician " Boilerman " Plumber " Water Treatment Attendant " Machinist " Welder " Carpenter " Bricklayer " Painter " Safety					

Appendix III (b)

JOB CLASSIFICATION - MONTHLY PAID STAFF
OFFICE AND MILL

CATEGORY	OFFICE	MILL
STAFF GRADE IV	CLERK IV	STAFF TRAINEE SENIOR HEAD OPERATORS
STAFF GRADE III	CLERK III	OVERLOOKER GRADE III
STAFF GRADE II	CLERK II	OVERLOOKER GRADE II
STAFF GRADE I	CLERK I	OVERLOOKER GRADE I

ADMINISTRATION
(GENERAL WORKERS)

Drivers and Motor Mechanics III

Mail Boy

Watchman

Cook

Security Guard

Laundry man

Steward

Gardener

Office Boy

Appendix IV

A STUDY OF WORKPLACE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN NIGERIA
PRELIMINARY QUESTIONNAIRE (B)

1. To which one of the following Nigerian main tribal groups do you belong?

☐ Hausa

☐ Ibo

☐ Yoruba

2. Describe as precisely as possible the normal traditional attitudes and dispositions of people of your own tribal group, in relation to each of the following:

C₁: Attitude towards owning or being involved in a business enterprise.

C₂: Attitude to authority, as to whether persons in positions of authority are given specially high regard or not.

C₃: Attitude to subordinates, as to whether one's subordinates are regarded as colleagues or merely as persons of a lower group.

C₄: Attitude to social class or status, as to whether there is a 'them' and 'us' situation between the less and the more privileged in the society.

C₅: Attitude to interpersonal relations, as to whether individuals like face-to-face relations or not.

C₆: Attitude to individual achievement.

C₇: Attitude to formal education.

C₈: Desire to acquire wealth and material benefits.

C₉: Attitude to risk-taking in relation to business affairs.

C₁₀: Attitude to change, particularly in relation to the customary practices of the community.

C₁₁: Attitude to work.

C₁₂: Attitude to wage employment, as to whether people generally prefer being self-employed in private business or the traditional crafts, to wage employment.

Do you have any other information you will like to give regarding the general cultural characteristics and customary practices of your tribal group.

Thank you very much. I am very sure that the information you have given above will be of immense value in my present research.

Appendix V

SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS FOR THE INTERVIEW OF
PERSONNEL MANAGERS, DEPARTMENTAL HEADS AND
SUPERVISORS

A. ABOUT THE PARTIES

1. How are the workers recruited?
2. Do religious leaders, chiefs and village heads attempt to influence your recruitment process in any way; for example by coming to plead on behalf of a job seeker. If this has been so, how effective have such influence been on your recruitment process?
3. How are your managers and senior professional staff recruited?
4. Are your workers trained outside the locality in which your factory is located; if Yes, where and how long do the training programmes last?
5. Ditto as in question 4 but question should be on managers and professional staff.
6. Are the workers trained outside Nigeria; if Yes, which country, and how long do the training programmes last?
7. Ditto as in question 6 but question should be on managers and professional staff.
8. In your observation, how do members of your establishment in the following groups see their relationship with the organisation. Do they see it as 'status' or 'purposive' contract relationship? (Explain the meanings of the two terms to the respondent first before putting the question)

	Males		Females	
	Status	Purposive	Status	Purposive
Professional/ Managerial				
Foremen/ Supervisory				
Clerical staff				
Operatives/ Labourers				

9. Do the workers generally see their stay in the organisation as being for life or for a short time?
10. Ditto as in question 9 but question should be on managers and professional staff.
11. Do you consider the union in your establishment to be a responsible organisation or a troublesome one, with regard to its activities at the workplace; give reasons for your opinion about the union.
12. How strong do you consider the bargaining power of the union to be?
13. Do you feel that the relationship between workers and management in this establishment could have been better or worse if unions did not exist in your organisation, or do you think there could have been no difference?
14. What do you consider to be the general approach of your management to industrial relations matters? (collect documents if available).

B. RULES AND RULE-MAKING

15. Which of the following rules exist at your workplace and which party or parties have been directly involved in making and/or changing the rules in the past five years. (Collect Works Rule Books, Employee Handbooks, collective agreements, and other available documents)

RULES			AUTHORSHIP			
			Management	Unions	Joint	State
Wage issues		Basic time rates and piece work prices				
		Bonus payments				
		Job evaluation				
		Promotion or up-grading				
		Pensions				

(cont'd)

Working Conditions		Allocation of work				
		Pace of work				
		Quality of work				
		Health and safety measures				
		Manning of machines				
		Transfer from one job to another				
		Introduction of new machines				
Hours of work		General conditions at the workplace				
		Overtime arrangements				
		Stopping and starting times				
		Breaks during working hours				
Discipline		Holidays				
		Suspensions				
General Employment issues		Dismissals				
		Taking in new workers				
		Others (specify)				

16. What types of reward system do you adopt for different categories of employees in the different sections of your organisation?
17. What methods do the unions or workers generally, adopt when they want changes to be effected in any of the rules stated above?
18. Are there rules at the workplace, particularly at the Mills which have arisen out of custom and practice; if Yes, what are they?
19. Do the employees ever indulge in restrictive practices; if they do, what forms do they take?
20. To what degree generally does each of the following, feature as rule-making process in your organisation:
 - (a) Collective bargaining
 - (b) Joint consultation
 - (c) Worker participation
21. Do you feel that the workers are generally happy with the rule-making processes adopted in your establishment; if not, which other methods do you think the workers would prefer?
22. How often in the past have outsiders been invited either by management or by the unions or individual workers to settle disagreements between management and the unions or the individual workers. Have Traditional rulers and/or religious leaders been invited for the purpose?
23. What effects if any, do you think the last Nigerian civil war has had on the state of industrial relations in your organisation?
24. Is there is any other comment or information you will like to give regarding the conduct of industrial relations in your organisation?

Appendix VI

SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS FOR THE INTERVIEW
GROUPS OF WORKPLACE FULL-TIME UNION
OFFICIALS

1. What are the objectives of your union in this workplace, which you as union officials are pursuing in terms of your activities and future plans?
2. How far have you been succeeding in dealings with management?
3. What difficulties have encountered in the past in pursuing your union objectives generally?
4. What demands have you made to management in the past five years?
5. What methods have you adopted in enforcing these demands, and how effective have those methods been?
6. What effects did the last Nigerian civil war have on the organisation of your union at this workplace?
7. How do you feel about the industrial relations policy of your management, and how far has this been an advantage or an obstacle towards the achievement of your objectives?

Appendix VII

A STUDY OF WORKPLACE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN NIGERIA
QUESTIONNAIRE (C)

QS/N.....

Name of organisation.....

Department or Section.....

Please tick ONE out of the three answers given on each of the statements below. The aim of this exercise is to obtain a general description of the policies adopted by all members of the management team in your organisation, in dealing with industrial relations issues at the workplace. While answering the questions, please be concerned only with the policies which you adopt personally as regards each of the statements. Please note that our study is not concerned with whether the policies you adopt are right or wrong, rather our interest is in obtaining a general description of the nature of the policies adopted in your organisation.

1. The organisation is regarded as a family and workers are therefore treated as members of a family:

☐ always
☐ sometimes
☐ never

2. Management prefers to deal with workers individually than as a group:

☐ always
☐ sometimes
☐ never

3. Workers are encouraged to make constructive suggestions for the improvement of production methods and working conditions:

☐ always
☐ sometimes
☐ never

4. Management expects absolute loyalty from workers:

☐ always

☐ sometimes

☐ never

5. Workers are encouraged by management to join unions:

☐ always

☐ sometimes

☐ never

6. Management regards rule-making as its exclusive prerogative, but gives due consideration to workers' interests:

☐ always

☐ sometimes

☐ never

7. Management does not care whether workers regard themselves as belonging to the company as a family, as long as they work hard enough for their wages:

☐ always

☐ sometimes

☐ never

8. Management encourages Joint Consultation to enable workers to have the opportunity of meeting and speaking with management on matters of mutual interest:

☐ always

☐ sometimes

☐ never

9. The existence of unions in the workplace is generally regarded by management as being unnecessary:

☐ always

☐ sometimes

☐ never

10. Workers are encouraged as much as possible to participate in making decisions in the workplace, on matters where their expertise and experience are of advantage:

☐ always

☐ sometimes

☐ never

11. Management recognises that workers' objectives may differ from the company's on some issues:

☐ always

☐ sometimes

☐ never

12. Management expects everyone in the company to work together towards the achievement of company objectives:

☐ always

☐ sometimes

☐ never

13. Management recognises the inevitability of disagreements with workers on some issues:

☐ always

☐ sometimes

☐ never

14. Management seeks to develop in the workers a sincere and active endeavour to co-operate and establish friendly relations with fellow workers and members of management team:

☐ always

☐ sometimes

☐ never

Thanks for your assistance in filling in this questionnaire.

Appendix VIII

EXPLANATION OF THE CALCULATIONS IN RELATION TO THE RESULTS PRESENTED ON TABLES 25 (a & b)

The figures on Table 25 were obtained from Table 24. Taking the No. 1 statement on Table 24 for example, out of 33 respondents in Workplace 1, 27 ticked 'always', 5 ticked 'sometimes' and 1 ticked 'never'. The same interpretation is applicable to the figures for the other workplaces and the other statements.

Table 25 collects the figures on the statements marked 'p' which stands for 'paternalistic' in (a) part of the Tables and the figures on statements marked 'c' which means 'collaborative' in the (b) part. Taking Workplace 1 in the part (a) for example, the figures in the 'Totals' row are 178, 40, and 13. These are the respective totals of the three columns. The figures under the totals - 77%, 17% and 6% were obtained by the following calculations:

$$77 = 178 \div 231 \times 100$$

$$17 = 40 \div 231 \times 100$$

$$6 = 13 \div 231 \times 100$$

The number of respondents in the Workplace 1 is 33

The number of statements marked 'p' is 7

Therefore the number of possible responses i workplace 1 on all the statements marked 'p' is:

$$33 \times 7 = 231$$

The same interpretation is applicable to the figures for all the other workplaces on parts (a) and (b) of the Table.

Appendix IX

The information obtained from Questionnaire B, as explained in the text, was analysed qualitatively. Answers on each question for one cultural group were considered at a time to ascertain the central idea running through all the answers. The answers on each question were so consistent that it was easy to identify the central idea at first reading. Let us look at the responses on one of the variables as an example. Take variable C₈: "Desire to acquire wealth and material benefits", the responses from five questionnaires on Hausa and Ibo respectively, picked at random from one hundred questionnaires on each of the cultural groups, were as follows:

HAUSA

1. It is believed that only Allah sends in wealth and prosperity and until he does so one should not struggle unnecessarily in a bid to get rich. Infact an assurance of a daily bread and a place to by one's head where the night meets one is sufficient.
2. He feels that material gain and wealth is necessary only if it is for the improvement and feeding of surbordinates, day by day.
3. An ordinary Hausa man does not care so much about wealth and material gain, as long as he finds his daily bread either by himself or by an 'Alhaji', he is satisfied. 'Allah Dey' is his motto. He does not even envy anybody who owns the whole World in the name of wealth and material gain.
4. He is luke-warm towards wealth and material gain. He is not bothered about them. All he needs is his daily bread and praying to Allah.
5. The typical Hausa man sees no need for accumulating wealth. They believe that God who created somebody will daily give him what to eat. Some who are wealthy give out alms to the poor ones. The richer ones give further to accomodate fellow Hausas and make they are feel taken care of.

IBO

1. The Ibo in general are materialists and love to be so. They view wealth and material gain with

all amount of seriousness. They wouldn't care taking great risks if only they could make it at last. I think they believe it is why they were born - to make wealth.

2. The Ibo man regards wealth and material gain as evidence of their industry in life. To the extreme, they become ascetic in order to accumulate wealth.
3. This view is normally held to a high esteem by Ibo man where he is a trader. In this case he tries to make abnormal profits where possible. He exploits those who do not speak the same dialect with him by selling at highest prices to them. Hoarding of bear, petrol (at Obigbo) etc, is more rampant in the Iboland. These are in the bid to make a high material gain and wealth.
4. He has a 'grab-grab' attitude. He is interested in accumulating wealth and material gain even if it involves cheating others or starving.
5. There is always a saying that the Ibos like money. This is true. They always like to acquire wealth and material gain, even if at times it amount to taking serious risk.

The above statements were copied directly from the questionnaires in the exact form they were presented by the respondents. The respondents, as explained earlier were 2nd year undergraduates, and the information they have given is supposedly based of the opinions of their individual family groups. Some of the sentences in the respondents' statements above may not make sense to a British reader, as the respondents' mode of expression may have been influenced by their Nigerian languages. Being a Nigerian, I do understand all that the respondents have stated.

The central idea I picked from the responses on the Hausa culture is that the Hausa is not keen on the acquisition of wealth. He is satisfied when he has enough to cater for his immediate needs. The Ibo on the other hand, is very keen on the acquisition of wealth, and he is prepared to take any level of risk in his endeavour to acquire wealth and material benefits in any undertaking.

This was the method used in analysing the information on the other cultural variables. The results of the analysis were

combined with the information obtained from the personal interview of the Hausa and the Ibo extended family groups, to arrive at the final description of the nature of the cultural variables in relation to the Hausa and the Ibo, which are presented in Chapter Three.

Appendix X

RULES ON SAFETY AND HEALTH

1. SAFETY:

In his own interest and that of other employees, everyone is expected to take care in his work and do his best to prevent accidents.

Each employee should acquaint himself/herself with his/her sectional safety rules and abide by them.

Outbreak of Fire must immediately be reported to the nearest supervisor and efforts must be made to stop it. It is the duty of every employee to stop fire.

2. SMOKING

In certain areas of the factory premises, smoking is dangerous and is a serious fire risk. In the interests of all concerned smoking in these areas is prohibited. Smoking is prohibited in the factory floor area, the stores and Fuel area. 'A' Textiles Limited provides smoking areas and anybody found smoking in areas other than those will be subject to summary dismissal.

3. HEALTH

It is important to keep your health well. You must bear in mind that with good health, you will be able to face your duty efficiently.

You must take permission from your supervisor before you attend the Clinic. The Clinic Nurse will refer you to the hospital if need be. When you are referred to the hospital, you must get an authority from the Medical Officer if you are treated there.

All accidents must be reported immediately on the prescribed form to the Personnel Department/Welfare Section who will treat the case according to Workman's Compensation Ordinance.

Appendix XI

RULES ON DISCIPLINE IN WORKPLACE 4

(a) Warnings

Where the service or conduct of any employee does not prove satisfactory or where he commits any minor offence he will be warned verbally, if he commits another offence a written warning will be given to him, he will get the last warning letter after this, which will be followed by a dismissal notice.

(b) Deduction of salary and wages

(c) Downgrading of Post

(d) Suspension

Where an employee is suspected of serious misconduct, he may be suspended without pay. This suspension will not be more than three months after which if not cleared by the Courts, his appointment will be terminated.

(e) Summary Dismissal

Serious misconduct will lead to Summary Dismissal and in particular breach of any of the following will render a person liable to such dismissal:

1. Flagrant disregard of the company's rules and regulations and of any periodical notices exhibited on the company's notice boards;
2. Disclosing the company's secrets;
3. Accepting private commissions;
4. Insubordinations or refusal to obey an order;
5. Conduct which causes danger to the life or safety of other people or which causes loss or damage to the company's property or which seriously affects the progress of the work;

- (6) Causing monetary loss by negligence;
- (7) Bribery or Corruption;
- (8) Stealing, pilfering or attempting fraud;
- (9) Dereliction or gross negligence of duty;
- (10) Sleeping while on duty;
- (11) Drinking alcoholic drinks in the company's premises or being found worse for drinks;
- (12) Smoking in prohibited areas;
- (13) Fighting on the premises;
- (14) Dishonesty, embezzlement etc. Criminal offences;
- (15) Disobedience to the order;
- (16) Entering strangers into the premises without permission;
- (17) Distributing pamphlets and brochures;
- (18) Repeated and frequent absence from duty and three days without permission shall be dismissed in the 4th day;
- (19) Leaving his/her duty place without permission.

Above are only examples liable to Summary Dismissal, apart from that, which are judged by the Management as serious misconduct are liable to Summary Dismissal.

Any employee who is summarily dismissed will only be entitled to the amount of salary/wage due to him.

Appendix XII

CALCULATIONS IN RELATION TO TABLE 33

By counting the number of rules that fall within the respective forms of rules as stated on Tables 31 and 32, we obtain the figures presented on the Table below.

		Number of rules in the four res- pective workplaces			
		HAUSA		IBO	
		1	2	3	4
FD	Substantive	8	8	16	15
	Procedural	4	5	14	12
FND	Substantive	3	2	-	1
	Procedural	1	1	1	2
ID	Substantive	6	6	2	2
	Procedural	2	1	3	4
IND	Substantive	4	4	2	1
	Procedural	14	13	2	1

NOTE: FD - Formal and definite
 FND - Formal but not definite
 ID - Informal but definite
 IND - Informal and not definite.

From the above Table, we collect the figures on substantive and procedural rules separately into 'formal' and 'informal', taking:

$$\text{Formal} = \text{FD} + \text{FND}$$

$$\text{Informal} = \text{ID} + \text{IND}$$

The percentages presented on Table 33 were obtained by the following calculations. Take Workplace 1 for example:

Substantive:

$$\text{Formal} = 8 + 3 = 11$$

$$\text{Informal} = 6 + 4 = 10$$

$$\text{Taking formal} + \text{informal} = 100$$

$$\text{Formal (11)} = 52$$

$$\text{Informal (10)} = 48$$

Procedural:

$$\text{Formal} = 4 + 1 = 5$$

$$\text{Informal} = 2 + 14 = 16$$

$$\text{Taking formal} + \text{informal} = 100$$

$$\text{Formal (5)} = 23$$

$$\text{Informal (16)} = 77$$

The same sort of calculations as above were done to obtain the percentages for the other workplaces.

CHI-SQUARE TEST

The observed frequencies were as stated in the Table below:

		W1	W2	W3	W4
Substantive	Formal	11	10	16	16
	Informal	10	10	6	5
Procedural	Formal	5	6	14	14
	Informal	16	14	5	5

The expected frequencies were derived using the formula:

$$\frac{\text{Row total} \times \text{Column total}}{\text{Grand total}}$$

Using the formula $\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(o-e)^2}{e}$, the χ^2 was computed as follows:

o	e	$o-e$	$(o-e)^2$	$\frac{(o-e)^2}{e}$
11	14	3	9	0.64
10	13	3	9	0.69
16	13	3	9	0.69
16	13	3	9	0.69
10	8	2	4	0.50
10	7.5	2.5	6.25	0.83
6	8	2	4	0.50
5	7.5	2.5	6.25	0.83
5	10	5	25	2.50
6	9.6	3.6	12.96	1.35
14	9.8	4.2	17.64	1.80
14	9.6	4.4	19.36	2.00
16	10	6	36	3.60
14	9.8	4.2	17.64	1.80
5	10	5	25	2.50
5	9.8	4.8	23.04	2.35

$$\chi^2 = \underline{\underline{23.27}}$$

Degrees of freedom = $(4-1)(4-1) = 9$

$P_{.05} = 3.33.$

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Appendix XV

CALCULATIONS IN RELATION TO THE CHI-SQUARE
TEST ON THE FIGURES ON TABLE 18

The observed frequencies were as stated in the Table below:

	W1	W2	W3	W4
Favourable	50	21	58	97
Unfavourable and 'Do not know'	68	31	32	59

The expected frequencies were derived using the formula:

$$\frac{\text{Row total} \times \text{Column total}}{\text{Grand total}}$$

Using the formula $\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(o-e)^2}{e}$, the χ^2 was computed as follows:

o	e	o-e	(o-e) ²	$\frac{(o-e)^2}{e}$
50	64	14	196	3.06
21	28	7	49	1.75
58	49	9	81	1.65
97	85	12	144	1.69
68	54	14	196	3.63
31	24	7	49	2.04
32	41	9	81	1.96
59	71	12	144	2.03

$$\chi^2 = \underline{\underline{17.825}}$$

$$\text{Degrees of freedom} = (4-1)(2-1) = 3$$

$$P_{.05} = 0.352$$

Appendix XVI

DUTY ALLOWANCES IN WORKPLACE 4

Allowances are paid to some employees for performing specified duties. Payment of the allowance will automatically stop once an employee ceases to perform the job for which the allowance is meant. Departmental Managers are requested to check and always ensure that only deserving employees are paid. At the moment the following allowances are in existence:

PURPOSE	RATE
Forklift Driver	¥8.00 per month
Overtime and Supervision (Dormitory)	¥15.00 " "
Breaktime work - Chief Cook and Chief Steward (Dormitory)	¥7.00 " "
Breaktime work (Cooks and Stewards (Dormitory)	¥4.00 " "
Tofu making (Dormitory)	¥4.00 " "
Paying wages	¥10.00 per pay
Office boy allowance	¥4.00 per month
Accounting/Computer machine allowance	¥6.00 " "
Shift Driver's allowance	¥8.00 " "
Telex Operator's allowance	¥25.00 " "
Mail boy allowance	¥6.00 " "

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