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SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND DEMOCRATIC
CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC: AN
APPRAISAL OF NIGERIA LABOR CONGRESS (NLC)**

By

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DECLARATION

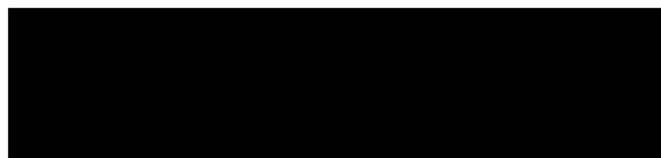
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DEDICATION

This research work is solely dedicated to the Almighty Allaah, with whose favours all righteousness are accomplished, for His unceasing blessings and guidance on me.

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Glory and praise be to Allah, a number of times equal to the number of His creature, to the extent of His pleasure, equal to the weight of His throne and as many as His words.

“Whoever is not grateful to people is not grateful to Allah”

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ACRONYMS / ABBREVIATIONS

AAEUN	Agriculture and Allied Employees of Nigeria
ACSTWU	African Civil Service Technical Workers Union
ANTUF	All Nigerian Trade Union Federation
APFON	Association of Professional Footballers of Nigeria
ASCSN	Association of Senior Civil Servants of Nigeria
ASSBIFI	Association of Senior Staff of Banks, Insurance & Financial
ASUP	Academic Staff Union of Polytechnic
ASURI	Academic Staff Union of Research Institutions
ASUSS	Academic Staff Union of Secondary Schools Institutions
ASUU	Academic Staff Union of Universities
ATSSSAN	Air Transport Services Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
AUTOBATE	Automobile, Boatyards, Transport Equipment & Allied Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
AUPCTRE	Amalgamated Union of Public Corporation, Civil Service Technical and Recreational Services Employees
CANMPSSA	Chemical & Non-Metallic Products Senior Staff Association
CCESSA	Construction & Civil Engineering Senior Staff Association
CLO	Civil Liberty Organization
COEASU	Colleges of Education Academic Staff Union
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
FOBTOB	Food, Beverage & Tobacco Senior Staff Association
FESSAN	Federation of Senior Staff Associations of Nigeria
FTUN	Federated Trades Union of Nigeria

FWLRPSSA	Footwear, Leather & Rubber Products Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
HAPSSSA	Hotel & Personal Services Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
ICFU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
IDI	In-depth Interviews
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISSAN	Iron & Steel Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
IULC	Independent United Labour
JUSUN	Judicial Staff Union of Nigeria
KII	Key Informant Interviews
LEMT	Labour Election Monitoring Team
LUF	Labour Unity Front
MWUN	Maritime Workers Union of Nigeria
MHWUN	Medical and Health Workers Union of Nigeria
MEPROSSAN	Metal Products Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
NAAPE	National Association of Aircraft Pilots and Engineers
NAAT	National Association of Academic Technologists
NACHPN	The National Association of Community Health Practitioners of Nigeria
NANNM	National Association of Nigeria Nurses and Midwives
NASU	Non-Academic Staff Union of Educational and Associated Institutions
NCSU	Nigeria Civil Service Union
NCTUC	National Council of Trade Union Congress
NCTUN	National Council of Trade Union of Nigeria
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations

NIWELFA	Nigeria Welders and Fitters Association
NLC	Nigeria Labour Congress
NMNOWTSSA	Nigeria Merchant Navy Officer & Water Transport Senior Staff Association
NNFL	Nigerian National Federation of Labour
NTUC	Nigeria Trade Union Congress
NTUF	Nigerian Trade Union Federation
NUAHP	Nigerian Union of Allied Health Professions
NUATE	National Union of Air Transport Employees
NUBIFIE	National Union of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institution Employees
NUCECFWW	National Union of Civil Engineering, Construction, Furniture and Wood Workers
NUCFLANMPE	National Union of Chemical, Footwear, Rubber, Leather and Non-Metallic Employees
NUCSSSW	Nigeria Union of Civil Service Secretariat Stenographic Workers
NUEE	National Union of Electricity Employees
NUEEN	National Union of Electricity Employees of Nigeria
NUFBTEN	National Union of Food, Beverage and Tobacco Employees of Nigeria
NUHPSWN	National Union of Hotels and Personal Services Workers
NUJ	Nigeria Union of Journalists
NULAE	National Union of Lottery Agents and Employees
NULGE	Nigeria Union of Local Government Employees
NUMW	Nigeria Union of Mine Workers

NUPENG	National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas
NUPTE	National Union of Posts and Telecommunication Employees
NURTW	National Union of Road Transport Workers
NUP	Nigeria Union of Pensioners
NUPPPPW	National Union of Printing, Publishing and Paper Products Workers
NUR	Nigeria Union of Railwaymen
NUSDE	National Union of Shop and Distributive Employees
NUT	Nigeria Union of Teachers
NUTGTWN	National Union of Textile, Garment and Tailoring Workers of Nigeria
NWC	Nigerian Workers Council
PASAN	Parliamentary Staff Association of Nigeria
PENGASSAN	Petroleum & Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
PERESSA	Precision, Electrical & Related Equipment Senior Staff Association
PPAPPPSSAN	Pulp, Paper & Paper Products Printing & Publishing Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
RATTAWU	Radio, Television and Theatre Workers Union of Nigeria
SESCAN	Senior Staff Consultative Association of Nigeria
SEWUN	Steel & Engineering Workers Union of Nigeria
SHOPDIS	Shop & Distributive Trade Senior Staff Association
SNG	Save Nigeria Group
SSACTAC	Senior Staff Association of Communications, Transport & Corporations
SSAE & AC	Senior Staff Association of Electricity & Allied Companies

SSANIP	Senior Staff Association of Nigerian Polytechnics
SSANU	Senior Staff Association of Nigerian Universities
SSASCFA	Senior Staff Association of Shipping, Clearing & Forwarding Agencies
SSAUTHRIAI	Senior Staff Association of Universities, Teaching Hospitals, Research & Associated Institutions
TGTSSAN	Textile, Garments & Tailoring Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
TUC	Trade Union Congress
TUCN	Trade Union Congress of Nigeria
ULC	United Labour Congress
UK	United Kingdom
US	United State
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions

ABSTRACT

The transition from military autocracy to democracy in Nigeria came after a tortuous, brave and determined struggle. Civil society organizations engaged in agitations and protests that led to the eventual withdrawal of the military from governance in Nigeria. However, after more than a decade and a half year of democratic experience, the rising hope among Nigerians is gradually fading away, giving way to apprehension and despondency. Whereas civil society is ubiquitous in academic and political discourse, labour unions are far less popular as subjects of analysis. It is in this context that this thesis examined critically the role of civil society organisation (with a special focus on Nigeria Labour Congress) in the democratic consolidation process in Nigeria's fourth Republic. The study adopted the qualitative approach and group theory as the theoretical framework. The data for this research work was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected through interviews with relevant stakeholders on labour and democratic issues. A total of twenty-eight (28) respondents were interviewed using interview schedule. The secondary data for the study were derived from books, journal articles, magazines and newspaper articles, reliable and verifiable internet materials.

While primary data obtained were analysed using the combination of both the manual qualitative method and the Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS), the existing data used were subjected to substantive and extensive analysis through the instrumentality of content validity, content analysis and textual criticism. The study noted that Nigeria Labour Congress (as a member of civil society organizations) played significant roles in the transition from military autocracy to electoral democracy. The study also noted that while the aftermath of the transition had attracted some concerted efforts from organized labour geared towards democratic consolidation, the momentum of the struggle, as well as the vibrancy of labour unions in Nigeria, is not satisfactory. The findings of this study are largely base on fieldwork which is a significant departure from desk analysis that has defined most works on the phenomenon. In order to enhance the effectiveness of organized labour in Nigeria, the study recommended that: first, the issue of centralized trade unionism should be constitutionally restored; second, the government should restrain itself from interfering in matters that are strictly internal to the unions and lastly, the leaders should not be partisan in politicking.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Background and outline of the research problem

In the late 1990s, the resurgence of democratic struggles in Africa and, indeed, in Nigeria, has arisen the concern of scholars and many academic discourses about the role of civil society organizations in both the contexts of democratization and democratic consolidation. This resurgence was occasioned by global expansion of democratic space after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the removal of the iron Curtin that separated the Eastern bloc from the Western bloc, and the termination of the one-party system in some states in Africa, Asia and Latin America in the late 1980s and the early 1990s (Mohammed, 2010). The continual agitation for freedom from military authoritarian regimes and the unflinching resistance to unpopular neo-liberal economic reform programs by different democratic reform movements made what the Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington (1991:2) christened as “global resurgence of the third-wave democratization” inevitable in many African countries.

Hence, the wave of democratization that swept across the globe made authoritarian regime to be under relentless pressure (both from within and outside) to embrace democracy. Nigeria, which was under stiff holds of military absolutism then, was also caught by the wave of democratization. In order to secure legitimacy internally and be accepted by the international community, the military regimes of General Ibrahim Babangida and Sanni Abacha tried or pretended to institutionalize democracy by purportedly planning a transition to civil rule. However, some complications and clumsiness were introduced into the transition programs that made them be far from what could be referred to as democratic process (Popoola, 2012). With the escalating authoritarian tendencies of the Generals Babangida and Abacha military regimes, various civil society organizations (CSOs) emerged, from 1983-1998, thereby enlarging the number of the existing ones. Undoubtedly, the heroic struggle waged by this generation of civil society organizations in the era of suffocating military rule helped in no small measure to end prolonged military tranny, resulting in handing over of power to a civilian government on 29 May 1999 (Mohammed, 2010). The enthronement of democracy in Nigeria in 1999 therefore, did not come on a platter of gold. It came after a tortuous, brave and determined struggle, with the civil society organizations being at the vanguard of the struggle (Omodia and Erunke, 2007; Popoola, 2012).

With democracy attained and democratic institutions putting in place, all ethnic groups began to express dissatisfaction and complain of marginalization. States and local governments similarly complained of limited revenue powers (Popoola, 2012). Agitation for fiscal federalism, revenue allocation formulae and quality of citizenship soon become dominant issues in Nigeria's fourth republic with pro-democracy groups, labour unions and civil society organizations at large, seem to have relapsed into suspended animation. According to Popoola (2012:112), "the vibrancy, fervour, bravery and the coordinated actions with which it fought for democracy seem to have fizzled out". The attitude of the civil society organisations since 1999 therefore, can be compared to the idea of "disintegration of the coalition as soon as the common enemy is removed". Members of civil society organizations that are still vibrant in the post-transition Nigeria as posited by Ogaba (2003) appear to pursue parochial and narrow interests that hinge on ethnic, religious and regional demands. The quest for economic dividends, good governance and the pursuit of the interest of the common man seem to have been abandoned.

With the civil society organizations failing to play the important role of 'watch-dogs', which is of utmost importance to the consolidation of Nigeria's democracy, the role of civil society organizations in post-transition Nigeria has aroused the interest of the analysts and scholars (Oche, 2003, Popoola, 2012). Civil Society has since dominated discourse in much of the anti-communist dissident literature, and of recent numbers of works have been authored praising civil society's role both in overthrowing communist regimes and in functioning as a basis for a new democratic order (Kubicek, 2002). Likewise, literature already exists on the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and their roles in Nigeria democratic journey (Popoola, 2012, Jega, 2007; Agugua, 2006). Scholars have similarly examined Civil Society Organizations and democratization in Nigeria with a specific focus on Human Rights Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) (Mohammed, 2010). Other studies on the impact of civil society organization on Nigeria's Socio-Political development focus mainly on the role of Civil Liberty Organization (Ofoneme, 2013).

Most of these works are oftentimes built on the Tocquevillian principle that defined civil society as a "social sphere distinct from the family, market and the state; and composed of independent, voluntary associations and networks of citizens" (Kubicek, 2002:603). While civil society is everywhere in academic and political discourse, labour union is far less prevalent as subjects of analysis, hence, there seems to be a dearth of literature on the study of civil society organizations and democratic consolidation in Nigeria with special focus on the

activities of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC); hence, this study is an effort at complementing the existing ones.

The linkages between vibrant civil society organisations and democratic consolidation lie at the heart of this study. The study has selectively chosen the fourth republic because many of the previous studies were undertaken before the Nigerian transition was completed (Akintola 2002; Kew, 2002; Umar, 2000), and even the most recent ones (Mohammed, 2010; Ofoneme, 2013) are based on data that cover less than half of the current era of democratic politics in the country. The democratic era in Nigeria is now more than a decade and a half old, the longest period the nation will be experiencing unbroken democratic government, and a proper assessment seems timely. The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) as a component of civil society organisations in Nigeria has been deliberately chosen for an appraisal on two grounds. First, in all post-communist states, labour unions are by far the largest organisations in civil society, with membership in the millions. Yet, for all the attention lavished on civil society in general, this sizeable component of civil society has not been given concerted attention. Second, trade unions and working-class movements historically have been identified as crucial forces for democracy (Collier et al., 1991). In Nigeria for example, the role of labour union in the political development of the country is believed to predate independence. One would think, therefore, that their role in the post-independence politics and in democratic consolidation efforts would be examination worthy.

1.2 Nigeria in Perspective

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is geographically located on the Gulf of Guinea in Western Africa. It lies between Benin in the West and Cameroon in the East. In the North are Chad (NE) and Niger (NW) (Fig. 1.1). The lower course of the Niger River flows south through the eastern part of the country into the Gulf of Guinea. Southern lowlands are created by swamps and mangrove, forests on the Southern coast. These low lands are mountainous in the South-east and plains in the North. There are hardwood forests in the inland territory. These are the general landscapes of the terrain of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Adeyinka and Olasina, 2012; Falola and Heaton, 2008). Nigeria experiences two main seasons: the rain season, which lasts from May to October, and the dry season. Rainfall decreases from south to north, and temperatures are generally quite high throughout the country. The dry season usually witnessed a strong cool wind called the harmattan blowing in from the Sahara. While the wind brings respite from the heat, it also carries elements of desert sand, so, increasing the desertification of the northern savannahs (Douglas, 2004; Falola and Heaton, 2008).

Figure 1.1 is a Nigeria map showing her bordered countries. Nigeria, as shown in the map, shares land borders with Chad and Cameroon in the east, Republic of Benin in the west, and Niger in the north. Nigeria's coast lies on the Gulf of Guinea in the south and to the northeast, Nigeria borders Lake Chad.

Figure 1.1 Map showing Nigeria and her bordered countries



Source: Nations Online Project

The area of the country is 923,768 square km, with about 13,000 square kms³ covered by water bodies. There are five major geographical regions in Nigeria. The first region is a low coastal zone along the Gulf of Guinea. The second is the zone of hills and plateaus north of the coastal zone. The third is the Niger-Benue river valley. The fourth region is a broad stepped plateau stretching to the Northern border with an elevation exceeding 1200 meters. The fifth region is a mountainous zone along the eastern border, which includes the country's highest point, Chappal Waddi, which is 2,419 meters high (Madu, 2014).

Often referred to as the “Giant of Africa,” with a population of over 140 million, Nigeria is Africa's most populous country; a quarter of all Africans are Nigerian. The country has 36 administrative States, in addition to a Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Nigeria is divided into 774 local government. Lagos was for many years the federal capital city, until 1991 when the government relocated to the inland city of Abuja. Lagos remains the main hub of diplomatic, media, commercial and banking activities (Bayor, 2011; Akinfemisoye, 2015). Nigeria is divided into six geopolitical zones (fig.1.2) with seven states located in the most populated North-West zone which has a population of 35, 786, 944. The South-West zone is the second most populous zone with six states, having a population of 27, 266,257. The six states in the South-South zone have the population of 21,014,655. The seven states in the North-Central zone including the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja (1,405,201) have the population of 20,266,257. The six states of the North East zone have the population of 18,971,965. The five states in the South -East zone have the total population of 16,381,729 (Demographics of Nigeria; 2016). Half of the population of Nigeria is Muslims (50 per cent), Christians (40 per cent) and the rest (10 per cent) follow traditional indigenous religions or no religion. The predominant form of Islam is Sunni and among Christians, Protestants are 26 per cent, African Christians with 18.25 per cent and Roman Catholics with 13.45 per cent. The rate of literacy in 2015 was put at 59.6% of the total population of which literate males are 69.2% and literacy among females is 49.7% (Siollun, 2009).

Figure 1.2 is a Nigeria map showing the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. The six geopolitical zones and the states that fall under each of them as shown by the map are: **North Central Zone** - Benue State, Kogi State, Kwara State, Nasarawa State, Niger State, Federal Capital Territory and Plateau State; **North East Zone** - Adamawa State, Bauchi State, Borno State, Gombe State, Taraba State and Yobe State; **North West Zone**: Jigawa State, Kaduna State, Kano State, Katsina State, Kebbi State, Sokoto State and Zamfara State; **South East Zone**: Abia State, Anambra State, Ebonyi State, Enugu State and Imo State; **South-South Zone**: Akwa-Ibom State, Cross-River State, Bayelsa State, Rivers State, Delta State and Edo State; and **South West Zone**: includes Ekiti State, Lagos State, Ogun State, Ondo State, Osun State, and Oyo State.

Figure 1.2. Nigeria map showing the six geopolitical Zones



Source: imostate.blogspot.com

Nigeria is very diverse in population, with over 200 different ethnolinguistic groups, the majority of which is made up of three main ethnic groups. While the Hausas are located in the northern savannahs, the Yorubas are in the south-western part of the country and the Igbos in the southeast. Other ethnic groups with relatively large populations include the Ijaw of the Niger Delta region, the pastoral Fulani of the savannahs, the Kanuri of the Lake Chad region, the Nupe and Tiv of the middle belt region and the Ibibio in and around Calabar in the southeast. Although English serves as the official language, as a result of the population diversity nearly 250 different languages are also being spoken (Ganyi, 2016). Its diverse geography yields an array of natural resources. The mineral wealth that is available in large deposits includes coal, iron, tin, and columbite, as well as lead, copper and zinc, much of which is found in the hills and plateaus of the middle belt. Gold, silver, and diamonds have also been discovered in various places, though, in small amounts. Nigeria is most famous for its large petroleum reserves, which are largely located in the Niger Delta. Until recent years, agriculture used to be the source of the economic activity and way of life of most Nigerians. Nigeria boasts a wide variety of agricultural landscapes, yielding a broad spectrum of agricultural goods. Food crops include yams, cassava, bananas, plantains, rice, maize, millet, citrus fruits, groundnuts, cocoa, and palm produce (oil, kernels, and wine). These products are produced both for domestic consumption and for export. Since the 1970s, however, petroleum has become the most important single commodity in the Nigerian economy, and sales of petroleum constitute over 90 per cent of the country's export earnings and over 75 per cent of public revenues. (Falola and Heaton, 2008).

On the cultural arena, both indigenous traditions and modern values and way of life that were incorporated from the West have a significant influence on Nigerians. Dependence on extended family and kinship networks remains strong all over Nigeria, but an increasing attention on smaller, nuclear families and on individual achievement is noticeable, mostly in urban areas. Traditional forms of entertainment, such as indigenous musical styles such as juju, the telling of stories or “moonlight tales,” and dramatic performances, coexist with radio, television, videocassettes, movies, computers, and other high-tech forms of entertainment, also common again in urban areas (Abanyam, 2013). As observed by Falola and Heaton (2008:6), “incorporating Western ideas and styles while retaining a strong foundation in indigenous traditions has been more successful in the cultural realm than it has been in politics”.

As a modern political entity, Nigeria (named after the River Niger) was born in 1914 by the British, as part of the European partition of Africa that started in the last quarter of the

nineteenth century. However, its peoples have a long history with human occupation in some places dating back to before 500 B.C. The diverse societies of the Nigerian region had ruled themselves as independent states before the colonial rule. Quite a lot of large, centralized states, such as Kanem-Borno, Benin, Oyo and the Sokoto Caliphate, had risen and fallen over the centuries, and a lot of these states had been quite strong regional powers for extended periods. Other states were smaller, and ruled by decentralized political arrangements of local councils, chiefs, and other kinds of elites, but not by a single, central administration. Nigeria became an independent country within the Commonwealth on October 1, 1960, with Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as the Federal Prime Minister and Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe as the head of state. This continued until October 1963 when the country adopted a revised constitution and Dr Azikiwe took office as Nigeria's first President (Mahadi, 1996; Kazeem et al., 2014).

1.3 Statement of the problem: Broader issues to be investigated

Until the 1970s very few countries in Latin America, Asia or Africa had democratically elected governments in place. Rather, the political scene was characterized by different forms of unelected governments such as military, one-party or no-party systems and personalist dictatorships. The 'third wave of democracy' later spread to Latin America, Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa, started in Southern Europe in the mid-1970s (Huntington, 1991; Wiseman, 1995). At the dawn of 1989 few of African states were operating relatively democratic regimes. But since the end of the 1980s African states' political terrain have experienced, to a certain extent, a remarkable and unusual transformation (Haynes, 2011). In the long run, the consequence was that, when only a quarter of countries had democratically elected governments in the early 1970s, more than 50 per cent had them two decades later. By the end of the 1990s, about 75 per cent of governments around the globe had gain power by means of the ballot box. Such was the move to elected governments during this time that a new area of concern in political science was given birth to: 'transitology'¹. With time, studies of democratic

¹The term's definition seems to have remained unexplored. Transitology has taken on multiple meanings, fostering confusion and muddying already complicated debates. Some critics are explicitly referring to transitology as a body of literature developed through the study of democratizing regimes in Southern Europe and Latin America. These thinkers argue that it is the mode of analysis developed by these transitologists that is both flawed and hegemonic in post-communist studies. But other thinkers imply that the transitology they object to is not a specific body of literature, but rather an approach to the study of political, economic, and social change that conceptualizes these processes as a transition with a pre-determined endpoint. Transitology, as used above, is the name for the study of the process of change from one political regime to another, mainly from authoritarian regimes to democratic ones (Gans-Morse, 2004).

transition were expanded by analysis to the difficulties of consolidating democracy, known as ‘consolidology’ (Haynes, 2011).

In the word of Beckett and Young (1997), no African country tried so hard, or so long, to create a lasting democratic system as Nigeria had. It is on record that prior to the 1999 political transition, Nigeria was under the firm control of military autocracy for almost 29 years since 1966, when the military made its first incursion into Nigeria’s government and politics, following the collapse of the First Republic (Peter, 1994). Authoritarian governments were interrupted only by a brief period of civilian rule in the Second Republic (1979-1983) (Claude, 1998:593). Hence, Nigeria’s democratic journey can be said to be a chequered one, marked by anti-colonial struggles, crises, coups, countercoups and a thirty-month agonizing civil war between 1967 and 1970 (Ojo, 2008). But with the tortuous democratic transition to the fourth republic on May 29, 1999, hopes were once again high about the possibility of the sustenance of democratic values in the country (Popoola, 2012).

However, after more than a decade and half of democratic experience, the rising hope among Nigerians is gradually fading away, giving way to apprehension and despondency. This is largely responsible for the non-forthcoming of highly anticipated dividends of democracy because of wide-ranging of factors. These include increasing rates of corruption among elected public office holders, falling standards of living, a nagging downturn in the economy, a misdemeanour of the political elite, rising insecurity in the country, abuse of state power, etc. In short, there is a general cynicism regarding the survival of democracy in Nigeria (Moses, 2009:54). While the aftermath of the transition is expected to attract concerted efforts towards the consolidation of the Nations’ hard-won democracy, this seems not to be the case as much of civil society organizations are after narrow agenda, democratic consolidation seems not to be in their consciousness, discourse or agenda. Agugua (2006) acknowledges this when he advances that since the enthronement of the current democratic politics, the general view of the thinking public is that civil society organizations have abdicated their responsibilities. This thinking, according to him, becomes somewhat pathetic when the noble role of engineering the present dispensation of democratic government, masterminded by such organizations, comes to mind.

Ogaba gives an apt narrative of the problem when he submits as follows, “...while having played a central role in the process leading to the transition, the aftermath of the transition has witnessed the retreat of civil society organizations into an apparent lethargy” (2003:191). This,

in his words, “is evidenced by the inability of the state to cope with endemic problems such as widespread unemployment and ethno-religious conflicts, while high-ranking state functionaries exhibit opulence”. Extending the argument further, Jega (2007:248) contends that “there is a world of difference between a civil rule and democratic rule, especially in the sense that, the former, although necessary, is not sufficient condition for the latter”. It, therefore, follows that civil society cannot rest on its oars; it must work tirelessly to ensure that transition to civil rule results in the emergence and sustenance of democratic rule. However, the momentum of the struggle, as well as the vibrancy of civil society in Nigeria since the demise of military rule in 1999 leaves much to be desired (Anyim et al., 2013; Oshiomhole, 2015). After helping to bring about democratic governance, the civil society organizations were expected to help consolidate and sustain the hard-won democracy. The critical phase of democratic consolidation is an often-neglected phase, which, therefore, deserves attention. The role of civil society organizations in post-transition Nigeria has thus aroused the interest of the analysts and scholars.

It must be said here that literature on what should be the role of civil society organizations in the post-transition Nigeria have continually surfaced within academic works (Bradley, 2005; Dakyyen and Dang, 2014; Mohammed, 2010). However, most of the previous works focussed generally on Civil Society Organisations, those with a specific focus in the past focussed on organisations such as Human Rights Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) (Mohammed, 2010) and the role of Civil Liberty Organization (CLO) (Ofoneme, 2013). Many of these previous studies were undertaken before Nigeria transitioned to civil rule in 1999 (Akintola 2002; Kew, 2002; Umar, 2000) while most recent ones are based on data that cover less than half of the current era of democratic politics in the country (Mohammed, 2010; Ofoneme, 2013). What is, therefore, missing in the literature is the need to diligently investigate the role of civil society organizations in the democratic consolidation process in Nigeria with a special focus on Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) based on a recent data. The aim of this work, therefore, is to fill the gap by investigating the contributions of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) to democratic consolidation in Nigeria since the inception of current democratic dispensation.

1.4 Research objectives

Specifically, the study seeks to evaluate the contributions of civil society organizations (with a special focus on Nigeria Labour Congress) to democratic consolidation process in Nigeria's fourth republic. In doing this, the study adopts a two-stage approach. The first stage looks at the activities of labour unions geared towards democratization before the transition in 1999

such as protests, strike actions and political means. The second stage examines their activities after the 1999 transition aimed at democratic consolidation such as protests, strike actions, mobilization, activism and advocacy. In order to achieve this, the following specific objectives are set:

- i. to evaluate the role played by organized labour in the transition to civil rule in May 1999 in Nigeria;
- ii. to assess the performance of Nigeria Labour Congress in the quest for democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic;
- iii. to investigate whether the vibrancy of Labour Union is in response to the political environment under which it operates;
- iv. to identify and analyse the basic challenges militating against the effectiveness of Nigeria Labour Congress in consolidating democracy in Nigeria.

1.5 Research questions

In order to address the research problem, this study seeks to answer this question: how has Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), as a component of Civil Society, contributed to the democratic consolidation process in Nigeria? To achieve this, the following research questions, therefore, become imperative to be addressed:

- i. What is the extent of the role played by organized labour in the transition to civil rule in May 1999 in Nigeria?
- ii. What has been the performance of Nigeria Labour Congress in the quest for democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic?
- iii. How does the political environment determine the vibrancy of labour union?
- iv. What is the identifiable challenges militating against the effectiveness of Nigeria Labour Congress in consolidating democracy in Nigeria?

1.6 Scope of the study

This study focussed generally on civil society organizations and democratic consolidation. The scope of analysis was restricted to the geographical entity known as Nigeria. However, this does not mean that when the situations demand, references were not drawn from other countries in as much as it helps to advance the research work's case. The time frame covered by the study is the fourth republic (from 1999 to 2018), this does not mean that when the need arises, references were not made of events that happened earlier as long as such helps in achieving the research objectives. The chosen period is of utmost importance in the nation's democratic

history because it's a period in which the country has witnessed almost two decades of uninterrupted civil rule, the highest ever. Before the political transition to the fourth republic, Nigeria political space had been occupied by the military junta for almost three decades, when the first republic was truncated by the men in Khaki. The second attempt at democratisation was cut short in 1983 with the second republic overthrown in a military coup, while the third republic was prematurely aborted.

The rebirth of democracy in 1999 dispelled disillusion in the citizenry and rekindled the hope of Nigerians for a brighter future. However, almost two decades of democratic experience, the rising hope among Nigerians is gradually fading away, the journey has been both stormy and bumpy, which seems to be threatening the consolidation of the current democratic process. Hence, the period under review will allow for a proper investigation into some of these challenges.

1.7 Justification for the study

In the aftermath of the transition in 1999, Nigeria's fourth republic has been faced with a number of problems; political, economic and social, some of which have been so serious as to threaten the foundations of the country democracy. With these constraints, democratic governance cannot be said to have occupied a pride of place in the country. As a result, the role of Civil Society Organizations in the post-transition Nigeria has drawn the attention of scholars and analysts, but an inquiry into the existing literature reveals a paucity of study with special focus on the roles of Nigeria Labour Congress in the post-transition Nigeria, which make this work a worthwhile academic exercise.

Thus, this work is an intellectual contribution to complement the existing works in this field. In addition, the study will be an important source of reference to the academic world. It will also be of immense benefit to the students of political science and researchers who might want to embark on relevant research work in future.

1.8 Limitations of the study

Working on Civil Society Organizations and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: An appraisal of the role of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) was not an easy task. The availability of relevant materials on this topic (focussing on NLC) were not easily come by. Too much of officiality or bureaucracy and secrecy on the part of some of the interviewees were also encountered. How to ensure that bias of all sorts was eliminated also remains a limitation. However, these constraints so named were checked mated by making the best use

of the available materials and by spending more time on the research work, necessary steps were also taken in this study to ensure that bias of all sorts was eliminated. Therefore, these constraints have little or no effect on the research report.

1.9 Conceptual clarifications

Conceptual clarification is a major requirement for any scientific or empirical research. It lays the basis for an explicit understanding of major concepts that were used, concepts are the ‘building block’ of any given discipline. The idea of conceptual clarification arises from the need to understand some terms as used in this study. According to Osumah and Ikelegbe (2009), the essence of conceptualization is to give operational definitions to some important terms used in the discourse. Conceptual clarification, therefore, as opined by Rubbin and Babbie (1989) cited in Oni (2013), helps specify what terms mean when used for the purpose of facilitating their contextual operationalization and comprehension. It is therefore imperative to clarify basic concepts used in this study to avoid ambiguity: Civil Society, Democracy, Democratization, Democratic Consolidation and Labour Union.

1.9.1 Civil Society

Civil society is a term which, like a recurring decimal, appears so often in the literature on democratization in Africa, but it is being used in an indiscriminating way, in the word of White (1996), to mean “different things to different people and often degenerates into vapid political slogan” (cited in Marcussen, 2014:10). In a broader sense, civil societies encompass all organizations and associations that exist outside of the state. It includes the whole range of organizations been traditionally refers to as interest groups. Civil society is not only limited to the non-governmental organizations (NGOs), rather, it comprises labour unions, professional associations, ethnic associations, and others. Also, incorporated are associations that exist for purposes other than advancing specific social or political agendas such as religious organizations, student groups, cultural organizations, sports clubs, informal community groups, and any other kind of association in which people try to advance their vision of a good life (Singh, 2012:71).

1.9.2 Democracy

Democracy is perhaps one of the most popular concepts in contemporary human society. Although conceived by the ancient Greek city-state centuries ago, its vast practice is a comparatively recent affair. Like all popular concepts, democracy has been subjected to various interpretations. One popular misunderstanding about the concept is the simplistic interpretation

given to what the Greek city-state called democracy (Ochefu, 1996). In Political Science, the concept of “democracy” is often been used in three connotations that are fairly distinct, even though they refer to aspects of the same phenomenon.

One, in a general sense “democracy”, is used to describe a system of government in which ultimate power (or sovereignty) rests with the people against other forms of government in which the final decision-making power rests with an individual (monarchy) or with a small number (aristocracy). It is really in this sense that the Aristotelian classification of political system into democracy is based. Two, the second import is the institutional sense in which, democracy is used to describe a system of government in which the powers of government are divided amongst different institutions; such that some are responsible for making laws, while others are responsible for executing the laws and yet a third institution may be responsible for mediating or adjudicating in disputes between different individuals or groups who violate the laws of the land. In institutional terms, the presence or absence of such separation or distribution of governmental powers is taken as a major indicator of the presence or absence of democracy. Three, democracy can be seen in terms of the procedures by which a political system is governed. In most democracies, an essential procedure by which most essential decisions are taken is to subject them either to a popular election, a plebiscite or a referendum. The basic rule in all such popular elections or consultations is that the opinion expressed by the majority is the dominant position that needs to be adopted while the minority opinion will be subordinated to that of the majority (Akpeninor, 2007).

These three dimensions are embodied in the popular definitions of democracy such as;

- Abraham Lincoln’s which says “Democracy is the government of the people, by the people and for the people”
- “Democracy is a system of government where the majority have their way and the minority have their say”; or again:
- “Democracy is limited government” (Akpeninor, 2007).

According to Obasanjo and Mabogunje (1992), democracy is both an expression and expansion of man’s freedom and has over time become synonymous with man’s progress. In this sense, democracy represents the expression of the natural instinct of man as a governed animal. Agozino and Idem (2008:69) see democracy as “a state of mind, a set of attitudinal dispositions woven into the fabric of a society”. This implies a condition in which democracy, having been

institutionalized, is actually at work. Whatever meaning is given to the word democracy, the idea about it revolves around the issues of freedom of choice (through elections), rule of law, fundamental human rights, popular participation in decision making processes, accommodation of opposing views, respect for minority rights, openness or transparency, accountability to the people and so on. All these elements must be present and practised in a polity for it to be seen as democratic (Aluaigba, 2009).

1.9.3 Democratization

Democratization has been used in different ways, Mainwaring (1989) refers to it as a movement toward democracy, that is, toward a different political regime. For Shaw and MacLean (2001), democratization is a process of change towards more democratic forms of rule – that is, a process in which a political regime advance and enhance more civil and political liberties to the citizenry in order to bring about basic goals of good governance, transparency, equality among citizens. The World Bank and the IMF have severally used democratization to mean the transition from military or civilian; from one-party dictatorship to competitive electoral politics or simply equated it with economic liberalization (Adenugba, 2009). Hounnikpo conceptualized democratization as “a process of establishing, strengthening or extending the principles, mechanism and institutions that define a democratic regime” (2016:31). To African scholars, however, democratization is about empowerment for popular and effective control of the state especially in a way that people’s economic rights are the main focus of governmental action (Wamba-dia-Wamba, 1992; Ihonvbere, 1996; Ake, 1993, as cited in Isumonah, 2004). In sum, democratization is a political movement from less accountable to more accountable government, from authoritarian to a stable democracy, from a less competitive method of succession (coups) to more competitive free and fair elections (Potter, 2000; Osaghae, 1999).

1.9.4 Democratic Consolidation

Democratic consolidation is a contested term. At first, the term was meant to describe “the challenge of making new democracies secure, of extending their life expectancy beyond the short-term, of making them immune against the threat of authoritarian repression, of building dams against eventual ‘reverse waves’”. (Ojo, 2014:11). Lately, however, the list of conditions for democratic consolidation has been expanded. While O’Donnell (1996:34 – 51) regards democratic consolidation as “an illusory concept that fails to offer any new insight into the process of democratization”. Linz and Stepan (1996:14 – 33), see it as “being descriptive of an identifiable phase in the process of transition from authoritarian to a democratic system

that is critical to the establishment of a stable, institutionalized and lasting democracy”. This study will adopt the submission of Diamond (2015:129) that sees democratic consolidation as “the process by which democracy becomes so broadly and profoundly legitimate among its citizens that is very unlikely to break down”.

1.9.5 Labour Union/Trade Union

The concept of labour/trade union is not new in the lexicon, a lot of scholars, social, political and economic have written widely about it. According to Akpala (1982), the exact definitions of a trade union may vary from one situation to another depending on the economic and political situation encompassing the worker-management relations. Hence, there are as many definitions of trade unions just as there are more than one perspective of a trade union-purpose (Aremu, 1996). The International Labour Organisation, for instance, sees a trade union as “an organisation of employees usually associated beyond the confines of one enterprise, established for protecting or improving through collective action, the economic and social status of its members” (cited in Nanfosso, 2016:1135). According to British Trade Union Act 1913, trade union is defined as “any combination, temporary or permanent, under the constitution of which the principal objectives are: the regulation of the relations between workmen and workmen, masters and workmen, or masters and masters or the imposing of restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade union or business” (Okolie, 2010:136-137). These definitions are restrictive, in the sense that trade union responsibilities are limited to the workplace and union members alone. Looking at it from a broader perspective, Sharma conceptualized it as an organisation of workers formed to promote, protect and improve through collective action, the social, economic and political interests of its member (2016:152).

From the above definitions, it can be seen that for an organisation to qualify as a labour/trade union, such an organisation must fulfil the following conditions – (i) the combinations must be of workers or employers (ii) it must be established primarily for the purpose of regulating the terms and conditions of employment of workers.

1.10 Structure of the dissertation

This thesis is structured into seven chapters in the following sequence. Chapter one is the introductory chapter, it provides a general background of the study with Nigeria history put in perspective. It also states clearly the research objectives, the research questions and the research proposition. Also included are the scope of the study, justification of the study and the limitations of the study. The major concepts of the study were also clarified. Chapter two is a

review of relevant literature central to the study. The third chapter examined critically the methodology adopted for the research and the theoretical framework upon which the study is based. Chapter four put labour union as a component of civil society in perspective. The fifth chapter is a presentation of the analyzed data using the combination of both the manual qualitative method and the Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (NVivo) in order to maximize the advantages of both methods.

While chapter six evaluates the role played by organised labour in the democratic history of Nigeria. Chapter seven addresses the challenges militating against the labour union in its efforts to consolidate Nigeria's democracy and other related issues. Chapters five and six are very central to the study, the chapters relate the findings of the qualitative data as presented in chapter four to the previous literature on the subject matter. Chapter eight summarises the whole study, draw valid deductive and empirical inferences from it and make necessary recommendations.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter provides a general background of the study with Nigeria history put in perspective. It also states clearly the research objectives and the research questions. Also included in this Chapter are the scope of the study, justification of the study and the limitations of the study. The major concepts of the study were also clarified and conceptualized.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter is divided into two sections. The first section is a review of relevant literature undertaken by different scholars. The significance is to identify gaps in knowledge that require specific intervention, appropriately intervene by providing the missing link and situate this study in the proper context. The review of literature includes the works of scholars on the following issues: Historical conception of civil society; Civil Society and the State; Civil Society, Democracy and Democratic Consolidation: The Nexus; Labour Unions as a component of Civil Society Organisations; an Overview of Labour/Trade Union and a review of the literature on Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria. The second section is the theoretical framework upon which this study is based (the group theory) and coherent justification of its relevance to this study.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 The historical conception of civil society

Civil society as a concept has been used differently by policymakers and academics the world over. Hence, it could be said that civil society is not a modern concept. Although, complicated to define, the term is used extensively in modern scholarship, seeming at times to be “the big idea on everyone’s lips” (Edwards, 2004:2), but there is no commonly agreed definition of the concept (Bobbio, 1989; Liebenberg, 1997; Khilnani, 2001). Empirically, therefore, determining what constitutes civil society has been a challenge. Consequently, civil society is seen by more and more researchers and practitioners as diverse and can carry several meanings, necessitating a review. Some of the literature even questions whether this vagueness gives a reason for the popularity of the concept, as a result of which “it can be all things to all people” (Glasius, 2004:3). Indeed, the meaning of civil society has considerably changed in accordance with place, period, political conviction and theoretical position. The civil society of an early-16th-century English political thought varied significantly to that of the late 20th century (Cohen and Arato, 1994; Kumar, 1993; Scholte, 2002).

Just as civil society as a concept is debated, likewise is its history, but one fact remains incontrovertible is that the idea is of ancient origin. Historically, the concept of civil society has its origin in the classical and medieval political thought. However, Aristotle is

believed to have first use the term civil society, even though its meaning might have been partly distorted in the process of rendering it to Latin from Greek and later to English. Etymologically, the Greek phrase used by Aristotle (384-322 BC) at the dawn of his *Politics* was *koinonia politike*. The word *koinonia* in the translation of Liddell and Scott (1940:140) is “communion, association, partnership”, while in the word of Riedel (1984:131), it means “nothing else than association, union”; however, during the Renaissance, when Florentine humanist Leonardo Bruni rendered it into Latin, it became *societas civilis* or *communitas*. In later years, Melanchton, in his analysis of the politics of Aristotle, the term *societas civilis* was used, which suggests the coming back of the ancient Greek concept. In the later English translation, the term *societas civilis* was rendered into English as civil society (DeWiel, 2008).

koinonía politiké, is seen by Aristotle as a society integrated politically, a political “partnership” that brings individuals together as a group not necessarily for social interaction instead for the attainment of autonomy and performance of good. For him, *koinonía politiké* - political association was “an independent and self-sufficient association of free, equal, and like-minded persons united by an ethos, a common set of norms and values approved and honoured by its members” (Liane, 2014:73). All associations, according to Aristotle, were purposeful - they come into being because members have shared aspirations. Although, Aristotle acknowledged the existence of different types of associations, but to him, political associations are the topmost form, all-encompassing and predominant over others, because, for him, “political ends were the highest ends of man” (Barker, 1958:7). In sum, Aristotle’s *koinonía politiké* was an association that is free of compulsion that directed their concerted efforts towards the attainment of a good society to the benefit of all.

However, it is instructive to state that “civil society” in its Greek and Latin context, and its early English use, did not connote “the people” as a cultural group, as the term is been seen and understood today (DeWiel, 2008). Buijs (2003) for instance acknowledges the fact that *koinonia politike* or political community as conceived by Aristotle differs greatly from the present-day idea of politics. The connection between “civil society” and Aristotle’s conception of *koinonia politike* is only in its remote sense. It remains one of the main concepts in the European political thought for ages. It varies in meanings over the time, although it is often seen as a social and political life away from the domestic sphere of home and family (Colas, 1997). What follows shall be a review of western conception of civil society.

2.2.1.1 Western contexts

Essentially, civil society has been a Western concept, historically related to the political freedom of citizens from former feudalistic bonds, monarchy and the 5 states during the 17th and 18th century (Paffenholz and Spurk, 2006). In the sixteenth century, when Europe witnessed the rise of many unitary states whose authority were far-reaching, and as a consequence the disintegrated feudal system was replaced, civil society was seen as “the sphere of absolute sovereignty or the state” Then, political or civil society was no more seen as “a politically constituted community” (Anjum, 2010:149). Civil society conveys the advance of development to such an extent that society becomes “civilized” as signified classically in the Athenian polis or the Roman republic. In this conception, civil society represents “a social order of citizenship in which men (rarely women) regulated their relationships and settled their disputes according to a system of laws, where civility reigned, and where citizens took an active part in public life” (Kumar, 1993:377). By the end of the sixteenth century, however, civil society was taken up again as an English word and was used to referred to “people living in a community” (Anjum, 2010:149), (see also Black, 2001; Hallberg and Wittrock, 2006). Meanwhile, the term “*civil society*”, “*socie'te' civile*”, “*Zivilgesellschaft*” or “*Bürgergesellschaft*” in its contemporary usage can be traced to the works of political theorists such as Thomas Hobbes (1651), Baron de Montesquieu (1748), John Locke (1924), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1950) and many others.

2.2.1.1.1 Seventeenth century's conception

In the 17th century, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), conceived civil society in two of his works: *Leviathan* (1651) and *DeCive* (1660). Hobbes who lived during the period of the English Civil War (1642-51) and saw the state of nature as completely awful and gruesome became frightened by the aftermath of the war. Hence, for him, the way of life in the state of nature was completely barbaric. Before civil society, there was only, (in his popular phrase) “War, where every man is Enemy to every man... And the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short” (2006: 62). To Hobbes, therefore, civil society was not an adversary to the state of nature rather it is a departure from the state of nature, which is only achievable when free people of sound mind agreed to. According to him, civil society integrates all law-making and executive power in a single body (DeWiel – 2000; Setianto, 2007). Hobbes perceived civil society as a domain of individualistic activities in which the state ought not to intervene. He compared a civil society with natural or olden society, i.e. a society that was created by state

power. He believes civil society was established forcibly through supreme power as an alternative to the state of nature (Anjum, 2010; Surprenant, 2010).

John Locke (1632-1704) is another seventeenth-century English philosopher whose contribution to the concept of civil society was very profound in his work *Two Treatises of Government* (1689). Locke saw civil society as a possible choice to the state of nature, which according to him is synonymous with anarchy. Civil society, in Locke's view, is a rightful political arrangement, and a relief to the pains brought about by the state of nature, especially those perpetrated against an individual due to exposure to assault (Dunn, 1996). It is important to note that in Locke's conception, civil society is seen as more of a political term than in relation to the market. However, he made no contrast between political society and civil society, i.e. he sees the state and civil society as one. John Locke like Thomas Hobbes sees society as a product of a social contract instead of work of nature (Colas, 2002). The immediate duty of civil society, according to Locke, is how to get individual safeguarded – most especially right to life and property- from the state frivolous interferences (Merkel and Lauth 1998; Schade 2002 cited in Spurk, 2010). In sum, the 17th century witnessed little significant changes in the conception of civil society as conceived by Hobbes and Locke.

2.2.1.1.2 Eighteenth century's conception

The 18th century, unlike the 17th century, witnessed a more symbolic change in the conception of civil society introduced by authors such as Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755), Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Adam Ferguson (1723-1816) and Thomas Paine (1737- 1809). It was during this century that civil society, relatively an orderly idea, begun to take a distinct form. During the century, usually referred to as European Enlightenment period, civil society as a concept signified all that is positive as it implied an idealistic understanding of a society in which there were peace, freedom, tolerance and no oppression by the autocratic and dictatorial state. The idea during this era, in the submission of Kocka, was an “anti-absolutist, anti-corporative ‘plan’ for future society, culture and politics” which was “critical of tradition, utopian and way ahead of its time.” (2007:38).

The concept, which came into being as a criticism of the political events of the “age of absolutism”, notably in the works of Montesquieu and Kant, had an anti-absolutist thrust (Anjum, 2010). Montesquieu, a fervent critic of dictatorship, particularly of the French ancient regime in the eighteenth-century, gives civil society prominence in his leading work, the *Esprit des lois* (1748). He brought about a practicable modern concept of civil society, by conceiving

civil society as a balance between political power and established rights of a group. He conceived *l'état civil* ('civil state' or civil society) as a place of activity in which the unlimited power of the king is negotiated. However, it should be noted that Montesquieu's conception of civil society was not a realm free from the monarchy (Richter, 1998). The 17th and 18th centuries or "the Enlightenment era" in Europe did record the growth of new state system with extremely concentrated and unlimited authoritative forms of "absolute monarchical rule". Hence, civil society surfaced as a concept to challenge both "absolutism" and "monarchy".

Another eighteenth-century philosopher that contribute to the conception of civil society was Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Kant conceived civil society (*bürgerliche Gesellschaft* in German) as the constitutional state that political evolution leans toward. Civil society, in his conception, "is an arena beyond the political order, or an organized society outside the state, whose primary duty was to check and contain the absolute power of the monarch" (Kant, 1997:28). The essence of civil society Kant claims is to foster mutual respect among human beings. To achieve this, "civil freedom" will not be sufficient, "political freedom" and a "republican form of government" are also needed (Kant, 1999; Setianto 2007). A unique visible feature of Kant's conception of civil society, when compared to that of Locke, Smith or Ferguson, is his assertion that civil society shall be feasible not only in a domestic arena, within a state, but also among states as a requirement of the international political community (Pietrzyk, 2001). The defining feature of Kant's civil society according to Surprenant (2010), however, is the inclusion of "distributive justice", a situation in which individual's belongings are protected by laws according to the principle of justice. He also attempted resolving the inconsistencies between the ancient conception of civil society and the modern ones by reconsidering old concept (Ellis, 2003). In the opinion of Laine (2014:64), "Kant was ahead of his time by suggesting that civil society would not need to be nation-bound but rather could be universal".

It is instructive to note here that the late 18th century in Europe experienced a boom of independent associations, which subsequently led to the development of a new conception of civil society. During this period, "Scottish Enlightenment thinkers" such as Adam Ferguson (1723-1816) and Adam Smith (1723-1790) made a remarkable contribution to the conception of civil society. Adam Ferguson in his essay, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* written in 1767, elaborated on the new concept of civil society. In his conception, civil society could be synonymous with "commercial society". Explaining in detail, Ferguson sees civil society as a sphere defined by moral and cultural achievements, with the government being subjected to

the rule of law, awareness of public courageous, and an intricate division of labour. In his analysis, civil society as a concept is closely connected to the rise of the market economy. For him, civil society rises when production of goods goes beyond domestic consumption and people become reliant on each other (see Ferguson, 1995; Pietrzyk, 2001).

Not all society, in the conception of Ferguson, may be termed “civil.” Only societies where citizens’ right to civil liberties are guaranteed by the government. He sees civil society as “an autonomous sphere, a self-regulatory and self-governing society in opposition to the state (cited in Anjum, 2010:151). In accordance with this conception, civil society is seen as an autonomous society that is self-regulating; in other words, it is independent of the state regulation. These independent societies, according to him, can play an important role in bringing about an improved civility. Their roles are indeed outside the limit of commercial enterprise and the state. Unlike Hobbes, Ferguson did not see civil society as conflicting with the state of nature, rather, as being antagonistic to an uncivil nation. He asserted that uncivil society might be remodelled to a civil one by the means or instrumentality of education, gradual knowledge, governmental policies and development (Pietrzyk, 2001; Anjum, 2010).

2.2.1.1.3 Nineteenth century’s conception

In the nineteenth century, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770- 1831), a German theorist, in his work, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, termed civil society as “a stage on the dialectical relationship between Hegel’s perceived opposites, the macro-community of the state and the micro-community of the family” (Hofmann, 2008:110). Hence, to him, civil society came into being because of innovations in the economic sector (and not necessarily a product of freedom of expression) and class-guided economy, located between the domain of family and state (Keane, 1988). Friedrich Hegel in an inspiring analysis characterized civil society as a combination of social activities founded by the capitalist economy that shows the conditions of the market. In another conception, he defined civil society, as “the intermediate realm between the family and the state, where the individual becomes a public person and, through membership in various institutions, is able to reconcile the particular and the universal” (see Kurfi, 2013:148).

For him, civil society comprises a vast array of players, which includes the market economy, corporations, social classes (with bourgeoisie included), and intellectuals– in essence, it includes societal actors that are independent of the state machinery. Hegel viewed civil society as a sword having two cutting edges, capable of having opposite effects - positive and negative

consequences; as a result, Hegel stressed the limit to the liberal civil society and favoured a political role for the state. On seeing civil society in the negative term that is only situated on selfishness instead of the interest of all, he contends that civil society if left alone will impoverish the masses. For that reason, the state, as the people's representative, has to correct it in the overall interest of all. Therefore, in his view, civil society needs to be restrained by a robust state, acting in the general interest of the public (Keane, 1988; Seethi, 2007).

Alexis de Tocqueville (1805 – 1859) was a nineteenth-century western's philosopher whose conception of civil society was influenced by his visit to America in 1831-32. Tocqueville in his book *Democracy in America*, after offering a contemporary analysis of American society, viewed civil society as “a realm of intermediary organizations and representative secondary institutions that exist between the individual and the state” (see Anjum, 2010:156). Censorious of the concentrated administrative state that he thought-out as a “new despotism” and he urged for placing checks on the centralized administrative state. Tocqueville's civil society was therefore intended to curtail the state's excesses, advance democratic egalitarianism, and to prevent “democratic authoritarianism” and “administrative tyranny”. In the same vein, his version of civil society was to see to the provision of services that people anticipate from the state (see Dana Villa, 2006; Anjum, 2010). In Tocqueville's conception, civil society is a domain of free association supported by the culture of self-regulation and mutual effort. For him, civil society is the ‘third sphere’ of society. For Tocqueville, civil society was not only conceived as aligned towards the state but also as limiting (and sometimes even countering) the state's powers (Keane, 1988; Bratton, 1994; Rowley, 1998).

The late nineteenth witnessed the development of Marxian and neo-Marxian views on civil society. Marxian and neo-Marxian conceptions are outstanding and differed significantly, although, the influence of Hegel on Marxian conceptions of civil society cannot be underestimated. Karl Marx (1818-1883), a German intellectual was very censorious of the idea of civil society advanced by the bourgeois philosophers. The concept of civil society as conceived by Karl Marx (1818 - 1883) was a critique of Hegel and German idealism in his earlier writings. Marx wrote in the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*:

... [L]egal relations as well as forms of state are to be grasped neither from themselves nor from the so-called general development of the human mind, but rather have their roots in the material conditions of life, the sum total of which Hegel, following the example of the Englishmen and Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, combines under

the name of “civil society,” that, however, the anatomy of civil society is to be sought in political economy (Marx and McLellan, 2000:425).

For Marx, civil society is a “bourgeois society”, where people see others as a means to their own ends. The sphere in which the working class are being exploited by the bourgeoisie. Civil society, he saw as a way of undermining the feudal structure, while power now resided with the bourgeois. Marx saw civil society as the site of oppression and its aura of legitimacy as an ideological mirage. Hence, civil society, for Marx, was the locus of degradation, not liberation (Colas, 2002; Setianto, 2007; DeWiel, 2008). While Marx did not refer to civil society as a concept in his later works, the influence of his previous conceptions on successive academic discourses has been significant. Immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union, post-Marxist scholars gave a lot of consideration to the restitution of civil society. Although some adherents of Karl Marx still query the importance of the idea, others have however made efforts at improving the concept within a Marxist framework (DeWiel, 2008; Seethi, 2007). The concept of civil society however faded away from political and academic discourse towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century except for Antonio Gramsci’s work.

2.2.1.1.4 Twentieth century’s conception

Antonio Gramsci (1891 – 1937) was a 20th-century Italian philosopher and political activist, who is regarded as a revisionist Marxist. He remained one of the Marxist intellectuals whose views were subjected to divergent, conflicting and inconsistent explanations. The advocates of the modern form of civil society are indebted to his thought (Anjum, 2010). Gramsci’s concept of civil society, like most of his ideas, is not to be found encapsulated in a single sentence or passage. Rather, it develops sequentially; it begins with somewhat sincere observations in the early part of his journalism and culminating in the complex, though fragmentary, formulations recorded in the prison notebooks. It was in the last month or two of 1930 that Gramsci, in a fascist jail, jotted down this observation in one of his notebooks. Almost six decades later, these remarks, plucked out of their historical context, recovered and interpreted by scholars like Norberto Bobbio and acquired (or, rather, were endowed with) a prophetic quality (see Bobbio, 1988). Scholars have debated at great length the differences and similarities between Gramsci’s concept of civil society and Hegel’s, whether it represents a significant departure from traditional Marxist thought, and what place it occupies (or should be assigned) within the history of political philosophy (Buttigieg, 1995). Hence, one of most contested of Gramsci’s concepts is that of civil society.

Gramsci's conception of civil society, though sharing some elements with Marx and Hegel's conception, has some uniqueness that makes it more original. To Gramsci, civil society is "the ensemble of organisms commonly called private" which he contrasted with political society or the state (cited in Gottlieb, 1989:118). He conceived it as a domain of the private citizen and individual consent, with civil society placed between the oblige relations of the state and the economic circle of production. According to him, it is a domain in which the capitalist state establishes dominion over society. It is a realm where the authority of the ruling class and consent to its rule was bargained (Tok, 2003). The core substance of his conception, which is closely associated with his hegemony theory, can be seen in its acknowledgement of the instruments and modulations of power in bourgeois states, which appear to be democratic (Buttigieg, 1995). Unlike classical Marxist who wanted to associate civil society with "commercial and industrial life" (see Kaviraj and Khilnani, 2001:139), Antonio Gramsci exceeded this and advanced it in an extra intelligent way. To Gramsci, 'civil society' conforms with hegemony, while "political society" or "State" is similar to "direct domination" or "command" (Seethi, 2007).

Unlike Hegel and Marx, Gramsci contrasted civil society with both the state and economy. Hence, the economy was excluded from his civil society, rather schools, churches, media and trade unions were included, which he considered as "private" or "non-political". Gramsci similarly considered civil society as a body of voluntary associations that will steadily assume state functions and consequently bring about the withering away of the state. However, he hesitates to believe the likelihood of attaining an entirely "regulated society" (Bobbio, 1988). He saw civil society as an important part of the bourgeois rule in liberal states. By it, the ruling class has its political and ideological hegemony sustained. Largely, whatsoever Gramsci's revision to Marx's theory, in his view, civil society continue to be of benefits. Civil society in its own standing is a stage to go through in attaining the "utopian future" (Bobbio, 1988; Seethi, 2007).

The late twentieth-century, however, recorded a major contribution to the conceptualization of civil society. Jürgen Habermas (born in 1929) developed the communicative, deliberative conception of the "public sphere." According to Habermas:

the public sphere is located in civil society and is where people can discuss matters of mutual concern as peers, and learn about facts, events, and the opinions, interests, and perspectives of others in an atmosphere free of coercion and of inequalities that would incline individuals to acquiesce or be silent (Fleming, 2000:304).

To him, it suffices to see civil society as “a sphere of interaction between economy and state, composed above all of the intimate spheres (especially the family), the sphere of associations (especially voluntary organizations), social movements, and forms of public communication” (Habermas, 1996:367). In his word:

Civil society is composed of those more or less spontaneously emergent associations, organizations, and movements that, attuned to how societal problems resonate in the private life sphere, distil and transmit such reactions in amplified form to the public sphere. The core of civil society comprises a network of associations that institutionalizes problem-solving discourses on questions of general interest inside the framework of organized public spheres. The ‘discursive designs’ have an egalitarian, open form or organization that mirrors essential features of the kind of communication around which they crystallize and to which they lend continuity and permanence (1996:367).

However, Habermas’s concept of civil society has been considered very normative and idealistic. Bent Flyvbjerg (1998) for instance, asserts that a more realistic approach ought to take the societal framework in which this kind of communication takes place into consideration.

In the early twenty-first century, civil society became identified with an array of concepts such as civility, popular participation and civic mindedness (Verba), community (Amitai Etzioni), and social capital (Robert D. Putnam) (Anheier, 2005). These different views and thoughts stress contemporary conception of civil society, some of which shall be examined in what follows.

2.2.1.1.5 Contemporary conception of Civil Society

Perhaps one of the most persuasive contemporary conception of Civil Society as argued by the duo of Foley and Edwards (1996), is that of Robert D. Putnam, partly developed as an empirically grounded answer to some questions raised. His argument attained prominence in January 1995 “Journal of Democracy essay”, *Bowling Alone*. However, it is more detailed in his analysis of regional governments in modern Italy, titled *Making Democracy Work*. Putnam’s empirical studies were attracted by the idea of civil society as an arena for generating confidence. His argument, summarily put, is that people who meet and spend time together advance collective relationships that build confidence and coherence – this he called – “a social capital”. Putnam’s basic assumption is that a region with a very functional economic system and a tremendous political integration will experience an outstanding social capital aggregation (see Putnam, 1993).

Essentially, Putnam's conception of civil society is concentrated on the analysis of the functions of "voluntary associations". Thus, "voluntary associations" are seen as the only source of trust (Cohen, 1999). Voluntary association, according to him, is the most important type of horizontal interplay and cooperation. He believes voluntary associations exercise influence on social interaction and co-operation between actors in various ways (Putnam, 1993). Putnam regards the remarkable performance of northern Italy's regional governments to the massive "networks of civic engagement" promoted by "civil associations" of various types. Putnam's conception of civil society differs from economic, social relations, and class-struggle-centred civil society conceived by Marx. Instead, he sees good government and economic growth as a result of "civic community" that emerge from the associational microspheres like the Lion's club, the soccer club, or the choral society (Mouritsen, 2001). It is instructive to note that Putnam's reduction of the concept of civil society to "voluntary associations" of a particular type such as cultural associations and sports clubs has been criticized (see Siisiainen, 2003).

Another significant development to the conception of civil society in the 21st century was championed by theorists like Gabriel Almond (1911- 2002) and Sidney Verba (born in 1932), who conceived civil society as a basic ingredient in a democratic order. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba argue in their book: *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* that the inclusion of a political component in the definition of civil society is an important part in 20th-century democracies (Almond & Verba, 1963). They argue that democratic evaluation requires considering the attitudes of the members of a democratic (or not-so-democratic) society. This conclusion was reached after the duo attempted to understand why some democratic societies were able to survive the Great Depression while others moved towards different types of nationalist and fascist government. Hence, the commitment and vigour of civic organizations and groupings and their vibrant and conscious involvement in the political decision-making processes of government contributed to the prospect of democratic survival (Almond & Verba, 2015, Verba, 2011).

Also, Cohen and Arato in a book co-authored in 1992 titled *Civil Society and Political Theory* examined the bases of civil society in European political theory, notably the work of Arendt, Habermas, Foucault, and Luhmann, and relates it to the working of modern liberal democracies. In their analysis, civil society as a concept was placed in both historical and theoretical contexts. Before advancing their conception of civil society, they take up a number of "conceptual difficulties" inherent in the current resurgence of civil society. Such difficulties,

in their claims, principally arise from what they call a “regressive anti-statism” that continues in associating civil society either with a pre-modern network of traditional solidarities or with the market economy. They argue that civil society is, by definition, participatory. It begins when people construct “a sphere other than and even opposed to the state...includ(ing), almost always unsystematically, some combination of networks of legal protection, voluntary association, and forms of independent expression” (Cohen and Arato, 1994:17-18).

By contrast, Cohen and Arato seek to establish a concept of civil society that is critical of both the market and the state without necessarily aiming at abolishing either (Shell, 1994). Cohen and Arato write:

We understand ‘civil society’ as a sphere of social interaction between economy and state, composed above all of the intimate sphere(s) (especially the family), the sphere of associations (especially voluntary associations), social movements, and forms of public communication... in the long term both independent action and institutionalization are necessary for the reproduction of civil society (Cohen and Arato, 1994: ix).

Civil society, according to Cohen and Arato, is not interested in controlling or gaining power; however, it is interested in collaborating with other spheres, influencing them and improving their performance and openness, through unlimited discussion in the public domain (Cohen and Arato, 1994). According to them, civil society is “located in the lifeworld: it is composed of all associations and institutions in which individuals interact with each other through communicative acts designed to create such moral and practical knowledge” (Cohen and Arato, 1994:429). A holistic review of their works revealed that they are more concerned with the manners of regulating civil society whilst preventing the dangers of statism and bureaucracy. To them, civil society should not be conceived passively only, as a chain of institutions, but actively also, as the context and result of self-constituting collective actors. Cohen and Arato (1994: x) see “‘normative interaction and open-ended communication’ together with conscious association and self-organization as defining characteristics of civil society”. They agree with Habermas (1996) in his relating communicative interaction in the public domain with civil society.

Barber (1995a) in his normative conception sees civil society as an idealistic illusion, unconnected to any civil association or non-profit organization, also as a “civic space” that should lie between the government and the private sector. He observes that this “civic space” had almost vanished from American life. In his article entitled, *The Search for Civil Society* Barber (1995b:144), conceives civil society as “the domain that can potentially mediate

between the state and private sectors and offer women and men a space for activity that is simultaneously voluntary and public; a space that unites the virtue of the private sector- liberty - with the virtue of the public sector - concern for the general good.” While civil society in a democracy, he sees as “the domain of citizens, where responsibility for social outcomes is surrendered neither to government nor the private sector entirely” (1995b:144). He further submits:

Civil society is a societal dwelling place that is neither a capitol building nor a shopping mall. It shares with the private sector the gift of liberty; it is voluntary and is constituted by freely associated individuals and groups. But unlike the private sector, it aims at common ground and consensual, integrative, and collaborative action. Civil society is thus public without being coercive, voluntary without being private...We do not need a novel civic architecture to recreate civil society. Rather, we need to reconceptualise and reposition existing institutions. Schools, foundations, community movements, the media, and other civil associations need to reclaim their public voice and political legitimacy against those who would write them off as hypocritical special interests (Barber, 1995b:114).

Barber in a book titled: *A PLACE FOR US: How to Make Society Civil and Democracy Strong* sees civil society not “as an alternative to democratic government, but rather as the free space in which democratic attitudes are cultivated and democratic behaviour is conditioned” (1998:6). Adopting a phrase from philosopher Michael Walzer (1998:7), he calls it “the space of un-coerced human association and also the set of relational networks — formed for the sake of the family, faith, interest and ideology — that fill this space.” It is the domain of “you and me as we gather into we’s.”, he asserted (Barber, 1998).

Larry Diamond offers one of the most comprehensive contemporary conceptions of civil society; unlike Barber, he defines the field of civil society seemingly more empirically and descriptively than normatively. According to him, civil society is “the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, (largely) self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules” (Diamond, 1994:5). To Diamond, it is most misleading and even trivializing to conceptualized civil society as simply “organizations that are independent of the state” (Diamond, 1999:221). In addition to being “voluntary, self-generating, autonomous, and rule-abiding”, civil society differs significantly from other groups in the society in various ways. Hence, Diamond makes a distinction between civil society and the society in general. According to him, civil society “involves citizens collective action in a public sphere to express their interests, passions, preferences, and ideas, to exchange information, to achieve collective goals, to make demands on the state, to improve the structure

and functioning of the state, and to hold state officials accountable” (Diamond, 1999:221). Diamond sees civil society as an agent, existing between the private domain and the state. Therefore, to him, individual and family life, isolated group activity (for example, for relaxation, amusement, spirituality or religious worship), and the commercial activity of individual business firms are excluded. For Diamond, all these are dimensions of “parochial society” (or, in the commercial, profit-making sphere, of “economic society”) that do not get themselves involved in civic life and the public realm – though, they may be of assistance in generating cultural models and orders of commitment that overrun into the civil sphere (Diamond, 1997).

Civil society according to Diamond includes comprehensively a host of organizations, formal and informal. These organizations include:

- (1) *economic* (productive and commercial associations and networks); (2) *cultural* (religious, ethnic, communal, and other institutions and associations that defend collective rights, values, faiths, beliefs, and symbols); (3) *informational and educational*, devoted to the production and dissemination (whether for profit or not) of public knowledge, ideas, news, and information; (4) *interest* groups, which seek to advance or defend the common functional or material interests of their members (for example, trade unions, associations of veterans and pensioners, and professional groups); (5) *developmental* organizations, which pool individual resources and talents to improve the infrastructure, institutions, and quality of life of the community; (6) *issue-oriented* movements (for example, for environmental protection, land reform, consumer protection, and the rights of women, ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, the disabled, and other victims of discrimination and abuse); and (7) *civic* groups, which seek (in nonpartisan fashion) to improve the political system and make it more democratic (for example, working for human rights, voter education and mobilization, election monitoring, and exposure and reform of corrupt practices) (1994:6).

Also included are “the ideological marketplace” and “the flow of information and ideas”. This, in his assertion, is not limited to the autonomous mass media, also included are institutions that belong to the broader domain of independent cultural and intellectual activity - think tanks, universities, theatres, publishing houses, artistic networks and film production companies (Diamond, 1997).

Philippe Schmitter (born in 1936) offered another systematic contemporary conception of civil society. According to him, civil society is a set or system of self-organized intermediary groups that:

- (1) are relatively independent of both public authorities and private units of production and reproduction, i.e. of firms and families; (2) that are capable of deliberating about and taking collective actions in defence/promotion of their

interests/passions; (3) but do not seek to replace either state agents or private (re)producers or to accept responsibility for governing the polity as a whole; (4) but do agree to act within pre-established rules of a 'civil' or legal nature (Schmitter, 1993:4).

While Schmitter argues that civil society is not a natural or reflex result of capitalism, urbanization, education, social change, economic growth – i.e. of development”, he, however, agrees that all of the above promoted it. He sees dual autonomy, collective action, non-usurpation and civility have perquisites upon which civil society relies. According to him, existence of intermediary organizations though indispensable but not enough a proof for the presence of a civil society considering the fact that these units can be manoeuvred by either public or private actors masquerading as social groups with the intent of usurping power from legal state authorities or make use of their power over other social groups in ‘uncivil’ ways (Schmitter, 1993).

Lastly, John Keane (1949), a twenty-first century scholar sees civil society as a concept “that both describes and anticipates a complex and dynamic ensemble of legally protected nongovernmental institutions that tend to be nonviolent, self-organizing, self-reflexive, and permanently in tension, both with each other and with the governmental institutions that ‘frame,’ constrict and enable their activities” (Keane, 2010:461). Keane, as one of the ‘more restricted generalists’ with respect to the conception of civil society, fully accepts the relevance of the market but he is troubled to put the emphasis on non-governmentality. Keane, in one of his most recent work, berates the neo-Gramscian “civil society purists” who would keep out the market from their concept. Keane is critical of Adam Ferguson and Ernest Gellner's optimistic attempts to resurrect the notion of civil society as a counterbalance to the state (Keane, 2004). Keane's (2013) book titled *Civil Society: Old Images, New Visions* appraises the natures of civil society in excitingly pragmatic terms. Unyielding to the bait to fascinate with that, which is in fashionable, he expresses some kind of misgiving about civil society. According to him, besides encouraging mutuality and confidence, civil society also incorporate gangs, witchcraft, crime, violence and warlords: all too often “civil societies can and do regress into uncivil societies” (2013:20), he concludes.

Significant contribution to the concept of civil society

Century	Author/s	Conceptual contribution
17th century	Thomas Hobbes	Civil society as a domain of individualistic activities in which the state ought not to intervene.
17th century	John Locke	As a rightful political arrangement and a relief to the pains brought about by the state of nature
18 th century	Baron de Montesquieu	As a balance between political power and established rights of a group.
18 th century	Immanuel Kant	As an arena beyond the political order, or an organized society outside the state, whose primary duty was to check and contain the absolute power of the monarch.
18 th century	Adam Ferguson	As a sphere defined by moral and cultural achievements, with the government being subjected to the rule of law, awareness of public courageous, and an intricate division of labour.
19 th century	Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel	As the intermediate realm between the family and the state, where the individual becomes a public person and, through membership in various institutions, can reconcile the particular and the universal.
19 th century	Alexis de Tocqueville	As a realm of intermediary organizations and representative secondary institutions that exist between the individual and the state.
19 th century	Karl Marx	As a “bourgeois society”, where people see others as a means to their own ends.
20 th century	Antonio Gramsci	As a domain in which the capitalist state establishes dominion over society.
20 th century	Jürgen Habermas	As a sphere of interaction between economy and state, composed all the intimate spheres (especially the family), the sphere of associations (especially voluntary organizations), social movements, and forms of public communication.
21 st century	Robert D. Putnam	As a “voluntary associations” such as cultural associations and sports clubs

21 st century	Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba	The inclusion of a political component in the definition of civil society as an important part of 20th-century democracies.
21 st century	Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato	a sphere other than and even opposed to the state...includ(ing), almost always unsystematically, some combination of networks of legal protection, voluntary association, and forms of independent expression.
21 st century	Benjamin R. Barber	as the free space in which democratic attitudes are cultivated and democratic behaviour is conditioned.
	Larry Diamond	As the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, (largely) self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules.
	Philippe Schmitter	As a set or system of self-organized intermediary groups that are relatively independent of both public authorities and private units of production and reproduction, i.e. of firms and families; (2) that are capable of deliberating about and taking collective actions in defence/promotion of their interests/passions; (3) but do not seek to replace either state agents or private (re)producers or to accept responsibility for governing the polity as a whole; (4) but do agree to act within pre-established rules of a 'civil' or legal nature
	John Keane	As a complex and dynamic ensemble of legally protected nongovernmental institutions that tend to be nonviolent, self-organizing, self-reflexive, and permanently in tension, both with each other and with the governmental institutions that 'frame,' constrict and enable their activities

Source: Author's compilation

In all, as can be seen from the above review, the narrative about the conception of civil society have been Eurocentric, which tends to interrogate the relevance of the concept in non-Western societies. In what follows is a review of literature about civil society in non-Western contexts, particularly Africa.

2.2.1.2 African Contexts

The meaning of civil society, its applicability, and its theoretical suitability in the African context have been extensively debated (Hutchful, 1996; Robinson, 1998; Makumbe, 1998). It is important to note here therefore that some scholars have argued that civil society is a solely western idea that is burdensome, if not outright impossible, to put to use in Africa. Lewis (2002), in an attempt to answer the question “Is the concept of civil society useful in Africa?” identified four possible answers/views. The first answer, according to him, is a clear ‘yes’ based on the “prescriptive universalist view” that civil society is desirable as part of the project to build and strengthen democracy around the world. Western aid donors have used this view in support of the raw exportation of outsider versions of civil society. The global civil society network CIVICUS is one of the organisations that embraced this view. A clear ‘no’ is the second possible answer in Lewis’ view. This answer, he premised on “western exceptionalism view” that a concept, which developed from a different stage in European historical development, can have little or no significance within such distinct cultural and political environments (see Azarya, 1994; Bratton, 1994; Lewis, 2002; Gough and Yankson 2001).

The third view is the “adaptive view”. According to Lewis, this view implies that while the concept of civil society may be relevant to non-western environments, its application should be a flexible one, the local and different meanings should be considered. The fourth view, however, is those who see no need for the relevance question. To this school of thought, in Lewis’ opinion, ‘relevance question’ is probably a wrong question to ask, contending that the idea of civil society – whether so-called- has been noticed in the colonial history of Africa. Despite the lack of agreement on its relevance, however, most scholars do concede that it is an important idea centre to the recent discourses on African democratization (see Azarya, 1994; Bratton, 1994; Lewis, 2002; Gough and Yankson 2001).

However, a critical review of the literature reveals that the concept of civil society as currently used in Africa is to a large extent influenced by definitions that are advanced by the donors rather than African scholars. Since the interest of donors has been democratization, the conception of civil society, therefore, is closely linked with democratization process and good governance. Meanwhile, Orvis (2001) gives a more pragmatic conception of civil society that is more relevant to the African context. He defines civil society “as a public sphere of formal or informal collective activity autonomous from but recognizing the legitimate existence of the state and family” (2001:19). This definition makes it possible for institutions such as self-help and cooperative groups, traditional or ethnic organizations, traditional authorities and

patronage networks, to be included as viable components of civil society (Hutchful, 1996:68). It also allows for a vast collection of concerted social activities and norms, political actions, and rural institutions to be seen as parts of civil society. Orvis (2001) defends this view of civil society by arguing that concerted action regulated by the rules of moral ethnicity, and taking the form of ethnic or patronage organizations, is as much a part of African civil society as are professional associations, trade unions or churches. This broader approach to civil society gives a detailed narrative that includes aspects of both Western traditions and modern African associational life (Ekeh, 1992; Hutchful, 1996; Aina, 1997; Blankson, 2002).

Participants in the three sub-regional workshops organized between 1998 and 1999 by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), after a lengthy discourse, agreed that civil society could not be conceptualized the same way in all of Africa. Consequently, the participants at the workshops came up with different definitions for each sub-region they represented (Civic Agenda, 1999: 18-19 cited in Akintola, 2002). In West Africa, the participants agreed that:

Civil society is made up of social movements that act in the public realm and is located between the family and the state and serves the concerns of a well-defined group whose members are mobilized to reach more or less clearly defined objectives.

In Eastern and Southern Africa however, civil society is defined as:

A wide range of associative voluntary organizations - structured or unstructured - that occupy the space outside the state and which seek to influence the process by which state rules are made and applied in society. These may range from opposition political parties, professional associations, trade unions, NGOs, ethnic associations, cooperative movements etc.

While in Central Africa, participants defined civil society as:

The whole range of voluntary organizations and institutions outside/and independent from the state's political apparatus, and which aim at the improvement of members and the general welfare of the people with or without the partnership with the state.

On the other hand, literature of North Africa does criticise this concept either from an Islamic or leftist secular perspective. All these critics in the opinion of Hassan (2009) necessitate the broadening of the concept to embrace distinctive Islamic and African types of community that do not rigidly take the type of political parties, or trade unions or associations, but have their unique ways of interaction, and their peculiar conditions of existence. According to him, civil society in North Africa include “all kinds of organizations including more than one family or enterprise, whether officially or unofficially, and whether they are politically active or not” (Hassan, 2009:95).

In addition to the conceptualization issues, the question of if “civil societies” in African can be regarded truly as civil societies have engaged the thinking of many scholars. However, two conflicting opinions have emerged. “Pessimists” have clearly voiced disbelief about civil society in Africa and blame the continent’s many democratic collapses as an obstacle to the growth of civil society. They argue, “If used at all the concept [civil society] should be used in a very restricted sense relating to the emergence of a consensus on norms defining a civil sphere” (Callaghy, 1994:235). “Optimists”, in contrast, have announced the appearance of a new democratic era in Africa grounded in the rebirth of civil society. They argue:

We [scholars] must excise norms from the definition of civil society in order to allow us to examine a variety of norms that might inform civil society... Rather than rendering the concept of civil society useless, ethnic, regional, religious, class, gender, and other conflicts are important areas that play a central role in understanding contemporary civil society in Africa (Orvis, 2001:20).

Regrettably, however, civil society has been conceived by scholars in the classical Western view, in this manner setting expectations contextually incompatible with the understanding of African civil society (Blankson, 2002).

The truth is that a fragile state remains a powerful entity in most of Africa states -particularly, with respect to a weaker civil society. According to Fatton, the absence of suitable norms in African societies has produced a civil society that is, a “disorganized plurality of mutually exclusive projects that are not necessarily democratic” (1995:75). In Berman B’s view (1997), the absence of a trans-ethnic public sphere based on an all-inclusive societal norm, and communal confidence guiding both political and economic transition, partly account for Africa’s weak civil society plight. While Lonsdale (1994), identifies political tribalism and power struggles among African political elites as one of the impediments to the growth of civil society in Africa, Markovitz (1998), however, blames absence of resources and Africa’s economic mess as being responsible for the weak civil society that mostly rely on the state and donations from foreign bodies. Finally, Orvis (2001) sees Africa’s rural nature as a contributing factor to the lack of a civil society on the continent of Africa. He contends that owing to the fact that associations like independent media, trade unions and professional bodies are recent, disorganized and poor (to some extent), they hardly have any roots among the rural populace in Africa where the bulk of the population dwells.

In all, as can be seen from the above review, civil society as a concept has a history dated back 2,300 years ago, to the city-states of ancient Greece and to the Roman Republic. It reveals that

civil society does imply different things to different people and its meaning has transformed from time to time. The review shows three different, historically explicit conceptions of civil society: a classical concept linked with the city states of ancient Greek and Rome where civil society is a form of state or political community founded on strong and harmonious institutionalization of diverse and opposing social interests; a recent concept dated back to the late seventeenth century but appeared primarily between 1750 and 1850, wherein civil society is understood as separate from, and a key equilibrium to, the state and that serves as the base of capitalism; and, lastly, a contemporary concept dating back to the late twentieth century, especially from the late 1980s, that discriminates between the state and the market economy and sees civil society as stabilizing the power of both, promoting the institutions of electoral democracy and checking some of the unfairness associated with the excesses of liberal capitalism. It is, nevertheless, imperative to admit, as revealed by the review that there are various interpretations of the classical conception, we have the Lockean interpretation, we also have the Hegelian one; and then there are Hobbesian, Marxian and Gramscian theories of it. Varying interpretations are grounded on various conceptions of classical traditions. These conceptions contribute to various views and conclusions on what the expectation from civil society can be.

The review also reveals that civil society is a concept whose birth is naturally and clearly Western (Kocka, 2004). In any case, this kind of Eurocentric narrative disregards the vast diversity of the conception of civil society and, was not able to see its various manifestations in different (non-Westerns) societies. The fact that it originated from the West should not be taken to imply that civil society could not exist somewhere else. Instead, this leaning must be recognized and addressed. It is evident that readapting a functional prototype from its initial context to other with diverse experience, societal structure, economy and political culture is a precarious assignment. However, acknowledging the fact that civil society does mean different things to different people affords us the opportunities to make meaningful progress for it takes us further away from all-inclusive generalizations and normative reasoning (Warkentin, 2001; Laine, 2014).

A traverse of the conceptions (classic, modern and contemporary) shows that civil society is difficult to define without its relationship with the state being considered. Hence, the section that follows explores the range of debates surrounding the relation of civil society to the state.

2.2.2 Civil Society and the State

The relationship between civil society and the state is particularly crucial and most broadly discussed in the existent literature. Chambers and Kopstein (2006) made a significant progress away from the binary classical division by arguing that civil society does not necessarily have to be either for or against the state, but subject to the circumstances it may also be away from, in negotiation or partnership with, or even outside the state. Accordingly, civil societies, as proposed by Miller et al., can be “contentious, manipulated, disciplined, competitive and interest-oriented, repressed, or normative” (2009:86). When indeed the classical philosopher stressed the similarity between the state and society, in the recent time, however, both were started to be perceived as separate entities (Laine, 2014). In what follows, a review of existing views shall be undertaken to reveal the extent of discourse around civil society and the state relationship.

According to Laine (2014), civil society is ahead of the state. Aristotle did not know the idea of the state, as we understand it in the present-day. Aristotle’s “*koinonía politiké*” was a non-coercion association that channelled concerted efforts for the benefits of all towards achieving a better society. While in the present day a political association or a community is usually seen as being a state, for Aristotle, the state was an alien idea (Barker 1958). It is necessary to note here that the early English political writers did not differentiate between state and society. Prior to the Enlightenment period - the time of Hooker, Hobbes, and Locke, political society and civil society were seen to be synonymous. To these thinkers, civil society was a political association established on an inherent unanimous understanding. Until the said political association or civil society, only the state of nature existed (DeWiel, 2008). For Hobbes, civil society cannot survive where state power is absent. For civil society to thrive, therefore, a strong state is needed. Hence, for Hobbes, there was no notable difference between the state and society. The state, according to him, performs the very critical role as it ensures peace and self-preservation. He identified civil society with the state based on the social contract (Hobbes 2006; Ehrenber, 1999).

John Locke became the first theorist to emphasize the fact that civil society should be a distinct entity, independent of the state. He asserted that human beings establish a society where their social interactions evolve and where the state has no say. Through moral principles provided for a society that is rationally and historically preceding the state, Locke’s natural law evolved into the vital prerequisites of the differentiation between state and society (Locke, 1965). Unlike Hobbes, Locke sees the freedom of people that originally conceive civil society as an essential

feature of social interactions and follow by the state which guarantees people's rights. To him, even though society was initially a creation of people by virtue of a social contract and then authority and thereafter the state, as a matter of fact, the circumstances is much the same to the one expressed by Hobbes; in the two instances, civil society is seen as antithesis to the state of nature. However, in "*Two Treaties of Government*", Locke seems not to be too consistent in principles when he held, like Hobbes, that civil society and the state would not be an autonomous sphere instead, they would exist side-by-side (Laine, 2014).

Montesquieu as well advanced the difference between a non-political civil society (l'état civile) and the state (l'état politique). However, Rousseau and Kant did not entirely distinguish between civil society, which was contrasted with 'state of nature', and the state. In Kant's opinion, civil society cannot survive in the absence of the state and many a time he has in mind a political society with its structures like a public law or the representative power. At times Kant makes use of the expression 'civil state', which implies that even the difference between civil society and the state in his opinion is not too clear and both realms presuppose each other. The state along with its instrument of coercion is only an essential tool for the maintenance of civil order in a society and to ensure individuals moral freedom and self-determination (Pietrzyk, 2001; Laine, 2014).

However, Adam Ferguson and Adam Smith were among the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers that started to see the civil society without any doubt as an associate of human interactions distinct from the State. According to Ferguson (1995), the distinction becomes necessary as a result of the increase in state tyranny i.e., the state endeavour to "cover" society by pushing its plan over through the instrumentality of force. Ferguson while seeing civil society as an independent realm distinct from the state (but not in conflict with the state) however anticipated the dependency of civil society on the state. Ferguson, in addition, failed to give a concise description of the term and the classification of civil and non-civil was vague in his explanation (Holenstein 2009; Oz-Salzberger, 2001). Smith has been credited with laying the foundation for civil society "as an economic society separate from but protected by the State and mediated by a social order constituted by private property, contracts, and 'free' exchanges of labour" (Smith 1993:36). Smith did not only see civil society as a safe haven from the economic sphere but in addition as a fountain of economic strength. Influenced by both Ferguson and Smith, the robust contrast between the civil society, family, and the state came to be indispensable in the German conception of civil society advanced afterwards by Hegel (Laine, 2014).

According to Hegel, civil society moves on into state in the topmost stage of the growth of the Spirit. Hence, the political phase of human growth is incorporated in the state seen as a separate and higher phase from civil society that will eventually be transformed by the state. In his view, although civil society comes before the state in the rational arrangement, its actual survival and protection eventually depend on the state. He stressed the fact that the state cannot be mistaken for civil society because the state's affinity to the individual differs from that of civil society based on necessity. Hegel was one of the early philosophers that made a total distinction between civil society and the state, which happen to be a sudden departure from the past, serve as a radical historical change (Hegel, 1967; Pietrzyk, 2001). In his view, the distinction between the state and civil society lies in the fact that the state is in itself the end being the topmost stage of morality, while the protection of individual member's' interest is the utmost end of civil society. The state, in his view, appears as a supreme entity, superior to the individual and civil society. The state's responsibility, according to him, was therefore to rectify the flaws of civil society. In a nutshell, an active civil society needs the state's guidance for its survival, he concludes (Peddle, 2000; Pietrzyk, 2001; Laine, 2014)

Tocqueville (1988) in his works distinguished between the relationships of the state and local and provincial institutes of civic law on one hand, and that of the state and independent social and political associations on other hands. Indeed, these local and provincial institutions are components of the state, yet he is justifying a decentralized power. These institutions, in his view, should have governmental freedom as much as possible in order to promote the abilities and duties of local and provincial governors (1988). These associations are not parts of the state, but, as Tocqueville characterizes them, they are free associations. He defended the appropriateness of independent associations by contending that citizens should be personally responsible for the advancement of their individual social, political, economic, and cultural interests. The government, according to him, cannot advance these interests adequately and regularly, and if it would do so, bureaucratic bottleneck and tyranny would be the result. In addition, societal vigour would be threatened. Hence, he advocated for the authority of the state to be limited to the maintenance of public law and harmonious society. Central government, he argued further, should make provisional rules for independent associations only when the public law system is endangered. The kind of the interaction between independent associations and the state, therefore, should be driven by the government's acknowledgement of the independency and competency of these associations on one hand, and by the proper maintenance of the public law system on the other hand (Woldring, 1998).

Conversely, the solution to the problems offered by the 18th-century scholars of civil society, according to Marx, is not in the separation between the state and civil society rather in its annihilation. He saw this annihilation as the future goal, attainable after the revolution. Arguing further, Marx submitted that a harmonious human life that will lead to legitimate freedom in future might only be achievable by the repudiation of the division between the state and civil society that will be followed by the demise of the former. State apparatuses such as executive or bureaucracy were not seen by Marx as an agent for the protection of individual interests rather as a means for the promotion of the interests of the ruling elites. Civil society, he associated with the bourgeois capitalistic society. While acknowledging that the civil society preceded the state, Marx, however, argues that state come into being from the demand of civil society and is inferior to it (Anjum, 2010; Brown, 2001). In Marxist language, civil society is the structural base, while the state resides in the superstructure that guarantees capitalist domination by force (Spurk, 2010).

In accordance with Marx, it was not the state, that controls and conditions civil society rather it was the civil society that controls and conditions the state (Marx and Engels, 1968).

In the words of Engels:

[T]he state—the political order—is the subordinate and civil society—the realm of economic relations—the decisive element.... [T]he will of the state is determined by the changing needs of the civil society, by the supremacy of this or that class, in the last resort, by the development of the productive forces and relations of exchange (Marx and Engels, 1968:626).

Therefore, Marx recognised the concept of a civil society with the coming together of civil society and state in the nearest future. In line with this futuristic belief, civil society was likened to the economic structure in a state and thus incorporated it in infrastructure as against the superstructure (Femia, 2001).

Like Hegel, Gramsci (1971) distinguished civil society from the State, yet, he favoured the Marxian idea that the historical advancement of society happened in civil society and not in the State. When in fact Marx had thought-through civil society as belonging to the socioeconomic base of the state, Gramsci, however, situated it in the political superstructure and made it the point of the development of ideological dominance. Even though Gramsci defined civil society as the realm, independent of the state and market, he nevertheless asserted that the division between the state and civil society was only methodological, for even a policy of “non-intervention” as “laissez-faire” is conceived by the state itself (Gramsci, 1971). In his opinion,

civil society, is far from being antagonistic to the state, is, as a matter of fact, it's most essential feature, whereas the most immediate seen feature of the state is political society, by which it is usually wrongly named. (Buttigieg, 1995). Gramsci conceived a thoroughly advanced civil society as a "system able to resist the 'incursions' of economic crises and to protect the state" (Gramsci, 1971:238). Even though Gramsci acknowledged a role for the state in evolving civil society and in the formation of public opinion, he, however, cautioned against promoting state worship.

Diamond (1991) in his analysis of the relationship between civil society and the state identifies at least four functional roles of civil society in remodelling the state. The functions as identifies by him includes:

1. Civil society is a reservoir of political, economic, cultural and moral resources to check the power of the state. Civil society can play a role in checking, monitoring and restraining the exercise of power by the state and holding it accountable; 2. The diversity of civil society will ensure that a few groups do not hold the state captive; 3. Civil society will eventually stabilise the state because citizens will have a deeper stake in the social order. Furthermore, while civil society may multiply the demands of the state, it may also multiply the capacity of groups to improve their own welfare; and 4. Civil society resists state authoritarianism (Diamond, 1991:7-11).

In his illustration of the series of contemporary debate surrounding civil society–state relations, Chambers and Kopstein espouses six of such relations:

1. civil society apart from the state; 2. civil society against the state; 3. civil society in support of the state; 4. civil society in dialogue with the state; 5. civil society in partnership with the state; 6. civil society beyond the state (2006:364).

These six viewpoints on civil society and state relationships are not mutually exclusive nor are they of necessity in competition with each other. To him, it is conceivable to hold to a number of these thoughts at the same time. What they do stand for are varied ways of responding to the question: "what is important or interesting in the relationship between civil society and the state?" In each circumstance, the empirical questions that are related to the theoretical articulation of this relationship were identified (Chambers and Kopstein, 2006).

Aronoff and Kubik (2012) in their classification of associations that wanted to be named civil society, however, examines the legal status of the relationship between civil society and the state (government, rulers, etc.), three types of such relationship were identified:

- (1) illegality, i.e., a situation whereby the government defines the state in such a way that there is no room for any independent organizations or groups (totalitarian solution);

(2) selective legality, whereby the government selectively (arbitrarily) authorizes (legalizes) certain groups (authoritarian solution);

(3) full legality (rule of law), whereby the government creates and protects a social space (sphere) within which any group fulfilling required legal criteria may operate (democratic-liberal solution) (2012:204).

Highlighting the nature of state-civil society relationships under pluralist democracy, Blair opined as follows:

...Civil society comprises the collectivity of those social organisations that enjoy autonomy from the state (i. e. are not part of the state nor creatures of it) and have one important goal among others to influence the state on behalf of their members (Blair, 1997:24).

In short, what is undeniable is the fact that civil society is not a “stand-alone concept” (Laine, 2014:70). As discussed above, historically, it is in pair arm in arm the concept of the state; they are not only related, but of use in defining each other. As argues by Bobbio that:

two processes, the state-making-society and the society-making-state, are contradictory. The completion of the former would lead to a state without society, i.e., the totalitarian state; the completion of the latter would lead to a society without the state, i.e., the extinction of the state. As they are indeed contradictory, the two processes are unattainable... Society and state act as two necessary elements that are separate but contiguous, distinct but interdependent, internal articulations of the social system as a whole (1989:42-44).

Civil society and the state, though separate, are at no time completely independent in their relationship with each other. Yet they differ considerably in the goals they strive for. A restricted state cannot be denied of a basic authority needed in the maintenance of law and order. Also, an active civil society can only thrive within a healthy state – in respect of its authority and the performance of its political structures, laws and orders. A state that is weakened and challenged can be a great obstacle to the growth of a vibrant society. The state and civil society, in David Held’s argument, must become the prerequisite for each other’s democratic growth (Held, 2010).

2.2.3 Civil Society, Democracy and Democratic Consolidation: The Nexus

In the recent past, rarely any other social science concept can be as formidable a calling as “civil society”. Even though the concept shows a long history dating back to Aristotle, with diverse twines during the middle ages and early modernity that come near to a first pinnacle between the Scottish Enlightenment and Hegelian thought. It had almost vanished with Marx from social thought except for Antonio Gramsci. Due to the fact civil society have been away from social and political theory for a century and a half, it has gone through a remarkable

rebirth since the late 1970s. This renaissance was precipitated by casual occurrence of all sorts of developments. Aside from these developments, social theorists regarded civil society as an effective instrument for both, empirical study and normative claims in the circumstances of instituted democracies (Forbrig, 1998). With what Samuel Huntington dubbed as “global resurgence of the third-wave democratization” that resulted in the collapse of the communist governments in Eastern Europe, the fashion of civil society further gained momentum. This downfall led to the resurrection of the classical concept of civil society, and assertions of the Tocquevillean idea of bringing together civil society and democracy have become well-known (Waisman et al, 2006). According to Forbrig (1998), it was the democratising ability inherent in civil society, which made the concept of civil society to travel across all borders.

Both theoretically and practically, transition from an autocratic regime to democracy deepen the emphasis placed on the role of autonomous social and political actors, not just for the actual transition to democracy but as well as for processes of democratic consolidation that follow (Forbrig, 1998). Recent researches are convincingly passionate about the thought that civil societies play a significant role in promoting democracy. This may be credited to the work of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (2015) that connect civic culture with the development of liberal democracies, however, the inclination is expressly pronounced in the of Robert Putnam’s “Making Democracy Work” (1993). Civil society, it is argued, advances democratic sustainability and improves state institutional achievement. Hence, scholars like Diamond (1994, 1999), Linz and Stepan (1996), O’Donnell (1999), Schedler (1999a, 1999b), and Schmitter (1993) are all in unison that a robust civil society is an important feature of consolidated democracies. Though, far from having emerged in the last twenty-five years, the conviction that a developed civil society contributes to the strengthening of a democracy has a long history. It rests on significant assertions made in the early modern political philosophy by John Locke (1632-1704), Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) and in recent times by Ralf Dahrendorf and Jürgen Habermas.

In an attempt to figure out the mechanisms through which democratic transitions take place and thereafter become established, various schools of thought exist among political analysts (Luckham and White, 1996). Civil society is believed to perform varying functions at various phases of the democratization process. Distinctions were made by most analysts between democratic transition and democratic consolidation (see Diamond, 1994; Diamond et al., 1995, 1997). In essence, democratization process can be classified into two different stages, the transition stage and the consolidation stage, even though for a while the two may lap over or

even go together. The transition stage is the stage that depicts the movement from an autocratic government – which begin with its collapse – to a robust democratic government; hence, it is a revolutionary change process of the regime type. If democratization is considered as sequentially, consolidation thus comes after or, to some extent, overlaps with the transition (Gunther et al., 1995:3).

During transitions stage, civil society is seen to perform a significant function of mobilizing forces for political change. Considering this role of civil society in democratic transition, scholars like Ernest Gellner asserted that “no civil society, no democracy” (cited in Fukuyama, 2010:11). Dettke similarly noted, “it is possible to have a market economy without democracy, but it is inconceivable to have a democracy without the institutions of civil society” (1998: x). An active, vibrant and robust civil society was therefore seen as essential for the democratic existence and sustenance. Indeed, existing scholarship has demonstrated various findings in relation to civil society's impact on bettering the quality of democracy. In what follows, will be a review of relevant literature on the nexus between civil society, democracy and democratic consolidation.

In recent times, civil society has been in the center of debates regarding the observed degeneration of American society and it is asserted that civil society, as a matter of necessity, must be active and strong for democracy to endure, the economy to flourish and social ills to be solved in a post-industrial global society (Hall et al., 1999). According to Habermas (1996:369), “not the state, but members of civil society bear the responsibility of sustaining an effective democratic public sphere”. To him, the operations of civil society are based on the assumption that the government is not adequately representing the people. In his argument, there exist what he called “democratic deficit” – a wide disparity between ideal democracy and democracy in practices. Civil society's program is largely influenced by the study of undemocratic or incomplete democratic successes and by a couple of thought of what democracy might stand for. For Habermas (1996), civil society has a twin role of making sure that power is not misused by those who exercise it and of changing the system to bring about additional democratic practices. He further his argument that in a pluralistic contemporary society, the repute of democracy, in the long run, hangs on the survival of the public domain, on people's brilliant involvement in politics and on associations and organizations that assist in shaping a viewpoint by means of dialogue. An active civil society is indispensable for democracy, he concludes.

Larry Diamond offers broad analytical assessments of the virtue of civil society in the context of democratic transition and consolidation. He considered the role being played by civil society in the prevention of misuse of state power, forestalling the continuation of power by autocratic regimes, advancement of all-inclusive citizen participation and scrutinizing of the state by the public as very important in the process of consolidating democracy. These acts deepen state legitimacy; “a vibrant civil society is probably more essential for consolidating and maintaining democracy than for initiating it”, he argues (Diamond, 1994:7). Diamond (1994) in his book *“Rethinking Civil Society: Toward Democratic Consolidation”* submits that knowledge of civil society is an imperative requirement to understand democratic revolution around the globe.

Demand for democratic transition witnessed (in the past) in countries such as Taiwan, Poland, China, South Korea, Taiwan, Nigeria, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Benin and South Africa (to list only but a few), he credited to the broad mobilization of civil society. Opposition to dictatorship by the public is not been carried out as individuals rather as members of professional associations, trade unions, student movements, women’s groups, churches, producer groups, the press, civic associations, rights organizations, and the like. Diamond goes on to examine ten basic democratic functions of civil society. The first and most basic democratic function of civil society according to him is to provide “the basis for the limitation of state power, hence for the control of the state by society, and hence for democratic political institutions as the most effective means of exercising that control” (1994:7) (see also Huntington, 1984; Lipset, 1981). Second, “a rich associational life supplements the role of political parties in stimulating political participation, increasing the political efficacy and skill of democratic citizens, and promoting an appreciation of the obligations, as well as the rights of democratic citizenship”, was also identified by Diamond (1994:7-8) as a democratic function of civil society (see also Tocqueville, 2003{1835}).

Other democratic functions performed by civil society according to Diamond (1994) includes: central stage for the advancement of other democratic ideas; serve as an alternative channel of interests articulation, aggregation and representation; generates a broader scope of interests that may abate the occurrence of political conflict; recruitment and training of new political leaders; engages in independent election monitoring; information dissemination to the citizens; stimulate the realization of economic reformation; and enshrining “freedom of association” (Diamond, 1994:8-11). However, to him, the ability of all civil societies to carry out democracy- building functions mentioned above are not alike, it depends largely on their internal structure and character.

Robert Putnam in his book “*Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*” published in 1993, examines the relationship between the principal theoretical concepts. He examines the institutional efficiency of 20 Italian regional governments making use of interviews, surveys and several collections of policy index. He concluded that vast disparities in the efficiency of these governments have a significant relationship with the activeness of associational life in each of the region. In northern Italy for example, in which citizens’ participation in literary guilds, service groups, choral societies, and sports clubs are active, regional governments are “efficient in their internal operation, creative in their policy initiatives and effective in implementing those initiatives.” (1993:81). By contrast, in southern Italy, in which orders of civic involvement are extremely low, the tendency for regional governments to be corrupt and inefficient is high. The link between robust networks of citizen participation and progressive institutional efficiency Putnam justifies in terms of “social capital”. He maintains that “social capital” influenced government positively in view of the fact that it enables members of the community to surmount the difficulties of collective action that would have on the other hand hinder their endeavours to unite with the aim of improving social life.

Putnam asserts that social cooperation which makes democracy function very well is promoted by the act of relating together, instead of the explicitly community-building aspiration of the association. According to him, “Northern Italy is better governed than southern Italy not because it has more government watchdog organizations or public affairs groups, but because it has more sports clubs and cultural associations” (1993:176). His study shows that an active network of community-based voluntary organizations moulds the social capital, civil ethic, knowledge and skills required for democratic consolidation. In essence, to Putnam (1993:181-185), “the civic community [civil society] is marked by an active, public-spirited citizenry, by egalitarian political relations, by a social fabric of trust and cooperation,” which he calls “social capital.” The “social capital” is a civic good; whenever attained by the majority of the public by means of membership of the civil society, such can be used to deepen democracy in the administration of the state.

Forbrig (2002), in his analysis of the relationship between civil society and democracy, identifies five important roles; by which civil society deepen democracy. The first function according to him is the *Lockean Function - Control of State Power*. The second function he called the *Hegelian Function - Interest Mediation*. The third function he refers to as *Pluralist Function - Social Integration*. The fourth function is *The Tocquevillean Function - Political Socialisation*. This fourth function of civil society relates to political culture. According to

Forbrig (2002:3), “to a significant extent, the vibrancy or vulnerability of a democracy depends on whether or not these dispositions are present. Civil society is an important agent to anchor a democratic political culture in the broader populace”. The last function is *The Non-Profit Function - Service Provision*. In a like manner, Madison (2002) in his work *the political economy of civil society and human rights* sees civil society as a necessary element in the process of democratization and in the health of entrenched democracies. According to him “the institution of civil society is the necessary condition of possibility of democracy, i.e., of a regime dedicated to the respect, recognition, and enhancement of universal human rights” (2002:8).

Building on Montesquieu and strengthening the concepts of the “free associations” being the most important guarantors of a free community. Tocqueville contends that organisations in civil society, for him, are the schools of democracy where democratic thought and civil behaviour are learnt and embedded through day-to-day practice (Tocqueville, 1988:106). According to him, civil organisations help to develop and strengthen civic moralities like endurance, common acceptance, trustworthiness, honesty, faith and the fearlessness to stand up for one’s beliefs. From the Tocquevillean perspective, the civil society arms democracy with a normative and participatory potentiality, which both acts to protect against autocracy on the part of the state and puts internal restrictions on the dictatorial yearnings of social majorities. In the Tocqueville’s tradition, “the positive functions of civil society for the entire democratic community - that is, state and society - are underlined and are linked to a distinctive participatory component of self-government” (cited in Merkel, 2001:98).

Similarly, Tusalem (2007) in an article interrogates how the pre-transitional strength and post-transitional resoluteness of civil society influenced state institutional feat among more than sixty states following the third wave. The outcomes of which reveal that the might of civil society before transition and its firmness after the transition did not only play an important role in strengthening political liberations and civil liberties among average citizens but in addition bring about an improved institutional accomplishment. Therefore, he concludes that a robust civil society advances an associational culture that can promote a channel and fabric of social connectivity that reinforces consistently broader degrees of communitarianism and social unification. In essence, a nation with significant degrees of civil society facilitates a democratic political way of life. When civil society is established, it brings social capital into being, a pool from which citizen can draw what will grant them more opportunity to develop lengthen social

webs. These webs will facilitate an improved feeling of democratic citizenship, which will oblige citizens to call for state accountability (Tusalem, 2007).

It is, however, instructive to know that, in spite of the substance of assertion in favour of the positive role of civil society as a facilitator of democracy and democratic consolidation, civil society has also been criticized and, in some cases, empirically contradicted. In accordance with “the liberal worldview”, civil society can as well have a damaging effect on democratic consolidation. A state in which civil society is seen not to be strong, not fully developed or disintegrated, or where there is a serious socio-economic hardship, an inept legal system, an inclination towards civil disorder and animosity, corruption and an absence of “democratic culture”, democratic consolidation is considered endangered (Diamond et al., 1995, 1997; Mercer, 2002:8). Similarly, Putnam and his disciples’ work has been blamed for many inaccuracies, ranging from cultural determinism to promotion of unfounded causal chains (see Granato et al., 1996a, 1996b; Jackman and Miller, 1996a, 1996b; Muller and Seligson, 1994; Swank, 1996). For instance, Solt (2004) in a research *Civics or Structure? Revisiting the Origins of Democratic Quality in the Italian Regions* contends that Putnam’s assertion is unequivocally incorrect. According to him, the socioeconomics and the historical redistribution of land are of greater importance than civil society in the determination of greater heights of political participation in Italy, which can enhance improved institutional performance.

Berman (1997a, 1997b), in two works of his, differs with the opinion that civil society is an actor that can advance the course of democratic consolidation. The eagerness of seeing civil society as an all-encompassing remedy for the shortfalls in an established institution of transitional nations he also challenged. In his submission, events of the past have revealed that robust civil societies, absent a healthy state, can promote social disharmony. By way of illustration, he argues that active civic loyalty resulted in the growth of the Nazi party – a party that was extremely harmful to the principles of liberal democracy - in Weimar Germany. He concludes that civic groups can beget organizational rift, can as well create organizations that are rebellious, militant, disloyal, revolutionary and anarchical.

Samuel Huntington (1968) has been credited with the classic critique that forewarns of the evil effects of civil society. He holds that among Pretorian societies needless group mobilization heighten social anxieties and can rob a working state of its legitimacy. Juan Linz (1978) in one of his earlier works equally cautioned that an active civil society advance regime uncertainty, mostly, as a result of outside groups like trade unions or active class societies who can have an

excessive impact on policy-making. Civil society direct relationship with the state, in his argument, can appropriate the state's ethical obligatory to regulate during a crisis and encourage inefficient administration. O'Donnell Guillermo, in his work on "bureaucratic authoritarianism", showed that the assemblage of egalitarian social organizations could bring to bear an undue lot of influence on elite interests, as it aided the rise of military government and cruel absolute rule in South America (O'Donnell, 1979).

In fact, and by virtue of reasoning, civil society may assume one of four common forms: first, civil society may, with all intent and passion, pursue democratic consolidation. Pedahzur (2002) describes such a group as "pro-democratic" civil society. Second, groups may pursue goals that are not either democratic or undemocratic; however, in as much as the group is deep down democratic in nature, it can be taken that they are indirectly advantageous to democracy (possibly through the development of democratic culture, leadership, confidence, social capital and others). Third, groups not pursuing clear-cut democratic objectives can be autocratic within. The benefit of such groups to democracy is doubtful. Finally, groups may vigorously and deliberately try to subvert democracy, just as depicted by Booth and Richard (1998) in the concept of 'uncivil society'. Such groups, naturally, contributed adversely to a democratic state.

For instance, Amal (2014) in a paper explores the dynamics of civil society and democratization in three Asian countries (Indonesia, the Philippines, and Korea), he concludes on the nexus between civil society, democracy and democratic consolidation as follows:

Civil society and democracy are like two sides of a coin that is difficult to separate. There is no democracy without the presence of civil society, and there is no civil society that does not deal with democracy. Despite having a very close relationship, the relationship between the two does not necessarily lead to [a] mutually reinforcing relationship, but it can also be mutually exclusive. The experience of Indonesia, Philippines and South Korea, shows that civil society organizations have become the main source of the reform movement and people power in pressing for change. However, the emergence and development of civil society in the post-reform in those three countries led to competition, conflict and internal divisions that have an unconstructive impact on the consolidation of democracy. Thus, civil society can be a troublemaker for the process of change and democratization. (2014:54).

Regardless of these criticisms, contemporary research is of the view that civil society plays an actively positive role in promoting democracy. The positive impacts of civil society on democratic consolidation process are also well documented by research in East-Central Europe (Toepler and Salamon, 2003), Latin America (Feinberg et al., 2006), Africa (Gyimah-Boadi,

2004), Central Asia (Howell and Pearce, 2001) and in the third and fourth wave democracies by Tusalem (2007).

2.2.4 An Overview of literature on Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria

At the heel of the transition of most African countries to democracy in the 1990s, civil society was generally seen as indispensable to promote these emerging democracies into consolidation (Haynes, 2013; Majeed, 2011). The contribution of civil society organizations towards democratic consolidation in Africa has since gained some amount of attention the world over. Hence, it is an indisputable fact that several studies have been conducted on the role of civil society organizations in democratic consolidation in Africa with most of the studies been countries focused. For instance, Majeed's (2011) in an apt narrative of civil society in Ghana, contends that civil society in the country become more noticeable after independence and the degenerated military dictatorial rule that follows. Darkwah et al. (2006) in an assessment of the current state of civil society in Ghana argued that CSOs after Ghana's transition to democracy moved on to advocacy around social and economic rights. Arthur (2010) for his part acknowledges the feat and success of democratic consolidation process achieved in Ghana were to a significant extent a product of the impressive advancement in the political space for expression and representation. In another excellent review of Ghana's democratic consolidation, Abdul Karim (2014) also notes the active role played by civil society groups in deepening the democratic process.

It is also on record that the collapse of the apartheid government and the transition that follows were stimulated by both internal and external factors. Among other domestic factors, pressure from civil society organisations (CSOs) has been identified to encourage the process of democratization. Kearsey (2007) for instance, in his study of democratic consolidation in South Africa, notes that far-reaching aggregation of civil society was an important source of demand for democratic change in South Africa. Likewise, Camay and Gordon (2002) acknowledge the fact that South African civil society played an important role in the fight against apartheid, which eventually led to the democratic transition in 1994. Leonard (2014) notes that after South Africa's transition to democracy, civil society has been an integral part of modern all-inclusive "democratic" societies, guarantying human rights for all. In Leonard's opinion, the nexus between an "authentic" civil society and consistent grassroots actions engaging in an aggregate of tactics (formal and informal) is essential in the attainment of true democratic consolidation.

In the same vein, several studies have also been undertaken on the role of civil society organizations in the Nigerian democratic experience. However, much of these studies were undertaken before the Nigerian transition to the fourth republic was completed. Akintola (2002) in her doctoral thesis, for instance, investigates the role of civil society in the Nigerian polity between 1985 and 1999. She argues that civil society as an institution - most remarkably the human rights organizations, non-governmental organizations and professional group - played decisive roles in curtailing the excesses of the military. Civil society, according to her, did not only protect human rights and guard against abuse of the rule of law in a situation where the constitution has been suspended but they also advance the cause of democracy in Nigeria. Akintola explicitly focuses on the role and strength of civil society groups as agents of democratic change in Nigeria. The oppositional attitude of the civil society organisations against the military authoritarianism is broadly delved into and their ability in promoting transparency, accountability, and good governance in Nigeria.

The core of Akintola's work is to give insight into the activities of civil society organizations in Nigeria and their potential as a medium for situating efficient and transparent governance. In her argument, civil society, both during the colonial and post-colonial eras, has demonstrated its ability to withstand and challenge even the most dictatorial governments. According to her, "the period between 1985 and 1999 witnessed massive opposition between the state and civil society. It brought about the emergence of vibrant civil society organizations" (20002:172). The civil societies succeeded in crippling the system and dismantle the state of militarism. The above partly explained that the exit of the military autocracy from Nigerian political space in 1999 did not come as a result of the military generosity; rather it was struggled for (Ifldon, 2002; Ngara and Esebonu, 2012; Ukase and Audu, 2015).

In a like manner, Mohammed (2010) offers a useful account of civil society organizations in Nigeria's public political life and governmental process. Using civil society organizations' engagement with human rights as a case study, Muhammad situates his argument of contemporary role of civil society organizations within the historical-materialist circumstances that gave rise to their growth and the contradictions they have created in state and society. He is unequivocal in his argument that "the heroic struggle waged by this generation of CSOs in the era of suffocating military rule helped greatly to bring an end to the prolonged military dictatorship, resulting in handing over of power to a civilian government on 29 May 1999" (2010:2). Succinctly put, in Muhammad's work, different dimensions of the dialectics of CSOs' engagement with public policy in the specific area of human rights were explored.

Omodia and Erunke (2007) equally provide a sketchy reappraisal of civil society and democratic consolidation in Nigerian fourth republic, in their opinion, civil society organizations have a role to play in the consolidation and sustenance of democratic culture in Nigeria in order to salvage the Nigerian society from total collapse. Dang (2014) in a paper titled *the role of civil society in promoting and sustaining democracy in Nigeria* concludes that Nigeria's strength to stand and remain on her democratic feet demands the effective participation of the civil society. According to him, for Nigeria to achieve her yearnings like the vision 2020:20, the engagement of CSOs is very important. While Oni (2016) in his paper on civil society and democratic consolidation in Nigeria acknowledges the fact that civil society organizations in Nigeria are not strong and are, in truth, faced with various challenges, he, however, contends that for democracy to flourish and thus consolidate, the civil society organisations need to be adequately organised and be satisfactorily prepared to hold public office holders accountable.

Other studies on civil society organisations have examined its role in Party Politics and Democracy in Nigeria (Akinboye and Oloruntoba, 2007; Adagbabiri and Chuks, 2015; Mba, 2015), in Promoting Good Governance (Idumange, 2012; Fadakinte, 2013; Gberevbie, 2013). Adagbabiri and Chuks (2015) in their argument, for instance, links the democratic struggles of civil society organizations to the struggle for survival and see the establishment of civil society associations to promoting good governance and advancing democratic heights by influencing governments' policies. It must be said here that literature on a comparative approach to the study of civil society organizations and democratic consolidation have also surfaced within academic works. Majeed (2011) for instance in his master's thesis did a comparative assessment of civil society organisations and democratic consolidation in Ghana and Nigeria. The purpose of which is to understand the influence of civil society organisations in the democratic consolidation process of Africa's growing democracy using a comparative approach.

2.2.5 Conclusion from the reviewed Literature

With literature so far reviewed, it is very evident that a lot of scholastic works have been written on civil society and democratic consolidation. These works will provide an intellectual background and historical base upon which this study will be situated. It must be acknowledged, however, that most of the previous works focussed generally on Civil Society Organisations, those with a specific focus in the past focussed on organisations such as Human Rights Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) (Mohammed, 2010) and the role of Civil

Liberty Organization (CLO) (Ofoneme, 2013). Many of these previous studies were undertaken before Nigerian transition was completed (Akintola 2002; Kew, 2002; Umar, 2002) and most recent ones are based on data that cover less than half of the current era of democratic politics in the country (Mohammed, 2010; Ofoneme, 2013). Moreover, when in fact, civil society is everywhere in academic and political discourse, trade unions are far less well known as subjects of analysis. However, the little works on labour unions and democratization in Nigeria are mostly desk research. Tar (2009), for instance, in an historical-descriptive analysis of organised labour and democratic struggles in Nigeria, relied on literature centred model. Also, Eze and Chinwuba (2015) investigated the dynamic role of labour from that of a union to a movement, which has come to promote the course of democracy and nurture good governance in Nigeria, the findings they presented were based on a desk research with heavy reliance on books.

Essentially, therefore, a study of civil society organisation and democratic consolidation with a specific focus on the role of Nigeria Labour Congress in Nigeria's fourth republic, at a period Nigeria's democracy is more than a decade and a half is an intellectual contribution to complement the existing works. This study, therefore, contribute to the works in this field in the following ways: (i) it focuses on the roles/activities of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC); (ii) it is coming at a time when not only has the transition process been completed but the democratic era in Nigeria is now more than a decade and a half old - a proper assessment is timely; (iii) the conclusions arrived at are based on recent data – Fourth republic – 1999 till date; (iv) this study, using Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) as a parameter also contribute to the ongoing debate as to whether a vibrant organised labour is a bane or boon for democracy; and (v) unlike most of the previous research, the findings of this work is largely base on fieldwork, which is a significant departure from desk analysis that has defined most works on the phenomenon. The aim of this work, therefore, is to fill the gap by investigating the contributions of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) to democratic consolidation in Nigeria since the inception of current democratic dispensation.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

According to Maxwell (2005:123), “a theoretical framework is not to summarize what has already been done in the field, instead, it is to ground proposed study in the relevant previous work, and to give the reader a clear sense of the theoretical approach to the phenomena proposed to study”. Hence, an attempt is made here to conceptualize this study within a theoretical framework relevant to the field of study.

2.3.1 Interest-Group Theory

The theoretical framework for this research is based on group theory. Group theory, - also known as an interest-group theory. It is a model developed in the 20th century for studying politics. It was one of the first and remains one of the most methodical approaches for analysing political arrangement. The analysis of interest groups² has improved the understanding of the scores of patterns of interplay whereby the individual is associated with politics aside from his occasional role as a voter. The importance of interest group was highlighted by Bentley and Truman who see the making of public policies and political structures in human society as the outcomes of an interest group. To the group theorist, politics is nothing except the struggle by groups for controlling the activities of the government or influencing its decisions. This understanding of politics as an act of conflict and cooperation among various groups in society is called pluralism. Interest group theory holds that diverse interests vie to regulate government policy and that their conflicting interests can counterbalance each other to produce good government (Garceau, 1958; Ademola, 2010).

Arthur Bentley pioneered this approach in his book, *The Process of Government*, published in 1906. Although regarded as a classic work in the emergence of modern political science, it was almost forgotten for forty years until David Truman and a few other group theorists resurrected it (Ray, 1989: 19). It became popular in the context of community power debates in the 1950s and 1960s, continued until 1970s and 1980s in America, and was expressed in the writings of Floyd Hunter and Robert Dahl (Djeudo, 2013). It originated as a reaction against the atomistic liberalism of Locke and Bentham and the idealist socialism of Green and Bosanquet. It also represented a reaction against the emphasis which traditional political science lay on a format and static institutional approach. According to Adebisi (2006), group theory is a perspective that sees the making of public policies and political structures in human society as the outcomes of group dynamics. For most group theorists, as with most political scientists, a political group exists when men with mutual interest organise, collaborate, and pursue goals by means of the political process (Arthur, 1967).

Group theory was built on the basic pluralist presumption that an independent and active group system was essential in a society. Pluralists postulated that the efficient and effective performance of any society revolved around an impartial, dynamic, and active group system. Inherent in these postulations was a notion of mobilization as a dynamic of the counterbalance

² An organized group that tries to influence the government to adopt certain policies or measures.

of political forces. In accordance with Truman's (1964) ideas, groups in society would mobilize for political activity at any time it was in their interest to do so. In the pluralist perspective, the mobilization of one set of interests could generate counter-mobilization of those with alternative interests. Truman's assessment in the *Governmental Process* (1951) conceived the mobilization of interest groups as a reaction of any potential group confronted with a problem that demands governmental redress. It is one of the few theories which have been developed for the purpose of relating social groupings endowed with the social power to the political process and decision-making (Ray, 1989).

The group theory sees decision-making to be the result of the organized groups' activity. In accordance with this theory, the reality of politics is concealed beneath the surface of the well-established and recognised organs whereby decisions are articulated. It is concealed in the endless battle for power and influence whereupon groups are consistently engaged. The group, in the understanding of Bentley, is not simply an assemblage of individuals, but as a "mass of activity", a model mechanism instead of a static form. As Bentley defines it, a group is

a certain portion of the men of a society taken, however, not as a physical mass cut off from other masses of men, but as a mass (of) activity, which does not preclude the men who participate in it from participating likewise in any other group activities (Bentley, 1967:221).

David Truman's conception of a group, on the other hand, is based on the notion of interest. It is "a collection of individuals which, on the basis of one or more shared attitudes, makes certain claims upon other groups in the society for the establishment, maintenance, or enhancement of forms of behaviour that are implied in shared attitudes" (Truman, 1964:33-34).

Bentley thinks of politics as a remarkable activity engages in mostly by groups. Truman, however, suggests that politics is involved when groups make their claims "through or upon the institutions of government". Earl Latham put it more broadly that "politics is involved in all the processes in a society leading to the allocation of values through structures of power" (cited in Young, 1968:84). In other words, politics is regarded as the ongoing process for the regulation of opposing group demands by ways of the exercise of power. Each group, thus, endeavour to have access to decision points within the government and its success in this respect is often influenced by factors like group cohesion and organisation, quality of leadership, status and wealth (Ray, 1989; Francis, 2005).

Group theory has a number of basic assumptions. First, the group assumes that interest groups are a key factor in the understanding of politics and the relevant processes of group and

government behaviour (Huggins and Turner, 1997). Second, it argues that political power is extensively distributed among interest groups in liberal democracies (Ball, 1988). The reason for this is that different interest groups bring influence to bear on government that is disposed or receptive to their opinions, stances and views. Interest groups to that end are successful in having influence over policy outcomes because they all have insider status to the governmental process (Smith, 1993). Third, it stresses the need for the integration of interest groups into the decision-making process. Economic and functional (e.g. labour) interest groups are stressed as essential and are regarded to have insider status in the governmental process. These interest groups usually benefit the government with their services and expertise. Fourth, interest group theory assumes that political power is concentrated in the hands of certain interest groups (Smith, 1993). Fifth, because some groups have an insider status, there exists a tripartite structure within society, organised between labour, capital (business) and government (Heywood, 2013; Sellars, 1997). Within such a structure, the policymaking process will be agreed upon by deliberation and negotiation between these three groups (Huggins and Turner, 1997).

Sixth, group theory argues that because of the tripartitism, there exists a pecking order of interest groups in society with Economic and functional interest groups at the peak of the ladder (Heywood, 2013). Seventh, it postulates that government is not an impartial negotiator and actor during interaction with interest groups. Government makes a choice of which groups will be consulted and how and for what reason public policy will be carried out. No even political playing ground exists on which interest groups vie (Huggins and Turner, 1997). Hence, resolutions are reached and put into action by the government following due consultation with major interest groups (Sadie, 1998). Eighth, interest group theory contends that government sanctions interest groups that are marked by a top-down decision-making process, with government at the height of the hierarchy. Ninth, interest groups determine and ensure policy plans and public interests, in relation to society's organised interests (Viotti et al, 1999). Lastly, interest groups rarely lobby government, instead, they negotiate with the government, which implies that they make use of influence from a comparatively independent position in society (Sellars, 1997).

Application of Interest group theory as a tool of analysis is useful in explaining civil society organisations (with focus on Nigeria Labour Congress) and their involvement in the democratic consolidation process because it sensitizes political analyst to the importance of the informal groups. In addition, the theory sees government as a process of adjustment of interest which

certainly is an apt description of what takes place in reality. Interest group theory is relatively neutral as to values and explains the process. It clarifies why interest groups are not successful (sometimes) in their endeavours to influence the democratic process—they are not part of the tripartite political arrangement.

While other theories such as system and game theories may be useful as a tool of analysis, they are however limited in explaining this work. Unlike the group theory that deals primarily with the group rather than the individual as an integral part of the political system, the system theory³ fails to specify the role of the group in the political system. System theory is also found to be most useful in analysing the political systems of developed Western democracies. Its usefulness in studying developing political systems of Asian and African is very limited. In the same way, in spite of the relevant functions of game theory⁴ as a tool of analysis, its defining, limiting, isolating or accounting for every set of factors and variables that influence strategy and outcome, however, remained the persistent problem with the game theory. There is usually an X-factor that simply cannot be accounted for (Burns and Roszkowska, 2005; Tema, 2014).

The group theory has also been criticised, mostly for being too narrowly focused, i.e. it concentrates too much on the importance of interest groups in society (Meissner, 2005). Despite this, its application to this research problem is still appropriate because of its ability to resolve the central issues of concern to this research, “the effects of groups on policy making, institutions, and outcomes, and the effects of these processes and outcomes on the groups themselves” (Greenstone, 1975; Ademola, 2010).

2.4 Conclusion

This Chapter is divided into two sections. The first section reviewed relevant literature undertaken by different scholars. The significance of the section, among others, is identification of gaps in knowledge in order to properly situate this study. The second section elaborated on the theoretical framework upon which this study is based (the group theory) and articulated justification of its relevance to this study.

³ Systems theory in political science is a highly abstract, partly holistic view of politics conceived by David Easton in 1953. To Easton, a political system could be seen as a delimited and fluid system of steps in decision making.

⁴ Game theory is a body of thought dealing with rational decision strategies in situations of conflict and competition, when each participant or player seeks to maximize gains and minimize losses.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of the methodology and methods adopted for the research including the research population, sources of data collection, methods of data collection and data analysis technique. The chapter decides on the process by which the study was carried out and provides an appropriate justification for the study approach. It discusses the research philosophy, the research design, the research method and methodology adopted for data gathering to address the research questions. The chapter critically addresses the research population, sample and sampling technique, methods of data collection and data analysis needed to answer the research questions. Furthermore, it discusses how the researcher ensures strict adherence to the ethical principles of research.

3.2 Research Philosophy

The method in which research is carried out may be understood in the context of the research philosophy adopted, the research strategy used and the research instruments put to use (and possibly developed) in the quest for a goal - the research objective(s) - and the pursuit of the solution to a problem - the research question. The purpose of this section is to discuss the study's research philosophy with respect to other philosophies. A research philosophy is a belief about the way in which data about a phenomenon should be gathered, analysed and used (Myeko, 2014). All study is grounded on some fundamental philosophical assumptions with respect to what makes a 'valid' research and which research technique(s) is/are relevant for the development of knowledge in a given study (Thomas, 2010). To conduct and evaluate any research, it is thus essential to know what these assumptions are. What follows is, therefore, a reflection of the researcher's central assumptions, which serve as the foundation for the research plan. Research philosophy, mostly, has many branches connected to a varied range of disciplines. Within the scope of this study, however, four main research philosophies were looked at: Positivism, Realism, Pragmatism, and Interpretivism (Interpretivist).

3.2.1 Positivism

As a philosophy, positivism holds the view that only "factual" knowledge acquired through the means of observation (the senses), including measurement, is reliable. The positivist paradigm of investigating social reality is grounded on the philosophical thoughts of the French Philosopher August Comte. According to him, observation and reason remain the unparalleled

means of understanding human behaviour. For him, true knowledge is situated in the experience of senses and can be gotten through observation and experiment (Henning, et al., 2004). In positivism studies, the researcher's role is always limited to data collection and interpretation in a manner devoid of bias. In other words, the assumption is that "the researcher is independent of and neither affects nor is affected by the subject of the research" (Remenyi et al. 1998:33). In these types of researches, research's outcomes are most often observable and quantifiable. Positivism relies on quantifiable observations that result in statistical analyses. A researcher whose study reflects the philosophy of positivism will prefer "working with an observable social reality and that the end product of such research can be law-like generalisations similar to those produced by the physical and natural scientists" (Remenyi et al. 1998:32). Collins noted that "positivism is in accordance with the empiricist view that knowledge stems from human experience. It has an atomistic, ontological view of the world as comprising discrete, observable elements and events that interact in an observable, determined and regular manner" (2010:38). Proponents of positivism include Newton, Durkheim, Mill, Comte, Philips and Burbules.

3.2.2 Realism

Realism is another philosophical assumption that has connection with the scientific enquiry. Realism holds that whatever the senses show as reality is the truth, in other words, that objects have an existence independent of the human mind. The viewpoint of realism is that there is a reality quite independent of the mind. In this regard, realism is in opposition to idealism, the theory that only the mind and its contents exist. Realism is an offshoot of epistemology which is closely related to positivism given that it assumes a scientific approach to the development of knowledge. This research philosophy supports the collection of data and the understanding of the data collected (Saunders et al., 2009). Realism is divided into two: direct and critical. Direct realism, also known as naive realism, can be described as "what you see is what you get" (Saunders et al., 2009:114). In other words, direct realism depicts the world through personal human senses. Critical realism, on the other hand, contends that humans do experience the sensations and images of the real world. As a philosophy, realism holds the view that sensations and images of the real world can be deceptive and usually do not portray the real world (Novikov and Novikov, 2013).

3.2.3 Pragmatism

Pragmatism research philosophy sees concepts to be pertinent only when they support action. Pragmatics believe that the world can be interpreted and research be undertaken using different techniques. In other words, no single approach can ever explain a scenario, a multi-dimension approach is needed (Saunders et al., 2012). Pragmatism focussed on action and change and the interplay between knowledge and action. It favoured an instrumental view on knowledge; that it is used in action for making a worthwhile difference in practice. Therefore, nature of knowledge within pragmatism is not limited to explanations (key form of positivism) and understanding (key form of interpretivism). While positivism and interpretivism are mutually exclusive paradigms about the nature and sources of knowledge. Pragmatism, on the other hand, is a comprehensive research paradigm comprising many different areas e.g. knowledge, language, ethics (Rescher, 2000). Pragmatism holds that research question is the most significant determining factor of the research philosophy. Pragmatism research philosophy allows for the combination of both positivist and interpretivism positions within the scope of a single research in accordance with the nature of the research question. Though pragmatism does not make a total denial of a correspondence view of truth, it, however, asserts that it is only suitable for simple statements of small fragments of reality (Goldkuhl, 2012).

3.2.4 Interpretivism (Interpretivist)

Interpretivism, also known as interpretivist is a philosophical assumption that allows researchers to interpret elements of the study and accordingly integrates human interest into it. It developed as a critique to positivism in social sciences and is in contrast to the epistemology of positivists. Interpretivism is closely related to the philosophical position of idealism, and is utilized to group different approaches together, in addition to social constructivism, phenomenology and hermeneutics (Collins, 2010). Interpretive paradigm depends on observation and interpretation, therefore, to observe is to gather information about happenings, while to interpret is to make meaning of that information by drawing inferences or by ruling on the match between the information and some abstract pattern (Aikenhead, 1997). Interpretivism deems it essential for researcher to understand differences between humans in their role as social actors. This underscores the difference between research carried out among people rather than objects (Saunders et al., 2009).

The social science environment is made up of people and institutions which are quite different from the natural science. Interpretive researchers give credence to the fact that reality can only

be accessed by means of social constructions such as consciousness, instruments, shared meanings, and language (Myers, 2008). A social scientist needs to understand the subjective meaning of social action, which requires research philosophy distinct from that of natural science, an interpretivist perspective is highly appropriate in this case (Eneanya, 2012; Creswell, 2014). Interpretivism philosophy put emphasis on qualitative analysis over quantitative analysis. Hence, qualitative research requires the interpretivist research paradigm. The paradigm is informed by diverse views which portray multiple truths or reality (Dudovskiy, 2018). It is against this backdrop that this study adopted the interpretivist's philosophical approach as against other research philosophies.

3.3 Research Design

The design of this research was explanatory and case study. It was explanatory because it was aimed at seeking explanations to the observed problem and it was case study because it involves an in-depth understanding of a single case (NLC) and comprehensive exploration from multiple perspectives of the research problem, in order to generate a thorough understanding of the subject matter. It adopts the qualitative approach in order to generate rich, detailed data that leave the participants' perspectives intact and provide multiple contexts for understanding the phenomenon under study. A qualitative approach was considered to be most appropriate for this study because of what Patton (2002:17) refer to as "power of qualitative data" - its ability to go beyond mere numbers and to yield rich insights. Unlike quantitative research that relies on generating numerical data to either support or refutes clear cut hypotheses, this study, as a qualitative research, produces factual descriptions based on face-to-face knowledge of individuals and social groups in their natural settings. Its usefulness lies in its ability to obtain insight into situations and problems concerning which one may have little knowledge (Snape and Spencer, 2003). A hallmark of qualitative analysis is its "thick description", which in turn is "balanced by analysis and interpretation" (Patton, 2002:503). Approaching the research qualitatively, the researcher takes account of complexity by incorporating the real-world context. The use of a qualitative approach also ensures that high quality data are acquired from a relatively small sample, thus managing the issues of sensitivity and participant confidence.

3.4 Research population

South West geopolitical zone⁵ and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT)⁶, Nigeria was selected as the population for this research work. The zone was carefully selected as the research population for the relative peace the zone is enjoying which allows for a hitch-free fieldwork, while also taking into consideration the vulnerability of the researcher. FCT was chosen for being the civil society activities hub of the country. Since research questions dictate the type of participants to be selected for a study. Population for this research was drawn from experts on the thematic issues of the research who were selected from four clusters. The four clusters include labour union leaders, civil society activists, political analysts and academics with expert knowledge on labour related issue and on Nigeria democratic history.

3.5 Sample and Sampling Technique

A sample is a finite part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole (Coldwell and Herbst, 2004). When dealing with people, it can be defined as a set of respondents (people) selected from a larger population for the purpose of a survey (Mugo, 2002). Sampling, on the hand, is the process of selecting units (e.g., people, organizations) from a population of interest so that by studying the sample researcher may fairly generalize results back to the population from which they were chosen (Awe, 2012). A total of twenty-eight (28) interviewees who have a firm grasp and understand the issues under study were interviewed from the four clusters. For reasons of necessity, purposive sampling has been adopted to select one participant progressively through ‘theoretical sampling’ from each of the clusters and from each of the six states including FCT, Abuja. In other words, four (4) interviewees were selected from each of the six states and FCT, Abuja.

3.6 Data collection

The data for this research work were collected from both primary and secondary sources.

⁵ Nigeria is divided into six geopolitical zones. The six zones are carved out based on similarities of cultures, ethnic groups, and common history. The geopolitical zones with the component states are: **North Central Zone** (loosely known as Middle Belt) - Benue State, Kogi State, Kwara State, Nasarawa State, Niger State, Federal Capital Territory and Plateau State; **North East Zone** - Adamawa State, Bauchi State, Borno State, Gombe State, Taraba State and Yobe State; **North West Zone**: Jigawa State, Kaduna State, Kano State, Katsina State, Kebbi State, Sokoto State and Zamfara State; **South East Zone** (loosely known as former East-Central State): Abia State, Anambra State, Ebonyi State, Enugu State and Imo State; **South-South Zone**: Akwa-Ibom State, Cross-River State, Bayelsa State, Rivers State, Delta State and Edo State; and **South West Zone**: includes Ekiti State, Lagos State, Ogun State, Ondo State, Osun State, and Oyo State.

⁶ The Federal Capital Territory is a federal territory in central Nigeria. Abuja, the capital city of Nigeria is located in this territory.

3.6.1 Primary sources and methods of data collection

Since the choice of data collection methods flows from the research questions, though, it may also be influenced by the context, structure and timing of research (Lewis, 2003). Similarly, the choice depends primarily on which type of data will best illuminate the research topic and on practical considerations (Marshall and Rossman, 1999; Mason, 2002; Patton, 2002). But the researcher's own / epistemological and ontological positions will also be very relevant (Mason, 2002). The qualitative approach adopted for this study, therefore, was non-probability samples, one of the most robust approaches that are criterion based - purposive sampling. The purposive sample was adopted because it was designed to be as diverse as possible, including all key groups and constituencies, and units were selected based on 'symbolic representation' - because they hold a characteristic that is known or expected to be salient to the research study (Ritchie et al., 2003). In this approach, sample units were chosen 'purposively' for their ability to provide a detailed understanding.

In collecting primary data, the research generates new insights into the research questions with fresh data. The primary data were collected through interview. In-depth Interviews (IDIs)⁷ and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)⁸ were conducted with relevant stakeholders on labour and democratic issues. In-depth Interview was opted for because of its ability in setting the perspectives heard within the context of personal history or experience; most especially where delicate or complex issues need to be explored at a detailed level, or where it is important to relate different issues to individual personal circumstances. Key informant interviews, on the other hand, availed the researcher the opportunity of interviewing people who provided insight into the nature of the problems and give recommendations for solutions. This study therefore takes full advantage of key feature of both interviews - depth of focus on the individual, which in turn provides the following opportunities; for detailed investigation of each person's personal perspective, for in-depth understanding of the personal context within which the research phenomenon is located, for very detailed subject coverage, and to establish rapport/trust and get an insiders' view (Lewis, 2003).

The interview, which comprised of twenty-three questions aimed at answering the research questions, were semi-structured in order to allow for flexibility and contextual adaptation. The

⁷ Participants involved in the in-depth interview were 1st, 2nd, 6th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st participants.

⁸ 3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 13th, 14th, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th were involved in the key informants' interview.

semi-structured and open-ended nature of the interview enables the researcher to draw adequate information from the interviewee and to generate answers that were easily coded and processed. Each participant was approached individually and asked to voluntarily participate in the study as an interviewee and was provided with an ethical consent form with further verbal assurances that their responses would be anonymous. The interviews were conducted in English language and each lasted a minimum of fifteen minutes and a maximum of twenty-five minutes. Although the discussions were recorded, and full transcripts of the interviews were made, the researcher made short notes about the interview immediately after each interview. These notes enabled the researcher to approach the analysis from a holistic perspective.

3.6.2 Secondary source and methods of data collection

The secondary source of data for this study was derived from books, journal articles, magazines and newspaper articles, reliable and verifiable internet materials and other relevant sources. This source of data is particularly crucial in its ability to strengthen and complement the quality of the primary data gathered. Aside from the rich and extensive information that the secondary sources provided, it also shed more light on, and validate the substance of the primary data gathered.

3.7 Data analysis

The objective of qualitative analysis is to deconstruct blocks of data through disintegration and thereafter have them coalesce into collections of groups with conceptual and theoretical relationship, and which make assumptions about the phenomenon being investigated (Jones, 2005). This process, Richards calls “decontextualizing and recontextualizing” (2002:200). Primary data obtained were analyzed using the combination of both the manual qualitative method and the Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (NVivo) in order to maximize the advantages of both methods. Data collected was transcribed by the researcher, which enable him to firstly identify the meaningful segments of text among the less valued data, and secondly, to tag or label these data so that they can be located along-side equally salient data. With this manual method, the researcher was able to decide what to code and how to conceptualize it.

Thereafter, data were imported into Nvivo for coding and analysis. Nvivo involved two fundamental activities; abstracting and comparing. The software approach has been an invaluable tool. Aside from facilitating more effective and efficient analysis, the use of Nvivo helped to thoroughly analyse and evaluate, search and query data, to capture, visualize and

share findings. It provides faster and more comprehensive methods of inquiring into the data, and much more versatile and efficient systems of collecting, storing and reporting. In addition, the software assists the researcher by providing better data management, reducing time consuming repetition and offering greater flexibility. With its use, greater accuracy and more transparency were ensured. It allowed ideas and issues to emerge more freely without the compulsion to force data into already established categories. The software also permitted easier reporting and reflection.

Existing data used were subjected to substantive and extensive analysis through the instrumentality of content validity, content analysis and textual criticism. With content validity, the researcher ensures that data used reflected the issue under research and that key related subjects were not excluded. With content analysis, the researcher examines the presence of words or phrases in texts, identifies the specified characteristics of messages and make meaning of them. The use of textual criticism enables the researcher to study literary works and determine their originality and authenticity.

The analysis as explained above were situated within specific contexts of the research questions and structured hypotheses for this study.

3.8 Ethical Consideration

The researcher, in carrying out this research, adheres strictly to the research ethics policy of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. In line with the University guideline, the researcher applied for the University's Ethical Clearance in September 2016 and was granted full approval on the 12th of October 2016 by the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee in a letter with Protocol reference number: HSS/1628/016D. With the ethical clearance approved, the researcher embarked on the fieldwork, which ran from November 2016 to February 2017. During the data collection, respondents were duly informed of the purpose and procedures of the research study before the commencement of the interview. The following basic research ethics were strictly observed by the researcher:

1. The researchers ensure that each participant voluntarily consented to participate in the study by signing an informed consent form, which was written in a language that respondents understand.
2. The purpose of the study was clearly communicated to the respondents by the researcher before the commencement of the interview.

3. There was no pressure on individuals to participate, as they were informed at the outset that participation in the study was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any stage of the research.
4. In order to ensure confidentiality and anonymity, respondents were only identified by numbers.
5. The autonomy of participants was well protected during and after the data collection.
6. In order to avoid plagiarism, all secondary data used in this study are adequately cited and referenced.
7. All data collected in the course of this research work will be deposited with the School of Social Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal for safekeeping.

3.9 Strengths of the Research Instrument used

The major strengths of the research instrument (interview schedule) used for data collection in this study include the following:

- (a) Participants' consent was sought as required by the University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- (b) Questions were phrased in simple language for easy understanding by respondents. This enabled the respondents to answer the questions as clearly as possible.
- (c) All the objectives of the study, research questions and hypotheses were well-aligned with the interview schedule.
- (d) The semi-structured nature of the interview allows for flexibility and contextual adaptation.
- (e) The open-ended nature of the interview enables the researcher to draw adequate information from the interviewee and to generate answers that were easily coded and processed.

3.10 Elimination of Bias

The following steps were taken in order that ensure the study is bias free as much as possible:

1. The study made use of gender-neutral words and no elements of sexism were incorporated in the entire research process.
2. The researcher ensure people were not identified by race, tribe or ethnic group unless it is relevant.
3. Use of words that reinforces stereotypes were avoided by the researcher.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter described the methods and methodology adopted for the study. The qualitative research design adopted for this study is a scientific method of observation that gives higher priority to non-numerical data over numerical data. The Chapter provided justification for each of the method used. It justified the choice of population, sample and sampling technique used. The advantages of the instrument used in the analysis of data were also worded. Steps taken to ensure strict adherence to the research ethics policy of the University of KwaZulu-Natal was also covered. Lastly, the Chapter enumerated the strength of the research used for the research work.

CHAPTER FOUR

LABOUR/TRADE UNION IN PERSPECTIVE

4.1 Introduction

Labour union, an organization of workers that is primarily committed to the protection of working class who are members and improvement of their wages, hours, and working environments, is a well-known topic of sociology origin, which have been variously studied and have been subject of discuss by sociologists and economists (including political scientists) the world over (Meardi, 2010). It has come to be an integral part of the contemporary society, be it democratic or autocratic, highly developed capitalist or underdeveloped post-colonial society. In spite of this, the type of labour unions and approaches to trade unionism differ significantly, even in societies that shared semblance. Despite the fact that the United States and the United Kingdom shared some likeness as societies (foremost “liberal market economies”), however their brand of labour unions and approaches to trades unionism, to a certain extent, vary (Okafor and Malizu, 2013). Similarly, Germany and France that happened to be two foremost “coordinated market economies” in the West, obviously have contrasting labour unions’ attributes. In Africa, there exist different features, which characterize labour union tradition and the industrial relations arrangements bequeathed to the continent by her colonial masters, namely along Francophone and Anglophone Africa. There also exist distinct characteristics of labour unions and trade unionism regardless of the closeness of the arrangements, Nigeria and Ghana is a good example of this (Odumosu, 1997; Aye, 2010; Egbanubi, 2016).

However, in most of the developing countries of the world where the practice of true democracy is on trial, trade unionism is becoming more and more important in the economic and political life of the people. It is becoming important to such an extent that challenges are been often thrown to the trade unions by governments and employers as regards their genuine desire in the matter of the overall developments of those countries. As a result, it has become imperative for labour unions to include in their area of operation, activities which would not only improve the social and economic life of their members but also give some assurance particularly to governments that the aims of the unions are directed towards the general needs of society as a whole. This chapter, therefore, sets out to put labour union in proper perspective by considering the diverse views/approaches/theories on how trade unionism evolved, a historical perspective of the general growth of trade unions, objectives and functions of labour union are examined,

labour union methods of engagement is critically analysed and lastly the nexus between labour unions and civil society organisations is put in perspective.

4.2 Approaches/Theories of Trade Unionism.

The operation of labour unions has been, to a great extent, determined by the understanding of its meaning, or at the minimum its aspirations (Aye, 2010). An analytical study of trade/labour unions that cut across countries shows that the evolution and growth of trade unions were largely influenced by diverse belief systems subject to dominant social, political and economic in that environments. This has been exactly responsible for the trade unions' objective and its place been differently emphasized by various thinkers. This has precisely been the reason the objectives of trade unions and their place have been emphasized differently by different thinkers (Khanka, 2013). The different views/theories on "trade unionism" as a distinct category can be somewhat situated within the six main approaches to industrial relations in general. These are the 1. Revolutionary Theory 2. Evolutionary Theory 3. Theory of Industrial Jurisprudence 4. Rebellion Theory 5. The Gandhian Theory 6. Social Psychological Theory.

4.2.1 Revolutionary Theory

Karl Marx developed the revolutionary approach/theory of trade unionism, which is also known as "Marxist Theory" or "the theory of class war and dialectical materialism". According to Marx, society consists of two classes, while the first class are the bourgeoisie; the second class represents the proletariat or the class of the free labourers (Lozovsky, 1942). Following the industrial revolution, machines were adopted for production, workers had to be meeting regularly under a single roof to protect their job. This regular meeting no doubt brought them together in closer union. The short-term goal is the eradication of competition among workers while the long-term aim is to bring down capitalist businesspersons (Duara, 2017). Consequently, the employees start to put together organisations, which can be seen as trade unions, in opposition to the bourgeoisie. To Marx therefore, trade union was the principal coordinating centre to afford a place for consolidating efforts of the workers. According to him, trade unions are the tools to put an end to capitalism (Sivarethnamohan, 2010). Hence, Marx is of the opinion that workers must not be distracted from its revolutionary agenda in view of the fact that it is only their relentless efforts that can stamp out capitalism. To him, working class' liberation cannot be achieved without capitalism been eradicated (Singh, 2004; Khanka, 2013).

4.2.2 Evolutionary Theory

Sidney and Beatrice Webb articulated this theory also known as “theory of industrial democracy” in two of their books oftentimes refer to as the Bible of trade unionism, “A history of trade unionism” (1894) and “Industrial democracy” (1897). The duo sees trade unionism as an extension of democratic principle in the industrial realm (Sharma, 2016). Strictly speaking, Webbs did not see trade unionism as a tool to oust capitalism as asserted by Marx, rather as an agent of balancing the negotiation ability of labour and capital. They were however in agreement with Marx that understands trade unionism as a class struggle and present-day capitalist society as an intermediate stage that will eventually precipitate democratic socialism (Khanka, 2013). To the Webbs, collective bargaining is a means through which labour is enhanced. Trade unionism affords the medium whereby workers subdue bureaucratic despotism, on one hand, and articulate their view when a decision about their working condition is been taken, on the other hand (Singh, 2004; Ibrahim, 2013a; Mwanyenza, 2015).

4.2.3 Theory of Industrial Jurisprudence

Slitcher in furtherance of Webb evolutionary theory developed theory of Industrial Jurisprudence. According to him, employees cannot exercise much control over working conditions through individual bargaining. Hence, they often fail when bargain as an individual with employers to have their interests protected. In Slitcher’s view, therefore, trade unionism serves as a medium by which workers’ interests are protected (Khanka, 2013). He held that employees by virtue of their unions advanced an approach of work rules and attitudes that served as a medium to safeguard them in their work. This approach of trade unionism, he dubbed “a theory of industrial jurisprudence” (Khanka, 2013; Munaga & Kholkumbe, 2013; Mburu, 2015).

4.2.4 Rebellion Theory

Rebellion Theory also called "technological theory of trade unionism", was advanced by Frank Tannenbaum and became known in his philosophy of labour in 1921. Tannenbaum while arguing that workers' exploitation is precipitated on the use of machines, however, sees the machines as a destructive element in the economic framework of society, which predated the factory arrangement. A situation that denied workers participation in small workshops where they could feel secure and have a sense of belonging to a larger society. Rather, workers were faced with insecurities as a result of technological development and economic pressures. Hence, he sees trade unionism as a spontaneous reaction to the growth of mechanisation and

the factory system (Knotter, 2016). The union thus served as an expression of the workers' yearning for a steady work atmosphere and for some means of protecting their psychological interests of security and union unity (Howse, 1987). The trade union was the expected outcome of structural changes in society associated with industrialisation. The machine can, therefore, be said to be the basis, while trade unionism is the outcome. Simply put, trade unionism is a rebellion approach against the mechanisation of industry in order to safeguard the interest of the workers in the company. (Poole, 1981; Nepgen, 2008; Khanka, 2013)

4.2.5 The Gandhian Theory

The Gandhian approach of trade unionism is built on the "Sarvodaya" ideals of truth, non-violence and trusteeship, where class harmony become dominant. It is grounded on "class collaboration rather than class conflict and struggle" (Khanka, 2013). Gandhi sees trade unions as organizations that belong to a movement for reform and as economic institutions that ought to be established based on the presumption that capital and labour are not acting in opposition to each other, in contrast, are supplementary (Gupta, 2013). While he believes the idea to secure worker's rightful portion from capitalist through reform and self-consciousness among workers brought about the rise of trade unionism, he however laid emphasises on the fact that the immediate goal of trade unionism is not, by any means political. Rather, its immediate goal is reformation within and growth of internal strength as well. The indirect effect brought about by this growth when and if completed will largely be political. In addition, trade unionism in line with this approach is not averse to capitalism as commonly perceived (Khanka, 2013). The central belief is to secure labour's lawful portion, without unnecessarily destroying capital rather by internal reformation of workers and their self-consciousness: also, not by the ingenuity of leaders who are not labour, rather through enlightenment of workers on how to grow their own leaders, along its own self-discipline and self-existing organization (Krishna, 2015). Gandhi supported the idea of a trade union that pursue comprehensive improvement of working conditions in addition to the training of its members in supplementary jobs to prevent the worry of job insecurity (see also Memoria and Mamoria, 1986; Khanka, 2013; Chakrabarty, 2017).

4.1.6 Social Psychological Theory

Prof Robert F Hoxie, an American labour economist, advanced social Psychological Approach, which first came into limelight in his work, "Trade unions in the United States" published in 1914. He is one of the earliest scholars to have contended that unions emerge separately across

social-psychological environmental circumstances. Offering a socio-psychological explanation to trade unions, Hoxie opined that trade unions or labour organizations developed as a result of a group psychology - trade unions with a shared idea and views on the problems being faced by workers and means of improvement unite into a union (Ghosh and Nandan, 2015). He argues that “workers similarly situated economically and socially and closely associated and not too divergent in temperament and training will tend to develop a common interpretation of the social situation and a common solution of the problem of living” (cited in Reddy, 2004:26), and thus, “Union is not so much an outward organization as a like-minded group” (2004:26). To him, the emergence of trade unions is not merely for economic reasons, the psychological environment of the workers also plays a role. Therefore, according to Hoxie, unionism is a result of group psychology that grows out of environmental conditions and temperamental attribute of its members. (Bhagoliwal, 1990; Singh, 2004).

4.3 Labour/Trade Union: An Historical Overview

While some believe that the labour movement in Europe is a lineal descendant of artisan’s guilds, this point of view has however been challenged by Webbs, who argued that there was no evidence to establish any organic link. In fact, there is no correlation between them. Where no effective workers' organisations exist, the gap has been temporarily filled by traditional groups. Guilds, performing varied functions, were common in many countries in the past. There were guilds of goldsmiths, coppersmiths, builders, hunters, blacksmiths, hatters, tailors, printers, shoemakers (cordwainers) and others. In some countries, they had corporate existence; a Roman Emperor, Marcus Aereius, established them as “legal persons” with rights to receive legacies. There were guilds in China at least a thousand years ago; in India, they existed as far back as 600 B.C.; they were in ancient Japan and there were records of them in the Islamic world, Greece and widely in Europe. In spite of the fact that these crafts were generally small and scattered; they formed local trade unions or clubs in various towns (Tokunboh, 1985; Sunmonu, 1997). In what follows, shall be the European and Nigerian experiences.

4.3.1 The European Experience

The first documented act of unionism, as posited by Golia (2005), happened in ancient Egypt during the era of Ramses III (ca. 1186-1155 BC). This happened when pyramid workers coordinated themselves and embarked on a sit-in for three days, declining to go back to work until they received their daily stipend of five kinds of fish and beer. However, trade unionism, as practised in the modern time has its origin credited to Britain because of the industrial

revolution that started in 1760. The industrial revolution prompted the growth of factories, the use of waterpower and later steam power, consequently led to the exploitation of workers by their employers (Tinuoye, 2014). During the period, workers were paid less than they deserved, do not have basic training, and at times badly or wrongly treated. As a result of these contemptible working situations, workers started to form massive associations known as Trade Unions in order to forestall more exploitation through opposition to the Parliament and empowered the workers (Sunmonu, 1997; Adewumi, 2007).

In short, it can be said that trade unions or trade clubs (as they were then called) developed as a result of the cruel and oppressive exploitation workers experienced with the industrials revolution in England, and in order to take their fates in their hands and fight, the workers have to combined efforts (Aye, 2010). However, this coming together of workers was considered “illegal combinations”. It was illegal (in part) due to the fact that coming together as a union had been made illegal even prior to the industrial revolution with the 14th-century Ordinance of Artificers (Burnette, 2008). With the industrial revolution became fully developed at the end of the 17th century and trade unions appeared, definite laws were put in place opposing the emerging unions. In Britain for instance, the fear of a French Revolution form of uprising taking place in the country led to the introduction of series of Acts of Parliament in the last years of the 18th Century, aimed at tearing the working-class organisation apart. Precisely, in the year 1795, Prime Minister Pitt puts the Seditious Meeting Act that prohibited public meeting and brought forward legislation suspending habeas corpus in place. Four years later, 1799 to be exact, the Combination Acts that made trade unions illegal were introduced (Pelling, 1987; Aye, 2010).

Workers inability to negotiate due to their illegitimate status and seeing machines, whose productions were massive, laying them off from works and therefore reducing their earnings, sabotage was the most remarkable method adopted by them, which resulted in the destruction of the machines. This occurrence is known as Luddism⁹. With Luddism spreading across the

⁹ It is necessary to differentiate between the prevalent perception of Luddism and its facts of existence. The well-known present-day depiction is that it was an uncivilized old-fashioned movement; to the extent that it is popular even now to refer defamatorily to someone who is apprehensive of new technology as a ‘Luddite’. A widespread historical explanation has envisioned the Luddites as “simple-minded labourers [reacting] to the new system by smashing the machines which they thought responsible for their troubles”. Similarly, there is a bit more complex analysis usually postulate that Luddism was a kind of collective bargaining based on sabotage. After all, none of these images is correct. Meanwhile, the Luddites were not trying to put an end to technological advancement and guard their honoured position as tradesmen by destroying machinery, nor were they antagonistic to new technology. They were, however, very actively connected to the minimum wage agitations

board, which started to assume an insurrectionary outlook, it was seen as a danger at its peak. This partly explains why the Government and people in power during that time resulted in propaganda as to the aim of the Luddites (Grint and Woolgar, 2013; Rule, 2014). In spite of the law prohibiting unionism, penalties of which range from prison sentences to deportation and at times execution, workers keep protesting. Many of them were taken to court, prosecuted and given stiff jail terms. The year 1808 witnessed massive strikes in the textile industry while mining industry witnessed the same in the year 1810. These strikes were precipitated by long working hours, inflationary pressure, poor wages, poor housing quality, the demotion of skilled artisans to unskilled workers, humiliating living and working conditions, among others (Hobsbawm, 1964; Sunmonu, 1997; Aye, 2010).

Although the Combination Law was abolished in 1824, the historical development of lawful trade unions in Britain did not begin until the year 1825. The act enacted in parliament that gives legal recognition to the right to combine for collective bargaining, the right to strike and the right to pay union dues (check-off dues) yielded this result (Sunmonu, 1997). However, the first union in the United States that brought workers of different trades together was formed in 1827. This union emerged as a result of the need for the workers to have their common interest protected. These early unions in both the UK and the US were based on the organizing model and their unionism was very much like what we now have in contemporary time consider as social movement unionism. With workers given the freedom to organise themselves openly as trade unions, this instilled in their consciousness the need for increasing solidarity. With an end put to the anti-combination act, quite a lot of efforts were made at establishing trade union federations. These efforts later culminated in the formation of the National Association for the Protection of Labour, in 1830 (Blunden, 2016). The association was however momentary. Possibly the most prominent trade union federation at this formative stage in the UK was the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, established in February 1834, to be found mostly in London and Liverpool. However, on account of conflict of opinion on methods and plans of action, this union began to become moribund by November of the same year (Aye, 2010; Griffin, 2015).

The 1840s were largely purposeful for the emerging working class' trade union organizations. In the UK for instance, the trade unions took the way of Chartism i.e. demands around a charter for democratic rights which included universal adult suffrage. The second half of the 19th

by way of their insistence on preventing the reduction of wages. In the same vein, there is evidence that the intents of Luddism were not instantaneous, local and reactionary, but revolutionary (Hobsbawm, 1964).

century however witnessed organized labour's becoming "internationalism" a concept first adopted by workers in the 1850s (Laqua, 2015). The first international organization of workers, including trade unions, was established on September 28, 1864, as the International Working Men's Association but it disintegrated following the collapse of 1871 Paris Commune. The second international organisation of workers came into being in 1889, predominantly formed by workers' parties (Simpson and Jones, 2015). The time between First and the Second International witnessed the rise of socialist parties to prominence on the continent of Europe. The socialist parties most especially in Germany and France formed most of the trade unions. The emergence of what is today known as Global Union Federations also happened in 1889 (Wasserstein, 2009).

The trade union, in the 19th century, was mostly a movement of skilled workers. British unions, during the period, carried out two distinct functions (Boyer, 1988). In addition to making efforts at raising wages and improving working conditions, insurance against unemployment, sickness, and accidents were also given to members by British unions, retired members were given pensions, and "death benefits" to guarantee workers and their wives a befitting burial (Boyer and Davis, 2009). In a similar manner, the labour movement in US champion the course to stop child labour, provide health benefits and grant aid to workers that sustained injury or were retired during the period (Boyer, 1988). However, Article 23, subsection four of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, contained the right to join a trade union. The clause states, "Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests". This article also prohibits the forcing of a person to join or form such a union body. The forcing of an individual to enter into a union, whether by a government or a business, is generally considered a human rights abuse. Similar allegations can be levelled against any employer found to be discriminating against employees based on union membership. Hobsbawm (1994), a foremost labour historian, dubbed Twentieth century the "age of extremes from 1914 to 1991". According to him, the period was characterized by two World Wars, the Great Depression, the Russian revolution, the Cold War and the decolonization of the Third World. All these influenced significantly the growth of trade union (see also Kruger and Tshoose, 2013).

4.3.2 The Case of Nigeria

The history of Nigerian trade unions is very different from that of European countries in many essential respects. Unlike in Britain where the history of the trade union was characterized by

bitter struggles before trade unionism could gain a nodding acceptance among the industrial barons. The Nigerian workers were however saved much of the suffering and hostility associated with the struggles for legal recognition of their unions. In the opinion of Emiola (2008), the indication is that government wilfully aided the formation and growth of the contemporary practice of trade unionism long before the Nigerian worker prepares for it. However, the trade union in Nigeria has witnessed leaps and bounds in development, splits and mergers, sanctions and proscriptions leading to the stage in which government intervention seems to be the determining factor of its development or demise (Odey and Young, 2008; Osuntogun, 2009). In examining the nature and dimension in which trade unionism has taken in Nigeria, this section will be discussed under the following sub-headings: The early Trade Unions, The establishment of a central Labour Union and the birth of the third NLC and incessant Government Intervention.

4.3.2.1 The early Trade Unions

Africans had had their associations and guilds of craftsmen with strict rules to guide their trade and the relationship, obligations and rights of members before the arrival of the colonialist (Seligman, 2007; Onadeko, 2008). In Nigeria, agriculture was the prevalent activity during the period. Although the organisation of modern trade union began very late in Nigeria, the organisation of people into a viable craft and other related primary trades was not of recent origin. Organisation of Blacksmiths, Carvers, Hunters and Weavers have been in existence for long even though they lacked that organisational capacity and were closely guided by the forces of culture and traditions (George et al., 2012; Shaibu, 2017). Hence, the concept of occupational associations or trade unionism was not entirely new when the Europeans first came to Nigeria. These associations were to be found not only in big cities but also in the villages. Functions performed by these associations were similar to those of the guilds in other countries (Tokunboh, 1985; Odumosu, 1997).

The early part of the nineteenth century in Nigeria witnessed trainees who were essentially made up of members of the trainers' family, with sons, cousins, sons-in-law and other blood relations included. This "family background" made the request for money wage and demands for better working environments unthinkable. Consequently, there were no legal agreements of employment go into. During this period, the organisational arrangement was lineage formation, with the lineage meeting as the craft meeting and the oldest man in the lineage (family head) as the craft head. The labour clubs then were relatively small, consisting mainly of father and

son. An example of these kinds of early labour organizations was the Mechanics Mutual Aid Provident and Mutual Improvement Association established in July 1883 (Coleman, 1960; Chienye, 1984).

The latter part of the century, however, witnessed the rise of commercial activities and later of road and railway construction. This spawned wage-earning employment and a new concept of combination in welfare and social benefit associations, which came together for mutual existence and protection of men and women in the same business and the wage-earning establishments. According to Tokunboh (cited in Odumosu, 1997), this latter combination led to various advancement and progressive ethnic associations common to the various sections of the community. Nevertheless, it should be emphasised here that the emergence of modern commercial and industrial activities only helped to transform the principles underlying the older associations into the better-organized system of a trade union as it is known today. The craft and trading guilds were, however, different from the modern trade unions in one fundamental respect: they were associations of “masters” only, and the element of management-union relationship that is the basis of modern trade union practice was totally absent (Emiola, 2008).

The birth of present-day trade unions in Nigeria can be said to coincide with colonialism (Ibrahim, 2013b). However, contrary to what is well documented about the origin of contemporary trade unions, Rufai (1994) citing Ubeku (1983) asserted that the first known form of union was established in 1893 in Lagos. Citing Hopkins (1979), he further asserts that workers in Public Works Department engaged in a strike action against the paternalistic practices of the colonial administration of McCallum in 1897. Meanwhile, the first recorded trade union in Nigeria formally begun on Monday 19 August 1912 when employees in the then civil service formed themselves into trade unions known as the Southern Nigeria Civil Service Union. The name was later changed to the Nigerian Civil Service Union after the third and final amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates, which gave birth to modern Nigeria (Odumosu, 1997; George et al, 2012).

While Sunmonu (1997) sees colour discrimination in the colonial civil service, low wages and poor conditions of work as the central reasons for the evolution of trade union (see Danesi, 2007). Fashoyin (2007) contends that Nigeria Civil Service Union (NSCU) was not formed by a group of aggrieved workers who desired a platform from which to fight for amelioration of grievances, or for the improvement of specific conditions of work, rather NCSU was formed

basically to provide a forum for social synergy among African officials in the colonial service, as was the case in the other British West African Colonies. In subsequent years, however, the NCSU joined other unions in militant activities. The period between 1919 and 1932 witnessed the formation of four unions, three of which were from railways and one from the teaching service. Those from railways were the Nigerian Native Staff Union – whose members were drawn from the clerical cadre and was formed in 1919; the Nigerian Mechanics Union - whose members were from the technical departments of the railways, also formed in 1919; and the third union emerged from the daily-paid workers in the Mechanical workshop in 1932, is today known as the Nigerian Union of Railwaymen. From the teaching service, was formed, the Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT) in 1931 by such eminent teachers as the Rev. I.O. Ransome-Kuti as President, T.K. Cameron as Secretary and E.E. Esua as Assistant Secretary (Fashoyin, 2007; Olayiwola, 2009).

During this period, the Nigerian Union of Railwaymen remained the most vibrant and militant of all the unions. Under the able leadership of Michael Imoudu, Nigerian Union of Railwaymen led about 3000 workers protesting against poor conditions of work in a march to colonial Government House (Nwoko, 2009; Osiki, 2009). As a result of the intensity of the protest and the support given by the public, the colonial government was compelled to concede the demands, and Imoudu became an instant hero. Given the courageous act of his, labour historians such as Abiodun (1997) and Iji (1997) mostly see Imoudu as playing an outstanding and pioneering role to the growth of labour unionism and activism in Nigeria. The NUT, on the other hand, sought to serve as a watchdog of government education policy and to maintain a high standard both in the quality of education and in the quality of its members. The union pressed for harmonisation of the working conditions of African teachers in mission schools with those in government-owned schools, which were substantially better than the former. In March 1947, for instance, the NUT served notice on the government to the effect that unless the disparity was removed, it would call a strike. Until the late 1970s, the NUT remained one of the best organised and most stable of Nigerian unions (Uvieghara, 1976; Fashoyin, 2007).

The history of modern trade unionism in Nigeria recorded a memorable event in the year 1938, for it marked the beginning of a comprehensible public labour policy. Due to constant demand from labour unions and the British Colonial Office in London, the Trade Union Ordinance was legislated by the colonial administration in Nigeria (Abu, 2009). This lent legitimacy to the activities of the very few unions, which hitherto did not enjoy full governmental support, and made provisions for their internal administration and external regulation. By April 1, 1939, the

Trade Union Ordinance enacted the year before became a law and was followed by a remarkable level of regulatory policies. The ordinance made registration of Trade Union a prerequisite for its recognition and made the minimum number of persons that could form a union to be two. Owing to this, workers who were not previously keen about union activities began to arrange into trade unions with the intent of collective bargaining, this in return gave birth to mushroom unionism (Bingel, 1997; Fashoyin, 2007).

By 1940, there were about seven registered unions in Nigeria under the ordinance, which increased to 41 unions by December 1941 with a total membership of 1752. By the end of the Second World War in 1945, the number of registered unions had increased more than double, there were 91 unions, with a membership of about 30000 (George et al., 2012). By 1952, the number of unions had shot up to 124 with a total membership of 152230. Notable among these were the posts and Telegraphs Workers' Union, the Nigerian Marine African Workers Union. However, each of these unions acted on an individual basis in defending their members' interests. There was no unity of purpose (Adesina and Olu-Olu, 2007; Imhonopi and Urim, 2011).

4.3.2.2 The establishment of a central Labour Union

As noted by Charles (2005), the fact that labour issues began to emerge, which transcended the ability of individual unions or sectoral federations to effectively handle, the need for a central labour organization arisen. The first attempt to form a central trade union organization that will serve as a rallying point for all the different trade unions in the country was made in the 1940s. The enactment of the General Defence Regulations in 1942 that outlawed strikes and lockouts was one of the developments that compelled the trade unions to think along this line (Otobo, 2016). Workers saw this regulation as an affront and an attempt to crack down on their new and fragile organizations. In an attempt to challenge the legislation, workers called for a trade union congress through which their strength and might could be showcased. This led to the inauguration of the Federated Trades Union of Nigeria (FTUN) in November 1942 (Otuturu, 2013). In an effort to position itself as a central labour organisation, the FTUN changed its name to the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUCN) on July 1943, under the leadership of T. A. Bankole as president and M. A. Tokunboh as secretary and became the first central labour organisation in Nigeria (Charles, 2005; Otuturu, 2013). Thereafter, the Congress drafted out its aim and objectives in its constitution, part of which was:

- (a). to unite all trade unions into one organised body;

- (b). to further by all reasonable means the aims and object of its member unions;
- (c). to secure the improvement of the general working conditions, and to promote the material, social and educational welfare of its workers by such lawful means as the general council may from time to time deem expedient;
- (d). to foster cooperation among its member unions and the spirit of mutual regard among the individual workers;
- (e). to assist in the proper organisation of all trade unions;
- (f). to protect the legal status and rights of trade union organisations;
- (g). to press for the nationalization of mining and timber industries, township transport and other important public services;
- (h). to establish a Nigerian Labour College;
- (i). to provide scholarships for trade union officials to study abroad.

It is thus argued that what was intended as an instrument to intimidate workers turned out to be the very instrument that fuelled the momentum of trade unionism in Nigeria (Zasha, 1988; Ajayi, 1999).

Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUCN) was accorded an immediate recognition by the colonial administration, and a system of monthly meetings between TUCN's working committee and Department of Labour where immediate labour issues were addressed among others was formally put in place. TUCN also received solidarity messages from a number of participating unions as well as from the leading nationalist leaders like Herbert Macaulay, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Obafemi Awolowo (Onuegbu, 2016). Its president, T. A. Bankole, represented TUCN at the first World Conference of organised labour held in London in 1945 and thereafter became affiliated to the World Federation of Labour that emerged. At the regional level, the Congress also contributed to the inauguration of West African Federation of Trade Unions (Chienye, 1984; Charles, 2005).

Citing the first Secretary General of the Trades Union Congress, M. A. Tokunboh (1985), Charles (2005) notes that the labour movement in Nigeria reached the pinnacle of its power in the mid-1940s. It impacted positively on the standard of living of the people and on the political

life of the community. The efforts of the Trades Union Congress and its affiliates stemmed the shameful exploitation of workers. In 1945, for instance, Nigerian workers demanded a cost of living increase because of tremendous goodwill and support it enjoyed. The refusal of colonial government led to a successful general strike, which paralyzed economic activities throughout the country. The strike which lasted forty-five days, July-August 1945, and was spearheaded by African Civil Service Technical Workers Union (ACSTWU) culminated in the creation of the Department of Labour and the establishment of the Tudor Davies Commission in 1945 which eventually recommended that Government should grant substantial increases based on cost of living on a zonal basis (Charles, 2005; Tinuoye, 2014).

Sad enough, the strike factionalized the Trade Union Congress. This was due mainly to lack of both sound judgments of direction and support of the central labour organisation for the strike. The immediate result was a change of leadership in the central labour organization. However, this did not solve the problem as various labour centres broke out of the central labour organization along political and ideological lines to form factional groups. By 1959, four labour centres, even though with varying amounts of ability to be sustained, had emerged, namely: Committee of Trade Union (renamed Nigerian National Federation of Labour (NNFL) (1949), Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) (1950), All Nigerian Trade Union Federation (ANTUF) (1953) and National Council of Trade Union Congress (NCTUC) (1957). Therefore, making it hard for the Nigerian Labour Movement to have the requisite unity and vigour (Charles, 2005; Tinuoye, 2014). As a result, labour became structurally weak, less functional and generally ineffective for a long period.

ANTUF and NCTUC attempted to lay their differences to rest and come together as a single labour centre. This led to mutual disbandment of their various bodies and the inauguration of a new central labour organization, Trades Union Congress of Nigeria in 1959 with Michael Imoudu and L. L. Borha as president and secretary respectively. The unification was on the condition that there would be no affiliation with a foreign trade union organization. However, this very condition became the centrifugal force, which, in just one year, led to Micheal Imoudu being suspended as president for opposing the decision of the executive council to affiliate congress with International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFU). In reaction, Imoudu convened a faction of the Congress in April 1960 and emerged with the name Nigerian Trades Union Congress under his leadership, which he affiliated with World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) (Charles, 2005; Adewumi, 2007).

It is noteworthy that at independence in 1960, the rift that bedevilled organised labour in the past two decades still prevailed. In 1961, the All-Nigeria Peoples Conference established yet another reconciliatory committee where the two labour centres accepted a merger. This led to the formation of the United Labour Congress (ULC). Just like previous ones, this newly formed central body could not develop to any significant level. For no sooner had the 'Enugu Peace Pack', which produced the merger between the ANTUF and the NCTUN, endured one year than it breaks up into two factions (Chienye, 1984). However, following a series of alignment and re-alignment, four labour centres dominated the Nigeria labour movement by 1963. They were United Labour Congress of Nigeria with Haroun P. Adebola as president, Nigerian Trade Union Congress under the leadership of Wahab Goodluck, the Labour Unity Front led by Nneamaka Chukwurah and Nigerian Workers Council with Abayomi Ishola as president (Best, 1994; Charles, 2005).

Government's attitude towards labour's issue during this period was well captured by Chienye when he submitted that:

all along government's approach to trade union matters particularly the Central Labour Organisation had generally been one of 'abstention'. Any government involvement was mainly advisory. While the occasional encroachments were mainly designed to inspire the unions into forming a single, viable central labour union. But as it was becoming increasingly clear that the 'unions' left on their own could not achieve, this desired objective - unity within the central labour organisation - the government started to shift from its abstentionist -approach to an Interventionist policy in labour matters. And hence it vowed to ensure that a sensible, virile central labour organisation had to be found (1984:101).

Ten years after, in 1973 to be precise, an attempt was made to end the factionalization and evolve one central labour organisation. Hence, the NTUC, LUF, NWC and a faction of the ULC came together to form the Nigerian Trade Union Federation (NTUF), an organisation which in the submission of Fashoyin (1980) never took off in practice. NTUF was not recognised by the government due to its past experiences with the Central Labour Organisations which was characterized by "today - merger, tomorrow - disintegration" (Chienye, 1984; Charles, 2005). This legacy of division, in Aye's opinion (2010), continued until 1975 when the trade union movement itself rose to overcome it. In 1974, during the burial of one of the four trade union centres (S.O. Oduleye) at Apena cemetery and right away, the four unions decided to lay their differences to rest, disband themselves and constitute one central labour organisation. They collectively proclaimed what has come to be known as "the Apena Unity Declaration" - in an emotion-laden speech that beaconed another merger. This

merger resulted in the establishment of the second Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) a year later on 19 December 1975 (Charles, 2005; Osiki, 2009).

The birth of the second NLC as asserted by Bangura (1985) did not receive the blessing of the new government, which felt that it was going to form an opposition to its policy of labour restructuring and control (cited in Bingel, 1997). This, in his assertion, was because of the general anxiety that the newly established NLC may be influenced by left-wing elements within the trade union movement. The Federal Government through the Trade Unions (Central Labour Organization) (Special Provision) Decree No.44 of 1976, among other things, revoked the registration of the existing four labour organizations and banned the registration of the new NLC. As if that was not enough, the government proceeded with the appointment of an administrator of trade unions who was charged with the formation of a single central trade union, re-organization of the various industrial unions, which were an affiliate of the central body. This marked the beginning of government's continuous interference in Labour matters in Nigeria (Anyim et al., 2013a).

4.3.2.3 The birth of the third NLC and incessant Government Intervention

The re-organization process undertaken by the government in 1976 came to a climax with the birth of the third NLC in Ibadan in 1978. As a follow up to this, the Trade Unions (Amendment) Decree No.22 of 1978 that dissolved the second NLC was promulgated, hence, only one central trade union organization with name Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) was recognised, as well as 70 unions including 42 industrial unions (later restricted into twenty-nine in 1996) all of which were to be a compulsory affiliate of the NLC. The third Nigeria Labour Congress, inaugurated in February 1978 under the leadership of Hassan Sunmonu as president (Nwoko, 2009; Kasim, 2016). Even though the birth of the third NLC enjoyed government full recognition and even sponsorship, the Congress was still bedevilled by the problem of unity. In 1981 for instance, a keenly contested presidential election between Hassan Sunmonu and David Ojeli almost torn the Congress apart. Ojeli was so resentful with Sunmonu's victory that he tried in vain to undermine the efforts of the NLC during the 1981 general strike (Tanko, 1989; Bingel, 1997).

It is, however, noteworthy that NLC under the leadership of its moderate and sometimes very militant leader Alhaji Sumonu became the "ideal-type" central labour organisation which the Nigerian workers were yearning for. It is on record that the performance and accomplishments of NLC after receiving its final seal of approval from the federal government in 1978 were

outstanding. These outstanding performances recorded by the Nigerian Labour Congress do not, by any means, imply that all is well with the Central Labour Organisation with respect to total unity and organisation. As noted by Chienye (1984), tiny disharmony within the organisation's hierarchy as a result of leadership squabbling still exist. For instance, the politics of Suumonu's succession as Congress President after the expiration of his tenure in 1984 was intense. In the politics that follows, the contenders were Haruna Aghonikhena – a sympathizer for the Sumonu's leadership, Takai Shamang of the National Union of Electricity and Gas Workers who had been a Sumonu loyalist and Ali Chiroma, one of the two NLC deputy presidents who was the least favoured. At the election held in Enugu in 1984, Chiroma, a mild-mannered, unionist and Deputy President of NLC emerged as president (Lakemfa, 1997).

In Lakemfa's (1997) assessment, while Ali Chiroma cut the physical appearance of Malcom X, he is short of his radical leanings. In his word, "Chiroma was neither a radical nor did he possess the charismatic qualities of his predecessor" (1997:7). To worsen the situations, the Buhari-Idiagbon absolute rule was in full bloom and the working class were not saved. Chiroma, however, had two things worked for him, a dogged streak and the readiness to allow his far more radical comrades to run the NLC. With this team, Chiroma attempted to square up to the autocratic leanings of the regime before it was dethroned in the August 27, 1985 coup by another dictatorship headed by Buhari's Chief of Army Staff, General Ibrahim Babangida. While Buhari-Idiagbon appeared rigid, Babangida gave an appearance of the ultimate compromiser, while the two wore frown face, he always smiled. In due time, however, the Babangida tight rein was more disastrous for Labour than that of his predecessors (Lakemfa, 1997).

While the problem of factionalization and reformation of labour centres seemed to have been finally resolved with the formation of the third NLC and enactment of enabling decrees, another problem emerged. The problem that reared its ugly head is the incessant government intervention, which has not allowed for the free growth of central trade union movement in the country and therefore a central platform to address issues of common interest to the Nigerian workers remained a mirage. Hence, Babangida, in an attempt to seduce labour into his system, appointed high-profile labour leaders into his transition committees but without due consultation with Labour. Thus, Paschal Bafyau and Bank Workers President, Halilu Ibrahim were appointed into the Political Bureau, Frank Kokori, the NUPENG chief scribe was put in Constitution Drafting Committee while both Kokori and Bafyau were appointed into the

Constitution Review Committee. Both Chiroma's actions and inactions showed that he was not apolitical. The philosophy of the NLC under his presidency with respect to political process, he described as "Unions in Politics and Politics in Unions". Chiroma led the NLC into a fight, the killing of many students in 1986. NLC under his leadership also staged anti-apartheid protests during the visit of Britain's Margaret Thatcher to Lagos and Kano. His leadership is best remembered for its relentless battle against fuel price hike. This led to detention without trial of several members of the Congress including Chiroma (Elufiede, 2010; Lakemfa, 2012).

With the stage set for new NLC elections in February 1988, the Babangida leadership demonstrated in different ways that it would not want to see Chiroma having the benefit of a second term in office. When the labour leaders known as "Democrats" in the NLC realised that their preferred candidate Takai Shamang cannot be on a level with Chiroma, a crisis was cooked up. The appointed NLC officers were removed from their position of responsibility, Shamang was announced as the president and Babangida was called upon to interfere as did the military in 1975. Taking advantage of this happening, the Babangida regime, within forty-eight hours (February 29, 1988, to be precise), unfolded the National Economic Recovery Emergency Powers (Nigeria Labour Congress) Order, 1988, with which it outlawed the NLC and forced upon the Congress an employer, Michael Ogunkoya as Sole Administrator. Ogunkoya administers the activities of the Congress for 10 months before the election of Comrade Paschal Bafyau as the new NLC helmsman (Ademiluyi and Imhonopi, 2011). In the words of Lakemfa, Paschal Bafyau is:

A dour-looking but intelligent trade unionist arrived as the NLC President on December 19, 1988, on the Nigeria Union of Railwaymen (NUR) coach... Bafyau had spent all his youth working in the labour movement. His history was, however, not so impressive. He had been part of a conservative labour centre before the merger and had the dubious distinction of leading unionist who collaborated with the military to smash the NLC in 1975. Somehow, over the years, he moved to the radical wing of the trade union movement and became more pious than the Pope (1997: 102-103).

Bafyau's regime from inception suffered from public confidence deficiency. With less than two months in office, Bafyau waste no time in exhibiting his true nature. A lot of time-honoured traditions were turned around by him. Organised labour had been known since colonial era to reject foreign domination in the public service and the economy of Nigeria. In addition, labour expressed their undaunted support for Gowon's regime indigenization decree. The decision of Shagari administration to privatise public institutions in 1983, was vehemently opposed by Sunmonu leadership, they even went ahead to issue antagonistic pamphlet suitably entitled "Nigeria Not for Sale". Buhari – Idiagbon decision to continue with the implementation a year

after was rejected by Adamu Chiroma led NLC with a document titled “Towards National Recovery: Nigeria Labour Congress Alternatives”. However, with Bafyau now in charge of the Congress, having earlier expressed Congress opposition to privatization, but later mobilised affiliate unions to participate when profit-making companies were put up for sale (Lakemfa, 1997; Adesina, 2000). Another major indication of Bafyau’s direction was rightly pointed out thus:

over eleven senior electricity workers jailed for leading a strike action in October 1988. Punishing workers with a life jail sentence (later reduced to ten years each) was a political move. There was, therefore, a clamour for their release. But Bafyau did not want any campaign against the military. When the Lagos State Council of Congress organized a political fund for the men on March 1, 1989, it got a reprimand. The men were not freed from the Kaduna prisons until November 12, 1989, after spending over one year in jail (Lakemfa, 1997:104).

In 1993, Bafyau joined the presidential race without informing the Congress of his plans, which became known when his nomination form was rejected. However, when the agitation for Babangida’s exist became mind-boggling by August 27, 1993, Bafyau re-strategized and deserted the sinking despot. Hence, the Congress issued a statement calling for a general strike to force the military’s exit starting from August 28 after Babangida might have left office. On November 17, 1993, Shonekan’s Interim Government was overthrown by the military led by General Sani Abacha. The military regime was gladly welcome by Bafyau leadership, but his effort at getting a ministerial or other position in the new dictatorship was unsuccessful. In 1994, decrees 9 and 10 of 1994 were promulgated by the Abacha regime after a two-month face-off with oil workers’ unions. With the decrees, the executive councils of NUPENG, PENGASSAN and the NLC were dissolved (Lakemfa, 1997; Beckman and Lukman, 2010).

However, with the death of General Abacha, the unions regained Congress, which resulted in a National Delegates Conference held on January 29, 1999, with Comrade Adams Oshiomhole emerging as the National President (Nwadiaro, 2010). Oshiomhole in office was well captured by Charles (2005) thus:

within the first three years of his leadership, he has succeeded in re-building workers' confidence in the power of the union after several years of government intervention. In response to emergent conditions, his presidency has had to deal with several issues including the minimum wage increase, deregulation of the oil sector, casualization, education and empowerment, membership expansion, constitution review, among others. In virtually all spheres workers' response to his leadership has been cooperative.

On 8th of August 2005, Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUC) with Comrade (Dr) Peace Obiajulu as the President received a letter of registration as another labour centre. TUC’s

recognition was based on the Trade Union Amendment Act of 2005, by the Federal Government headed by former President Olusegun Obasanjo. Prior to that date, TUC had gone through different transformations starting in 1980, first as Federation of Senior Staff Associations of Nigeria (FESSAN), later as Senior Staff Consultative Association of Nigeria (SESCAN) and finally, TUC. It all dated back to 1976 when the Michael Abiodun Commission was put in place by the Federal Military Government to sanitise and rationalise the labour climate (extracted from TUC official website). Before the establishment of the Trade Union Congress (TUC), the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) was the only umbrella for all the affiliate unions (Ahmed-Gamgum, 2014).

After a memorable term in office, Comrade Oshiomhole eventually bowed out in the year 2007 to dabble into the murky water of politics. Oshiomhole was succeeded by Abubakar Omar as the Nigerian Labour Congress president and this nearly coincided with the swearing in of the government of Alhaji Musa Yar'adua. The arbitrary hike in the pump price of petroleum from N65 to N75 and the value added tax [VAT] from 4% to 10% were the first issue tackled by Omar leadership. A 4 days' strike that crippled the entire country was the desirable tactic for the government to reverse these decisions to a satisfactory level. The 10th National Delegates Conference of Nigeria Labour Congress was held between March 1 and 3 2011 with the theme: "Building a New Nigeria: The Role of the Working Class towards National Transformation". Following the successful holding of the 10th Delegates Conference of the Congress, Abdulwaheed Ibrahim Omar was re-elected for another term (Nwoko, 2009; Nwagbara et al, 2013; Tinuoye, 2014).

By the time the season was ripe for new NLC elections in February 2014, the 11th Delegate Conference held between February 8 and 12, 2015 turned out to be inconclusive. This was as a result of various allegations of anomalies in the ballot booklets that were being used for the elections by some labour unions, such as the National Union of Electricity Employees (NUEE) and National Union of Petroleum Employees of Nigeria (NUPENG). Consequently, the conference was rescheduled to commence on Thursday, March 12, 2015. The rescheduled election held between March 12 and 14, 2015, at the Eagle Square, Abuja finally produced Ayuba Wabba from the Medical and Health Workers Union of Nigeria (MHWUN) as the president of NLC with 1,695 votes while the runner-up, Joe Ajero of NUEE, got 1,400 votes. The Joe Ajaero-faction, called the 'Restoration Group' and allegedly comprising almost 18 industrial unions, rejected the result of the election and organised a Special Delegate

Conference at Mainland Hotel, Oyingbo, Lagos on Thursday 19th March 2015, which produced Comrade Joe Ajaero as their president (Momoh, 2015; Sango, 2015; Udo, 2015).

When on May 11, 2016, the Federal Government removed subsidy on fuel, the feud between the two groups partly informed the lack of success of the organised labour to mobilised Nigerians to protest the removal. Whereas Wabba-led group went on a nationwide strike, which was unsuccessful, Ajaero's teamed up with the government in resolving the issue. While both factions continue to skirmish for the soul of the Congress, workers endured at the hand of the government as they lost their common voice on issues affecting their well-being. However, on December 17, 2016, the leadership battle rocking the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) resurfaced again and this time around got to the peak with the Joe Ajaero led faction broken away from NLC to form another labour centre named the United Labour Congress (ULC). This further worsened the two-year-old leadership battle (Maritime First, 2017).

Heretofore, the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and Trade Union Congress (TUC) used to represent the interest of the workers. However, with United Labour Congress of Nigeria (ULC), another apex union was born as the third player. In the new ULC are part of unions who were formerly affiliates of TUC and NLC and some labour unions who until then were neither an affiliate of the NLC nor the TUC. United Labour Congress avails itself of the Trade Union Amendment Act of 2005, of former President Olusegun Obasanjo, to emerge. Incidentally, the name United Labour Congress is not strange in the Nigeria labour movement's lexicon. It used to be the parent organization for progressive unionists before the 1976 unification of unions subsequent to the reorganization of trade unions by Gen. Muritala Mohammed/Olusegun Obasanjo military government (The Paradigm, 2017).

However, the leadership impasse bedevilling the Labour movements in Nigeria became more worrisome when in January 19, 2017, Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), and its Trade Union Congress (TUC), counterpart, jointly wrote a letter to the Minister of Labour and Employment with respect to the registration of new labour centre (ULC). In the letter entitled "Need to avert anarchy in the industrial relations system in the country: Mushroom /shell trade unions", they argue that registering ULC and other unions in quest of registration will lead to anarchy in the nation's industrial relations system. In response to the letter, ULC appealed to the honourable Minister to disregard their letter, asserting that the nation's laws allow for that. Meanwhile, only time will tell how far the new ULC will go (Ahiuma-Young, 2017).

Table 4. 1 is a list of central organisations that existed in the pre-independence Nigeria (1942 – 1960). The Federated Trades Union of Nigeria (FTUN) formed in 1942 changed its name to the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUCN) on July 1943, in an effort to position itself as a central labour organisation. TUCN was accorded an immediate recognition by the colonial administration and became the first central labour organisation in Nigeria till 1949. Between 1949 and 1959 four labour centres, namely: Committee of Trade Union (renamed Nigerian National Federation of Labour (NNFL) (1949 - 1950), Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) (1950 - 1951), All Nigerian Trade Union Federation (ANTUF) (1953 - 1956) and National Council of Trade Union Congress (NCTUC) (1957). The disbandment of various labour bodies led to the inauguration of a new central labour organization, Trades Union Congress of Nigeria in 1959 and later United Labour Congress of Nigeria (ULCN) (1959 – 1960).

Table 4.1: Central Labour Organisation in the Pre-independence Nigeria (1942-1960)

S/N	NAME	PERIOD OF OPERATION
1.	Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUCN)	1942 – 1949
2.	Nigerian National Federation of Labour (NNFL)	1949 – 1950
3.	Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC)	1950 – 1951
4.	All Nigerian Trade Union Federation (ANTUF)	1953 – 1956

5.	National Council of Trade Union of Nigeria (NCTUN)	1957
6a.	Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUCN)	1959
6b.	(Later United Labour Congress of Nigeria) (ULCN)	1959 – 1960

Source: Chienye, G. C. (1984). Wage determination and trade union structure and organisation in a Developing country: The Nigerian case (Doctoral dissertation, Middlesex Polytechnic).

Table 4.2 is a list of major central labour organisations in the post-independence Nigeria (1960 – 1975). Nigeria at independence in 1960 had the Nigeria Trade Union Congress (NTUC) as the only Labour central organisations. By 1962, two additional labour centrals emerged namely: United Labour Congress (ULC) and Nigerian Workers Council (NWC), while the existing NTUC metamorphosed into Independent United Labour (IULC). In the year 1963, another labour centres organisation, the Labour Unity Front (LUF), emerged while IULC reverted to NTUC. In 1973, the NTUC, LUF, NWC and a faction of the ULC came together to form the Nigerian Trade Union Federation (NTUF but was not recognised by the government. In 1974, the four trade union centres decided to constitute one central labour organisation, which resulted in the establishment of the second Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) a year later, on 19 December 1975.

Table 4.2: Major (Post-Independence) Central Labour Organisations in Nigeria, 1960-1975

S/N	NAME	PERIOD OF OPERATION
1a.	Nigeria Trade Union Congress (NTUC)	1960-1973
b.	Later Independent United Labour (IULC)	1962
c.	Subsequently reverted to NTUC)	1963-1975
2.	United Labour Congress (ULC)	1962-1975
3.	Nigerian Workers Council (NWC)	1962-1975
4.	Labour Unity Front (LUF)	1963-1975

5.	Nigerian Trade Union Federation# (NTUF) formed by the NTUC, LUF & NWC)	1973
6.	Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC)*	1975

Source: Chienye, G. C. (1984). Wage determination and trade union structure and organisation in a Developing country: The Nigerian case (Doctoral dissertation, Middlesex Polytechnic).

Explanatory Notes

#Not recognised by the Government

*Initially not recognised by the Federal Military Government but later was reprieved.

4.4 An Overview of What Labour Unions Stand For

Writings on labour unions have proven the fact that no labour union exists without goals, purposes, functions or defined roles. However, these goals, objectives, purposes or roles vary from one society to another. It is in this regard that Adebisi (2006) posits that, a trade union is a function of the environment, the economic development and culture pattern from which it grows. Similarly, Ootobo (1987) submits that in both theory and practice, it is evident that a discussion on what labour unions stand for in any society can only be meaningfully conducted against the background of the institutional arrangements. Although the immediate objective may be higher wages and better working conditions. Nevertheless, the ultimate objective of a trade union is to represent the general interest of workers over the history.

However, it is to be noted that various authors and scholars have identified various objectives of labour unions and they have endeavoured to express their ideas uniquely even though the meaning is the same. Babalola (2005) in his work identifies the following as the primary objectives of the labour union in Nigeria:

- i. To improve the working conditions and welfare of their members.
- ii. To protect the job interest of their members by opposing unfair industrial practices.
- iii. To participate actively in the process of national development.
- iv. To maintain the independence and growth of the working class.
- v. To fortify their power position in relation to that of employers.

Citing Chamberlain (1958), Babalola (2005) adds the following as the main objectives of labour unions:

- a. To guarantee steady employment which provides adequate income necessary for a better standard of living.
- b. To rationalize personnel policies which will enable workers to enjoy job security.
- c. To enable the workers to have a voice in decisions affecting their welfare.
- d. To protect the workers from economic hazards beyond control.
- e. To guarantee them sufficient recognition.

Ademiluyi and Imhonopi (2011) in their analysis of the dynamics of trade union summarised the objectives for the creation or emergence of trade unions in Nigeria as contained in the nation's trade union Act as follows:

- i. To secure and enhance the general living conditions of workers and the economic well-being of their members.
- ii. To guarantee individual and collective job security against all possible threats occasioned by market fluctuation, technological changes or organisational policies.
- iii. To influence policies reached by the government on issues pertaining to the workers, through their relationship with politicians and the elites in society.
- iv. To relate with labour unions at the local and international levels.
- v. To continually guarantee freedom of association and the recognition of trade union rights on all unionised workers.

Nigeria trade unions, in the spirit of 'A New Dawn', formulated a programme launched on May 1, 1999. The programme has the broad objective of building the capacity of trade unions to promote the interests of workers, working people and the nation. In order to achieve this, the NLC shall:

- Protect, defend and promote the rights, well-being and the interests of all workers, pensioners, self-employed, working people and the masses in general.
- Promote and defend a Nigerian nation that would be just, democratic, united, secular and prosperous.
- Enhance the quality of life and improve the income and other working conditions of workers.

- Promote and sustain the unity of Nigerian trade unions, ensure total unionisation of all workers in both formal and informal sectors, irrespective of their creed, state of origin, gender and their political beliefs.
- Promote and defend trade union and human rights, the rule of law and democratic governance.
- Promote and defend democracy, probity and transparency in the trade unions and in civil governance.
- Work for the industrialisation and prosperity of the Nigerian nation and ensure the protection of jobs, full employment and humane working environment.
- Strive to influence legislation and public and corporate policies, in the interest of workers, disadvantaged social groups and trade unions.
- Promote and sustain positive industrial relations practice in Nigeria by strengthening collective bargaining in all sectors of the economy and internalising appropriate work culture among workers.
- Promote workers' education, principally for developing trade union, political and class-consciousness for the empowerment of workers in the Nigerian society.
- Co-operate with other organisations with which the trade unions may share common ideological and other commitment.
- Establish international relationship and co-operation with the international labour movement.

4.5 The Primary Functions Carried out by Labour Unions

Labour union is a legal body responsible for organising workers to demand their rights and express their grievances. Without unions, employers would either become too domineering or too autocratic (Thomas, 2005). Even though there might not be a significant difference between the objectives of the labour unions and their functions, however, it should be noted that for the unions to achieve their objectives, the performance of some basic and specific functions is imperative. These objectives may differ according to their political inclinations (Ratnam, 2006). Regardless of the political ideologies, however, a review of the literature reveals that labour unions' primary functions can be classified as follows:

4.5.1 Negotiation for better Wages and Salaries

Since the primary goal of a labour union is to better workers' conditions, most especially employees who are members of the unions. Hence, the subject that draws the attention of labour unions the most is how to improve the economic conditions of the workers by presenting their cases to the managers/employers. They negotiated for better wages and salaries through the instrumentality of collective bargaining with employers. The success of such a bargain largely depends on the bargaining power of the leadership of the union. While the bargaining ability of the unions is based primarily on its ability to control the movement of labour to the employer (Freeman and Medoff, 1984; Kruger and Tshoose, 2013; Yetemwork, 2016).

4.5.2 Securing proper Working Conditions for Workers

Most of the employers seem not to be too enthusiastic with respect to the provision of good facilities and better working conditions for their employees. That which interested the employers the most is the maximization of their profits. In order to secure better working conditions for workers, therefore, labour unions fight on their behalf and see that those basic facilities with which the health of workers can be safeguarded, and that can as well bring about productivity are provided by the management (Murie, 2002; Mureau, 2004). Such facilities include lighting and ventilation, sanitation, refreshment, drinking water, restrooms, safety kit while performing dangerous duties, leave and rest, holidays with pay, minimum working hours, job satisfaction, social security benefits and other welfare packages (Rao, 2007; Aswathappa, 2013)

4.5.3 Establishing a better Employee-Employer Relations

Many industries in the present days have grown extremely large. It is now possible for a unit in a particular working place to have hundreds of workers which most times might deny workers access to their managers/employer. As a result, employees might not be able to register their complaint before their employers, even at times; the management might not have the knowledge of their problems that required immediate attention. Since a cordial relation between the employer and employees is a condition for industrial harmony, labour union always exert maximum efforts in achieving this (Bryson, 2005). Hence, they play significant roles in communicating the employees' problems and complaints to the employers. At times, a meeting can be arranged between the workers and their employers. However, the bureaucratic attitude of the management sometimes might forestall such a meeting, which eventually may lead to industrial conflicts in the organisation. Labour unions, as workers' representative, may

continue to negotiate with the management to bring about the much-desired industrial harmony (Bryson et al., 2005).

4.5.4 Protecting the Interests of the Workers

Since the workers' interests are very paramount to the organised labours, the protection of such interests remains a primary assignment of the labour unions. Exploitation of the workers is a trademark of most of the employers. More often than not, employers failed to honour agreements reached with the workers such as increment in wages, grant of sick leaves, compensation for accident sustained on the job. In some cases, workers remain casual for years without been made permanent, at times, workers might be summarily dismissed. Labour unions fight against such act of injustices by calling for the proper implementation of personnel policies with respect to recruitment, promotions, selections, training, compensations and transfer. They also interact with the employer to ensure income and job security for members in order to prevent retrenchment of labour. (Selamoglu and Urhan, 2008; Durazzi, 2017).

4.5.5 Participating in Policy Formulations

In the past, most of the efforts of labour unions are concentrated on protecting workers' right and later in fighting against obnoxious and anti-people policies of the government. However, in the recent time, organised labour has gone beyond their traditional call of duty. They now participate in formulating policies that govern the society by constituting a formidable pressure group to the government whose views must be considered when the government is deciding on issues of societal policies. Such issues include but not limited to the setting of minimum labour standards, establishing social programmes and public services. They also form political parties in some countries e.g. Labour Party in the United Kingdom and Nigeria (Kester and Pinaud, 1998; Ademiluyi and Imhonopi, 2011). This was discussed in more details in the subsequent chapters.

From the above, it can be seen that labour unions play many roles in the society, although their primary objective may be higher wages and better working conditions of their members. Hence, the resultant impact of labour unions in any given society would be significant because of the functions they perform.

4.5.6 Collective Bargaining

Industrial harmony is a sine qua non for economic growth and in achieving this, sense of partnership and mutual effort between the workers and their employers is essential. However,

when a conflict of interest arises between employees and employers, a process for arriving at a mutually agreed up solution will have to be put in place. This process usually refers to as “collective bargaining” was first used by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Collective Bargaining in the words of Dwivedi (2009:347) “is a process of accommodation between two institutions which have both common and conflicting interests”. Collective bargaining is always twinned with negotiation as a method of trade union demands. In other words, it is a negotiation and discussion process between an employer and unions to resolve an array of issues such as working hours, wages, plant and safety rules, and procedures for grievance. This process often ends up in a written agreement, adjustment of problems arising under an agreement or contract. It is christened “collective bargaining” because workers negotiate collectively with their employer through their union representatives. For years now, collective bargaining has been employed by labour unions as a method of engagement globally to better the fortune of their members. It has been an effective instrument over the years in the resolution of industrial disputes and in advancing the cause of the working class (De Silva, 1996; Akintayo, 2001).

4.6 An Overview of Labour Unions Methods of Engagement during Conflict

According to Yesufu, Industrial conflict or trade dispute, “is a reported disagreement between a trade union and an employer or group of employers, consequent upon the failure of one side to meet the demand(s) of the other for the amelioration or removal of a grievance or grievances” (1984:147). Literature on the methods used by the labour unions in the performance of their functions, in demanding their rights or in exerting their influence during conflict has not shown any significant divergence of opinions. This possibly is borne out of the fact most of the methods or instruments identified by scholars are based on careful observation of labour unions demand as interest groups over a long period. What is obvious from the exact literature on the methods used by labour unions is that it varies from one work organisation or setting to another. While some methods may be peculiar to factories workers, some are peculiar to other work settings other than factories; some also cut across work organisations or settings. This section is therefore set out to identify and critically analyse some of these methods used by labour unions in the course of an industrial dispute.

4.6.1 Joint Consultation

Another method of engagement, the process of which is usually initiated by the management is “joint consultation”. It is a process that allows workers to take part in decision making when an issue is still at the preliminary level before such is settled. According to Chaneta, “it is the

process by which management seeks the views, feelings and ideas of employees through their representatives, prior to negotiating or making a decision” (2014:162). It thus means that at this stage, the grounds for and impacts of such an issue can still be discussed and any available options may be considered. Even though issues of mutual concern are discussed during “joint consultation”, but at the table of the management lies the final burden of decision-making. It should, however, be noted that joint consultation is also more than mere communication which “is the process of keeping people informed about intentions, opinions, results or decisions on matters that interest them” (Deb, 2009:576). A successful joint consultation, therefore, must be two-way communications between management and employees (Armstrong, 1992). Clegg (1978) distinguished this method from collective bargaining, to him, joint consultation involves the exchange of views between workers and management on matters of common interest but does not lead to any formal agreement as in collective bargaining. Despite the fact that joint consultation demands time and money, it offers a lot of benefits if properly done. Its benefits include improved organisational performance, improved employees’ commitment, improved management decision making, encouraged a more flexible working environment, helped develop greater trust and increased job satisfaction (Adebisi, 2006).

4.6.2 Sabotage

Sabotage, as asserted by Zabala, is a “word whose definition and history are charged with political and social meaning” (1989:1). In spite of its frequent happening, sabotage remained almost obscure, this might be partly due to its hidden nature. Also known as “malicious obedience”, sabotage in the submission of Babalola (2005) is an industrial warfare that involves soldering i.e. slow down the action and malicious destruction of the company's properties. It is also seen as an expression of industrial conflict (Hebdon and Noh, 2013). Even though sabotage is regarded as a phenomenon that defies definition because of its ever-changing nature. Taylor and Walton (1971: 219) however define it as “that rule-breaking which takes the form of conscious action or inaction directed towards the mutilation or destruction of the work environment”. Widening it beyond destruction, Brown (1977: XI) see it as “any action that clogs the ‘machinery of capitalism’ by direct actions at the point of production”. Thinking it wider, Dubois includes “all ‘intentional acts’ which result in a reduction in the quantity or quality of the product; this includes absenteeism, strikes, working to rule, and even voluntary unemployment as well as destruction” (1976: 10). Revolutionary unions often used sabotage and always support it, but its use always draws denunciation from the public because of its barbaric nature. However, with the development of more civilized and modern methods of

engagement, the use of sabotage is in the declined significantly (Adu-Poku, 2006; Holley, et al, 2011).

4.6.3 Strike

A strike is defined by Adebisi (2006:61) as “a concerted and temporary with-holding of employee services from the employer for the purpose of executing greater concessions in the employment relationship than the employer is willing to grant at the bargaining table”. A strike is seen as the most compelling instrument of engagement used by labour unions; hence it is often resulted to. Strike is employed when an employer failed to honour an agreement entered into with a union or refuse to recognise them for a collective bargain (Okene, 2008; Onah, et al; 2016). As stated by Fashoyin (1987:12):

Conceptually, the right to strike can be seen as an essential characteristic of collective bargaining. This is so because the ability of the union to bring direct economic pressure on the employer depends largely on the availability or use of the strike weapon...the presence or threat of a strike induces the parties to engage in continuous dialogue for a search for an agreement. That is to say when workers are certain that they can strike or employers are conscious of its occurrence, the seriousness of the dispute is intensified and, correspondingly, the bargaining power of the employees is increased.

Three stages are mostly involved in a strike action. The first stage is a situation whereby workers go to work but rather than attending to the daily duties they sit down without working, the second stage is where workers go to work and choose to carry out a portion of their work while the last stage sees workers entirely withholding their services. Nevertheless, before workers could go on strike their employer should have been duly notified with a “strike notice” served. Strike notice will be served on the management after the union leaders have secured popular support of members. In a developing country like Nigeria, strike is becoming a reoccurring decimal of industrial relations. It should be noted however that strikes more often than not, has impacted negatively on the economy especially when prolonged. In spite of its negative impacts, happenings have shown that strike still remains one of the most effective methods used by workers or their representatives to exact efforts on disregardful employers (Okene, 2008; Onah, et al; 2016).

4.6.4 Picketing

Picketing is another instrument used by labour unions to exert their influence, mostly during strike action. Striking workers use it as a mean of garnering more support for their striking action. According to Babalola (2005), it is an attempt by striking workers to prevent others from occupying their seats in their place of work and by inducing their colleagues who are yet

to join in the strike to do so. Workers during picketing may even prevent job seekers from taking employment in the company. Adebisi (2006) on his part sees picketing as a strike action that is aimed at keeping the plant shut completely during a crisis that ensues between management and labour. Picketing mostly requires the carrying of placards that announce the nature of the disputes and the parties involved. Picketers are expected to conduct themselves in an orderly manner; placards may be carried, slogans and songs maybe chanted, however, actions that may be seen as unlawful or perceived violent should be avoided. A picket line is usually drawn in form of instruction to those present at the workplace, which is not to be crossed. Barker and Holtzhausen in their description of picketing sum it up all as:

(a)ction by employees or other persons to publicize the existence of a labour dispute by patrolling or standing outside or near the location where the dispute is taking place, usually with placards indicating the nature of the dispute. The aim of the picketing might simply be to communicate the grievance to the public or it might be to persuade other employees in that workplace not to work and to take their side in the dispute, to deter scab labour, to persuade or pressurise customers not to enter the workplace, to disrupt deliveries or to drum up public support (1996:113).

4.6.5 Boycott

Boycott is another weapon used by the union to force the management to yield to its demands. It is a word used to describe an action taken by labour unions to pressurise their employers economically by holding back from patronizing their commodities. According to Babalola (2005: 23), “it is the agreement by the union members to refuse to use or buy the firm’s product”. A boycott is considered a primary boycott if it is between the union and her employer, however, when extended to another party who is not part of the dispute ab initio it becomes a secondary boycott. For instance, workers may go a step further by persuading the general public to join in the boycott or extend same to company transacting with their employer in the feud. All the above will affect the company’s sale negatively. In sum, a boycott is aimed at exerting economic pressure on the management to have a re-think over their requests (Datz, et al. 1987; Zondo, 2009).

4.6.6 Work-to-rule

Work-to-rule is a meticulous method used by workers in calling the attention of the employers by reducing daily output. It is used to exert pressure on the management without resorting to strikes action (Adebisi, 2006). It is seen as a situation in which the employees discharge their duties strictly in conformity with the rules guiding their employment. Elaborating on the above, Babalola (2005) sees work-to-rule, also called ‘Go Slow’, as a deliberate attempt by the union

to restrict output in an organisation by working at such a pace as to guarantee minimum productivity and normal profit; but slow enough to cause a calculated decline in production in an effort to gain some concessions from their employer. By engaging in work-to-rule action, workers are able to press home their request for improved conditions. Some scholars have identified work-to-rule as a distinct weapon used by the labour union in pressing home their demands while others see it as one of the stages involved in a strike action. Work-to-rule can be seen as a stage of strike action if carried out with respect to a demand and when the employees have been working beyond their employment agreement in the past. In essence, work-to-rule suggests that job descriptions are followed strictly, it is a situation whereby a typist, for instance, will refuse to dispatch a letter (Fajana, 2006).

4.6.7 Sit-in or Work-in

Williamson (1983) identifies sit-in or work-in as an instrument used by labour in the realisation of their objectives. According to him, a sit-in is an occupation of a factory by workers to prevent the movement of goods. It involves workers, having overpowered the management and apprehend the business assets, taking over virtually everything in the organisation. This makes the workers to temporarily be in a position that can enhance their bargaining powers. Despite the fact that sit-in is relatively a new technique in the field of industrial relations; it has proved to be an effective weapon used by the workers to press home their requests (Babalola, 2005; Adebisi, 2006; Fajana, 2006).

4.6.8 Overtime Ban

A ban on overtime is another instrument used by labour wherein the union members are prevented from working beyond the official hours. An overtime ban in the view of Zondo refers to “a case where employees collectively refuse to work overtime in order to put pressure on the employer to agree to their demands or to address their grievances” (2009:2). To Adebisi (2006), it is the rejection of employees to do overtime in order to increase the proportion of the overhead cost of production vis-a-vis the total cost. Grogan (2007:69) argues, “Collective refusal by employees to do overtime work is a popular stratagem by employees who wish to exert pressure on employers during negotiations”. A ban on overtime will constitute a form of industrial action if the employees have been working additional hours in the past. Meanwhile, there is a significant similarity between overtime ban and work-to-rule, in both, there are workers limiting their works strictly to the conditions of their employment and declining to do more (Twala, 2002).

In all, instruments used by labour unions are legion. The effectiveness or efficacy of any of the methods largely depends on the issues at stake; leadership strength; prevailing social, economic and political conditions; and membership solidarity. For instance, if there is division among the members of the union, this will definitely tell on the viability of the instruments. Whatever method to be employed by any union must not be to their benefits alone but must not also obstruct the development of the society at large. Because if the development of the society is obstructed, it will adversely affect the interest of the labour unions.

4.7 Labour Unions as a component of Civil Society Organisations

The kind of relationship between the labour union and other civil society organisations have been a subject of debate. Most of these debates surround 'civil society' as a concept, some authors such as Kubicek sees civil society broadly as "a space between the individual and the state, resting upon civic bonds rather than those of family" (2004:9). With this conception of his, civil society can encompass environmental societies, chess clubs, labour unions, chess clubs, women's leagues and business lobbies. Sundar for instance, in a study on "*Trade Unions and Civil Society: Issues and Strategies*", sees "civil societies to include organisations such as charities, NGOs, cooperatives, community groups, women's organisations, faith-based organisations, trade unions, social movements, business associations, etc." (2007:717). Hence, labour unions are one of the most organised and structured parts of the civil society, he concludes.

However, this view has been seriously criticised by those who see the above notion of civil society to be too vast. Those in this school of thought did not see labour unions as part of civil society. They tend to give priority to cultural and structural differences. They argue that labour union is an association that is members-based, bound to their establishments, operate a democratic constitution, adhere to instrumental rationality and are orderly and bureaucratic in their administrative modus operandi. Conversely, many civil society organisations are community organisations, mostly informal and who are eager to assist people that are not necessarily their members (Heery et al., 2012). This study, however, favours the school of thought that sees the concept of civil society "as a set of 'institutions'—non-governmental organizations, such as trade unions, citizen associations, philanthropic organizations, volunteer groups, etc.—that operate in the space between family, the business world, and the state" (Bosveld, 2004:1). These 'institutions' are essential for the well-being of any democratic setting. It is within this context that trade union as "one of the most organised and structured

parts of the civil society” to the sustenance of democracy will be put in perspective in chapter four.

4.8 An overview of links between Labour unions and Democracy

Most studies on labour union often examined it as the representative of the working class, with the essential role of labour unions as a typical civil society organization often disregarded. Labour unions, in this new role, widening their force outside the limits of the workplace, thereby contributing meaningfully to the birth and sustenance of democracy. The important roles of civil society organisations in the existence of a democratic system have been well documented by scholars (see also Fick, 2009; Kjaerum, 1993; Putnam, 2000; Tocqueville, 2003). Rueschemeyer, et al., (1992) in their study of “*capitalist development and democracy*” examines the significance of civil society organisations for democracy, hence they submit as follows:

The more the balance of class power favours subordinate class interests and the more a dense civil society aids in giving organizational expression to these interests and at the same time constitutes a countervailing force against unrestrained and autonomous state power, the greater the chances not only of installing democratic institutions and making them stable but also of increasing the real weight of democratic decision-making (1992:297).

To carry out this function of sustaining democracy, an organised labour is better established for the task. Lately, however, the role of organised labour in the creation of democratic societies has been of interest to the scholars of democratization. For instance, Rueschemeyer, et al., (1992) in the above study concluded that the “organized working class was a central player in developing democracy in most countries” (1992:270). Similarly, Collier (1999) in a book titled “*Paths toward democracy: The working class and elites in Western Europe and South America*” underscore the impactful roles played by the organised labour during the democratization process in the late twentieth century. The roles according to her are dual one; first as “a force in destabilizing and delegitimizing authoritarian regimes” and second as “an oppositional force during the transition process”. She concludes by observing that:

the union movement was sometimes able to create political space for anti-authoritarian, pro-democratic protest. In some cases, union-led protests for democracy contributed to a climate of delegitimation that provoked the institution of the transition; in others, it helped derail the legitimization projects of authoritarian regimes (Collier 1999:165).

In the same vein, Fick (2009) in his analysis of the roles played by trade unions in creating an enabling environment for democracy to thrive notes the relentless struggles of the trade unions in Guinea against President Conte through protracted strike actions. These concerted efforts of the union, in his opinion, led to the appointment of Lansana Kouyate as prime minister on March 2, 2007, by President Conte. In his conclusion, the effectiveness of organised labour in accomplishing the tasks is due largely to the ‘organizational characteristics’ conferred on labour unions as the ‘archetypal civil society organization’. In his words:

There are five attributes possessed by most independent trade unions (some of which may be found in other CSOs, but few, if any, CSOs possess all five) which are responsible for this strategic importance: democratic representation, demographic representation, financial independence, breadth of concerns, and placement within society for access to both elites and grassroots (Fick, 2009:254).

The view that labour movements, as a component of civil society is strategically positioned organisation to create, nurture and sustain democratic society is well expressed by Professor Sugeno in his study of the functions of labour unions in industrialised societies. According to him, “unions currently constitute an important attribute of any free and democratic society. It is inconceivable that existing institutions or others that might be created could take over the function of unions” (Sugeno, 1994:519). However, history has shown that autocratic regimes, having acknowledged the significant influence of labour unions to challenge their government, usually take to suppression in order to put an end to labour unions completely or control their machinery. An example of such regimes was the Nazi government of Germany. The regime has to dissolve the free trade unions of Germany in order to keep holding on to power. A similar thing happened in Italy when the Fascist regime phased out the independent labour movements and made the state to take over the control of the union. Labour unions suffered related fate under Franco in Spain and under Communist Party in the old Soviet Union, Nigeria and some African countries cannot be said to be an exemption (Carr, et al., 1979; Lieberman, 1982; Fick, 2009).

In sum, labour union as a component of civil society has played a key role in bringing about democratic system, it is, however, far less prevalent as subjects of analysis.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter put labour union, as a component of civil society, in proper perspective by considering the diverse views/approaches/theories on how trade unionism evolved, a historical

perspective of the general growth of trade unions, objectives and functions of labour union were examined, labour union methods of engagement was critically analysed and lastly the nexus between labour unions and civil society organisations was put in perspective.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysed data. Data collected were analysed using the combination of both the manual qualitative method and the Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (Nvivo) in order to maximize the advantages of both methods. After data collection through conducted interviews, the researcher transcribed and imported the data into Nvivo for coding and analysis. The research objectives formed the question, which also formed the main themes, while the responses formed the sub-themes. The main aim of the study is to appraise the role of Nigeria Labour Congress in the Democratic Consolidation process in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

5.2 Section A: Clusters of the Respondents

A total of twenty-eight (28) respondents who have a firm grasp and understand of the issues under study were interviewed. The respondents were drawn from four clusters using purposive sampling technique. The four clusters were labour union leaders, civil society activists, political analysts and academics with expert knowledge on labour related issue and on Nigeria democratic history.

Table 5.1 shows the distribution of the respondents along the four cluster. A total of seven respondents each were selected from the four clusters namely: labour union leaders, civil society activists, political analysts and academics.

Clusters of the Respondents	Frequency
Labour Union Leaders	7
Civil Society Activists	7
Political Analysts	7
Academics	7

Table 5.1: Table showing the distribution of the respondents along the four cluster

Source: Research Survey 2016

5.3 Section B: The Objectives:

1 The role played by organized labour in the transition to civil rule in May 1999 in Nigeria

This objective is aimed at evaluating the role played by organized labour in Nigeria's transition to civil rule in May 1999. In order to elicit extensive responses from the respondents the following interview questions were asked by the researcher: **Question 1:** In your own opinion, would you say Labour Unions played any significant roles in the political development of Nigeria during the colonial era? **Question 2:** To the best of your knowledge, would you say that Organised Labour contributed to the nation's attainment of independence in 1960? **Question 3:** In what specific way(s) do they contributed (if they do)? **Question 4:** In your own view, would you submit that Labour Unions were one of the catalysts to the emergence of democratic rule in Nigeria in 1999? **Question 5:** Could you please give some concrete example(s), if you so submit?

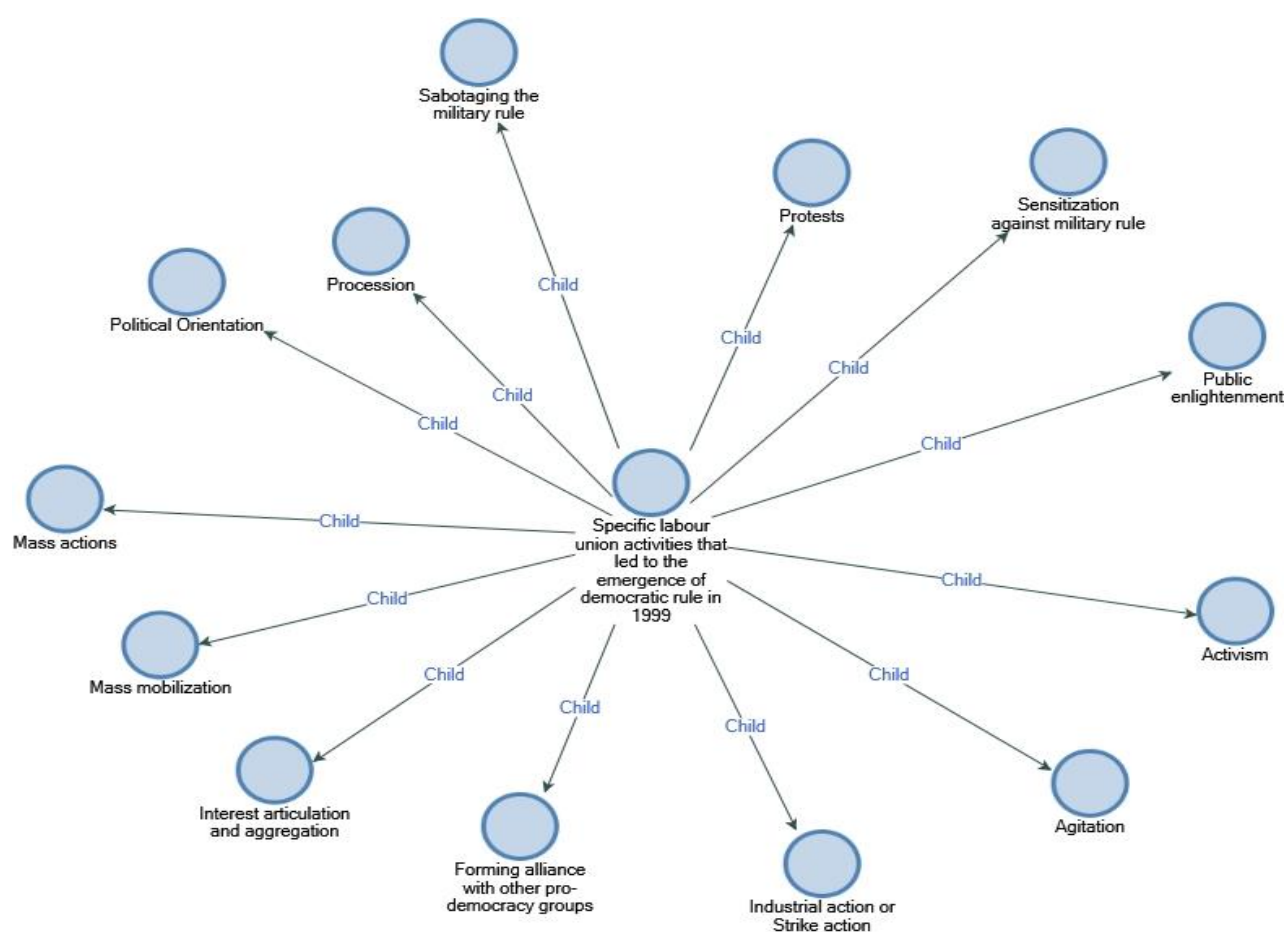
There was no major difference in the view of the respondents that the role played by organised labour in the political development of Nigeria during the colonial era was significant. For instance, **Respondent 1** submitted that *"The Efforts of Labour Union can't be discounted. Efforts of Pa Imodu was the bridging ground for the political emancipation of Nigerians that*

*led to the independence. Labour Union was an active, virile and veritable tool. They did very well". According to the **6th Respondent**: "Labour union during the colonial era were very instrumental to the decolonization process of Nigeria. The popular 1945 strike called by organised labour has remained in the book of history as one of the very fundamental activities that the labour union put forward during the colonization stage of Nigeria which contributed immensely to the decolonization of the country. There is no way we will talk about the activities that culminated in the independence of Nigeria in 1960 without mentioning the role of the labour unions, they contributed immensely".*

Similarly, all the respondents submitted that the roles played by the labour unions in Nigeria's transition to civil rule in May 1999 were significant. For example, in the submission of **Respondent 14**, *"yes, they really played a very significant role in the era of the military regime. Some of them have to go into exile, some incarcerated when they stood up and speak against the despondent military administrations. They were always consistency in the fight and in the struggle for the democracy to come into place". To Respondent 11: "Despite all the vicissitude of the roles - sometimes they played a pragmatic role, and, in some cases, they played a very reconciliatory role and in some cases adversary role- to a greater extent they played a significant role in ensuring the enthronement of democracy in 1999. They serve as an agency that set the agenda for Nigeria democratization. In a nutshell, labour movement helps greatly in terms of aggregating the interest of Nigerians and also in articulating same interest by way of sensitization and mobilization to stand up against both the colonial and military rules".*

Figure 5.1 shows the model of the specific labour union activities that led to the emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic as submitted by the respondents.

Figure 5.1: Model shows Specific Labour unions activities that led to democratic rule in 1999



Source: Generated by the author 2018

Interpretation:

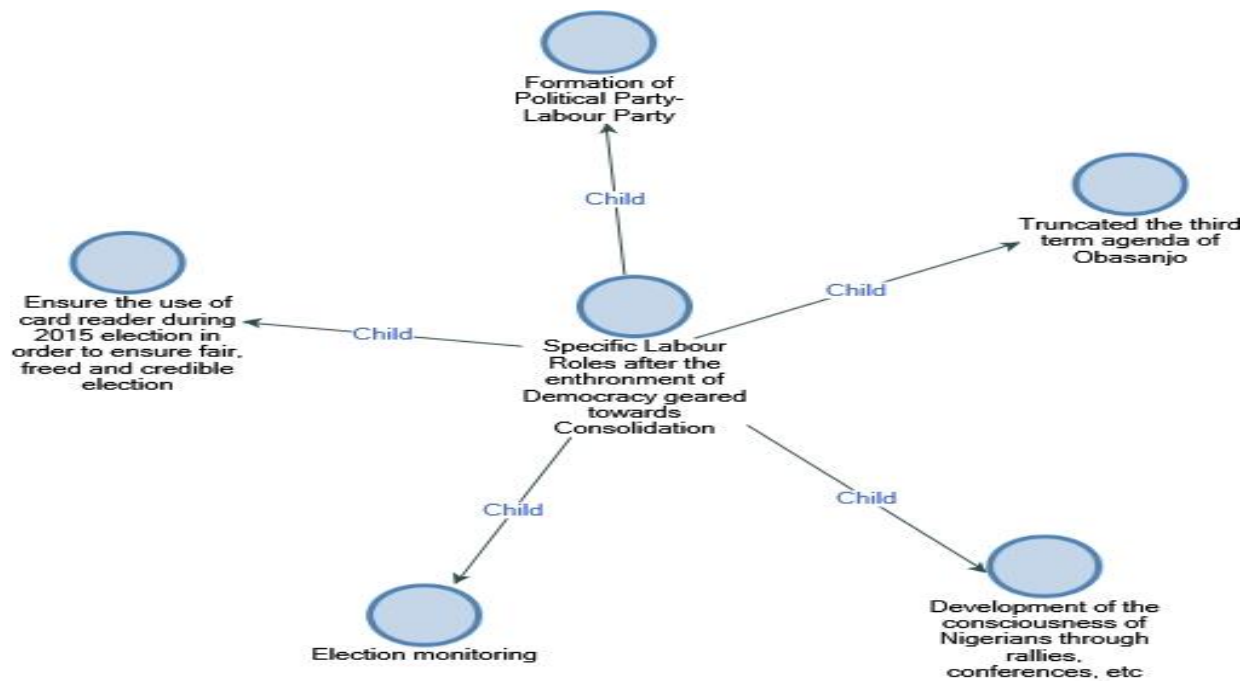
It is evident from the responses of all the respondents that labour union involvement in the Nigeria democratic history is dated back to the colonial period. Organised labour along with other actors actively participated in the decolonization process. While several factors may have contributed to the 1999 democratic transition, the labour union has been largely singled out by most of the respondents as being instrumental in the transition from authoritarian regimes to democracy in 1999. Specific labour unions' activities that eventually led to democratic rule in 1999 identified by the respondents (figure 5.2) includes: Agitation, activism, industrial action, forming alliance with other pro-democracy group, interest articulation and aggregation, mass mobilization, mass actions, political orientation, procession, sabotage, protests, sensitization and public enlightenment.

2 The performance of Nigeria Labour Congress in the quest for democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

This objective is aimed at assessing the performance of Nigeria Labour Congress after the transition to democratic rule and in Nigeria's quest to consolidate her hard-won democracy. The following interview questions were asked in order to elicit satisfactory answers from the respondents by the researcher: **Question 6:** By your own assessment, do you see organised Labour playing any significant roles since the enthronement of democracy in 1999? **Question 7:** Could you please avail with some example(s)? **Question 8:** Would you say, in your own opinion that the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) has contributed immensely to Nigeria's democratic consolidation process in the fourth republic? **Question 9:** If not, what in your candid opinion, is/are responsible for this? **Question 10:** Would you agree that the role been playing by Nigeria Labour Congress, after the enthronement of democratic government a decade and a half year ago has not been satisfactory?

While respondents expressed a divergent opinion in their assessment of the role being playing by organised labour since the enthronement of democracy in 1999 (responses to **question 6**). For instance, according to **Respondent 5**, *"NLC has been playing a significant role since the enthronement of democracy in 1999"*. For **Respondent 14**, *"the role they have significantly decreased over time. They still have a big role to play but due to a number of factors, the roles and influence have dwindled"*. To **Respondent 9**, *"Well, there is this argument that labour union and CSOs after ushering democracy failed to participate in it. Unfortunately, they were not visible again"*. In all, most respondents, however, believed the role being playing by organised labour after the transition is significant. Specific roles being played by labour after the 1999 transition geared towards democratic consolidation as identified by the respondents in their responses to **question 7** is illustrated in **Figure 5.2**.

Figure 5.2: Specific Labour roles after the transition geared towards Democratic Consolidation

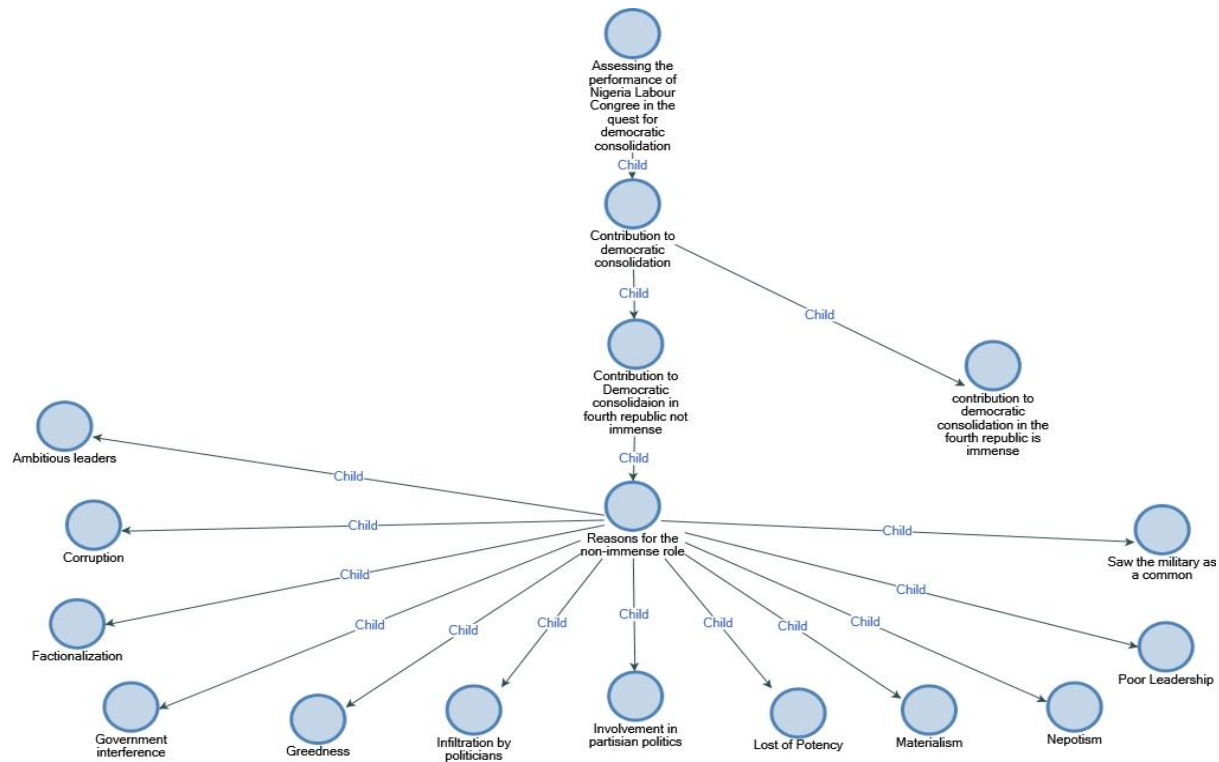


Source: Generated by the Author, 2018

The dimension of the responses to **question 8** was not significantly different from the responses to **question 6**. Respondents were divided between those who submitted that Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) has contributed immensely to Nigeria’s democratic consolidation process in the fourth republic and those who believed the contributions of NLC (if any) to democratic consolidation process in the fourth republic is not immense. For instance, according to **Respondent 15**, “yes, because they have been challenging the government on free, fair and credible elections. They have been challenging the government on the fight against corruption, on issues that have to do with the welfare of the citizens. Challenging government policies that are at variance with people e.g. removal of fuel subsidy by Jonathan led government”. For **R5**, “yes, that is my submission. To build more evidence, NLC went as far as creating a labour political organisation that was registered by INEC and they participated in the election...” However, to **Respondent 3**, “yes, to some extent. The last purposive leadership of NLC we had was during the Adams Oshiomhole, after that there has been decreased. Overall, they played some roles”. For **Respondent 1**, “after 1999, the only thing NLC is coming out to talk about are majorly remuneration. They have step back, especially when they are needed the most, to help instil better democratic practices. They only talk over salary increase”. It is necessary to note, however, that the majority of the respondents believed that the contributions of NLC to democratic consolidation process in the fourth republic were not immense. For the respondents who believed the contribution was not immense, factors were identified has been responsible

for this (in their responses to **question 9**). **Figure 5.3** shows the model of the assessment of the performance of the NLC in respect of their contribution to democratic consolidation and the identified reasons for non-immense contribution.

Figure 5.3: Contribution to Democratic Consolidation



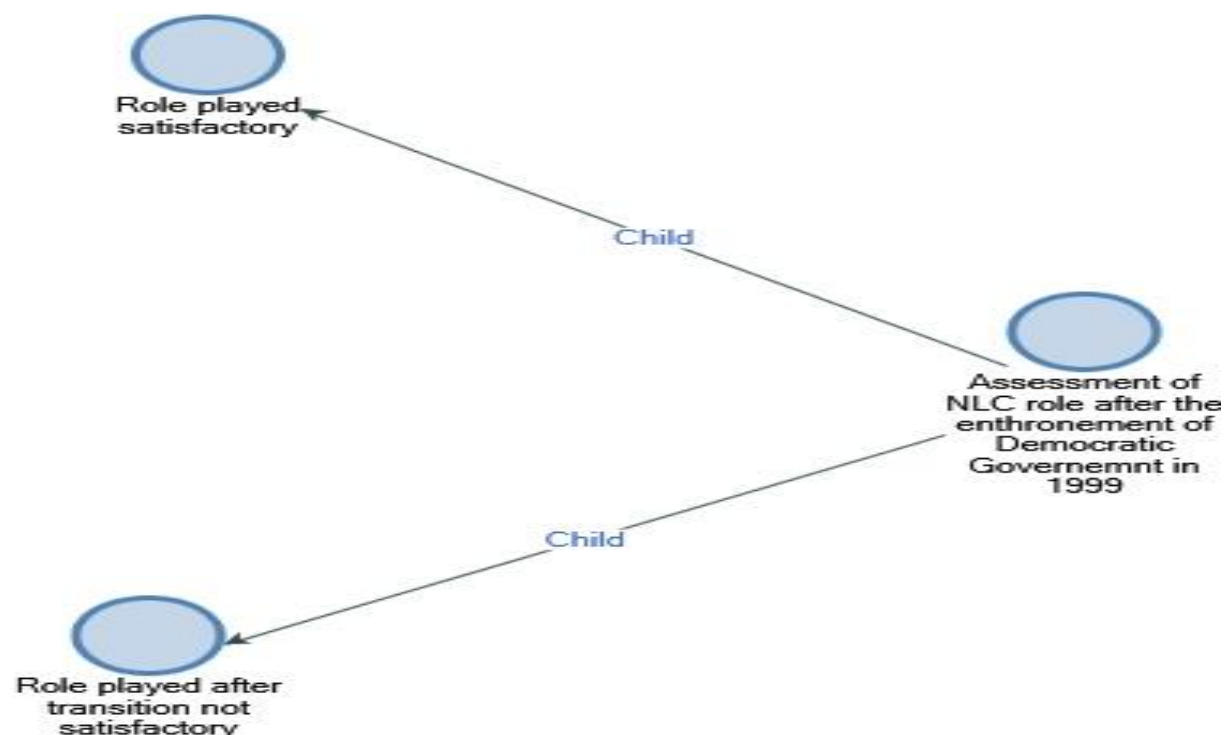
Source: Generated by the Author, 2018

To further assess the performance of NLC after the transition to democratic rule and in Nigeria's quest to consolidate her democracy, **question 10** was asked by the researcher. The pattern of responses was similar to that of **question 8**. Responses were divided between those who agreed that the role being playing by Nigeria Labour Congress, after the enthronement of democratic government a decade and a half year ago has not been satisfactory and those who were satisfied with the role being played by NLC. According to **Respondent 17**, *“to a reasonable extent, it has been satisfactory, even, if there have been cases of where they might fall short of Nigerians expectations”*. For **Respondent 19**, *“it depends on the way we look at it. When we say satisfactory, to who? To the labour or the people? If not for labour in this country, only God knows how much we will be buying fuel. Since the enthronement of democracy, no group has shown principled opposition to the government than labour. If you look at the working condition of Nigerians today, one may say their activities have not been satisfactory but in term of creating credible opposition to the government, in terms of challenging government obnoxious policies, I think labour can get a pass mark. But in terms of ministering to the overall*

welfare of the people, which is one of the mandates of the labour, we can say that it has not been satisfactory. But in term of democratic consolidation, until recently, labour will get a pass mark". To **Respondent 5**, "it is relative, NLC has not reached it is optimal, hence, I can say what they have done so far is commendable but not fully satisfactory because they have the potential to do more considering their years of existence, their size in term of affiliate members". While **Respondent 1** submitted as follows: "yes, it has not been satisfactory. It is abysmally poor. The only time they talk is when they want a salary increase". In the word of **Respondent 14**, "yes, it has not been satisfactory because most of its leaders are now more like politicians". To **Respondent 2**, "not satisfactory at all, I can't score NLC beyond or above 20%".

In sum, the majority of the respondents did agree that the role been playing by Nigeria Labour Congress, after the enthronement of democratic government a decade and a half year ago has not been satisfactory. **Figure 5.4** further illustrate the pattern of the assessment.

Figure 5.4: Model showing the assessment of the role being played by Nigeria Labour after the 1999 transition



Source: Generated by the Author, 2018

Interpretation:

It can be said from the above that Nigeria Labour Congress continue to play some significant roles after the enthronement of democratic rule in 1999. However, according to most of the

respondents, the roles have not been satisfactory. Much is still expected from the Congress by Nigerians. Specific Labour roles after the transition geared towards Democratic Consolidation as shown in **Figure 5.2** includes: Formation of political party – Labour Party; truncating Obasanjo’s term agenda; development of Nigerians’ consciousness through rallies, conferences etc. and election monitoring; ensured the use of card reader during the 2015 election in order to ensure free, fair and credible election. Similarly, it's obvious from the above that while NLC can be seen to be contributing to democratic consolidation process in Nigeria, the contributions have not been immense in accordance with the majority of the respondents. Reason for this, according to the respondents (as shown in **figure 5.3**), ranges from ambitious leaders to the fact that military was seen as the common enemy that must get rid of, at all cost. Hence, the attitude of the Nigeria Labour Congress since 1999 like that of other Civil Society Organisations, is comparable to the idea of “disintegration of a coalition as soon as the common enemy is removed”.

3 The vibrancy of Nigeria Labour Union in response to the political environment under which it operates

This objective is aimed at investigating whether the vibrancy of Nigeria Labour Union is in response to the political environment under which it operates. To elicit responses from the respondents, the researcher asked the following interview questions from the respondents:

Question 11: In your own estimation, do you see any significant difference in the vibrancy of Nigeria Labour Congress during the military regime and in the post-transition era? **Question 12:** If yes, what in your view could be responsible for this? **Question 13:** Do you see the political environment as one of the determinants of labour union vibrancy? **Question 14:** Would you agree that the existence of a vibrant Labour Union is central to the democratic consolidation process in Nigeria? **Question 15:** How would you describe the existing relationship between organised labour and the Nigerian government in the fourth republic?

In response to **question 11** virtually all the respondents (except for **Respondent 12** and **Respondent 16**), in their own estimations, observe a significant difference in the vibrancy of Nigeria Labour Congress during the military regime and in the post-transition era. While **Respondent 12** didn’t see any significant difference, to **Respondent 16**, *“the vibrancy is still there but you wouldn’t expect the labour to act the way they fought the military under democracy and that is what some people has mistaken for non-vibrancy”*. However, some of those who observed the significant difference has the following to say:

Respondent 6: *“of course, the more the problem, the more the activism. The NLC leaders are getting more relaxed now, during the military regime, they were on their toes. In the earlier stage of the democratic rule, they were averagely making sense built now, they are not any longer. The vibrancy of labour union during the military era when compared to the democratic era, they are simply incomparable. What we have then is something dependable and what we have now is quite saddening. I will advise they shouldn't be compared but if compared, what we have now is a shadow of what we have then”.*

Respondent 22: *“during the military era, I think labour unions were more active especially during the regime of comrade Hassan Sumonu. During the democratic era, they were vibrant up to a point, since Oshiomhole left, it appears to have been a decline, in fact, and right now there is division among the labour union, which has implications on their vibrancy”*

Respondent 14: *“yes, there is a big difference. The vibrancy then was very high during the military era and during this democratic era the vibrancy has gone down so much that some would argue including myself that is almost non-existent”.*

Respondent 1: *“there is a wide difference. On the scale of 1 to 10, in the past, they were vibrant as much as 7 closes to 8. Today, they are less than 3”.*

In all, most of the respondents see significant differences in the vibrancy of NLC's during and in the post-military era. For these respondents, several factors were identified to be responsible for this, in their responses to **question 12**. In order to dig deeper into the research question, respondents were further asked **questions 13** by the researcher. Most of the respondents see the political environment as one of the determinants of labour union vibrancy. Some of the responses given by the respondents are given below

According to **Respondent 9:** *“yes, the environment dictates the vibrancy. Because of the democratic structures, we have the national assemblies, the judiciary where grievances can be taken to, there are different channels where you can air your view unlike under the military rule where all channels were blocked”.*

To **Respondent 6:** *“yes, gone were the days when people didn't have a voice of their own and NLC remain the only rallying point (coordinating centre) ... The political system accommodates many people, the senators, the representatives, etc.”*

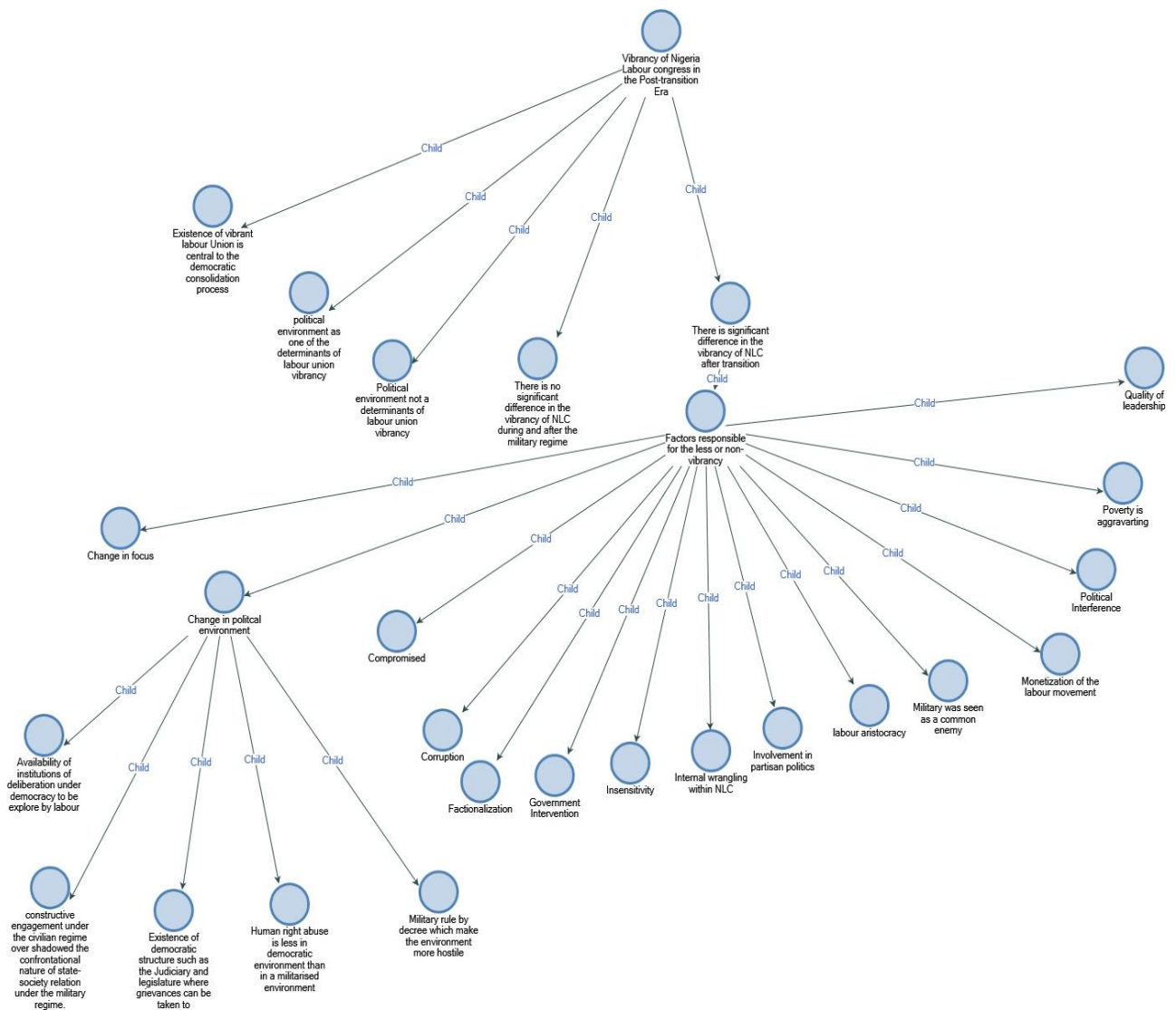
For **Respondent 11**: *“yes, the political environment is a major determinant of labour union performance, even the vibrancy of the labour movements because sometimes if the song changes the dance also changes to suit the situation”*.

While **Respondent 19** didn't see any significant changes between the “so-called democratic dispensation” and the military regime. **Respondent 12**, however, didn't see the political environment as one of the determinants of labour union vibrancy. In his words:

“Labour movement struggles against injustice as inflicted on workers, it is about exploitation, is about the magnitude of surplus extracted from them and what magnitude is given to them. It is a scientific thing, so the labour movement would be active under circumstance they are subjected to terrible oppression, in respective of the nature of the state. They would resist, they would fight. It is a natural contradiction between those who own means of productions and those who have not but their labour. So, it has nothing to do with political environment be it fascism, capitalism, liberalism, they would be struggle. The whole process is the process of struggle”.

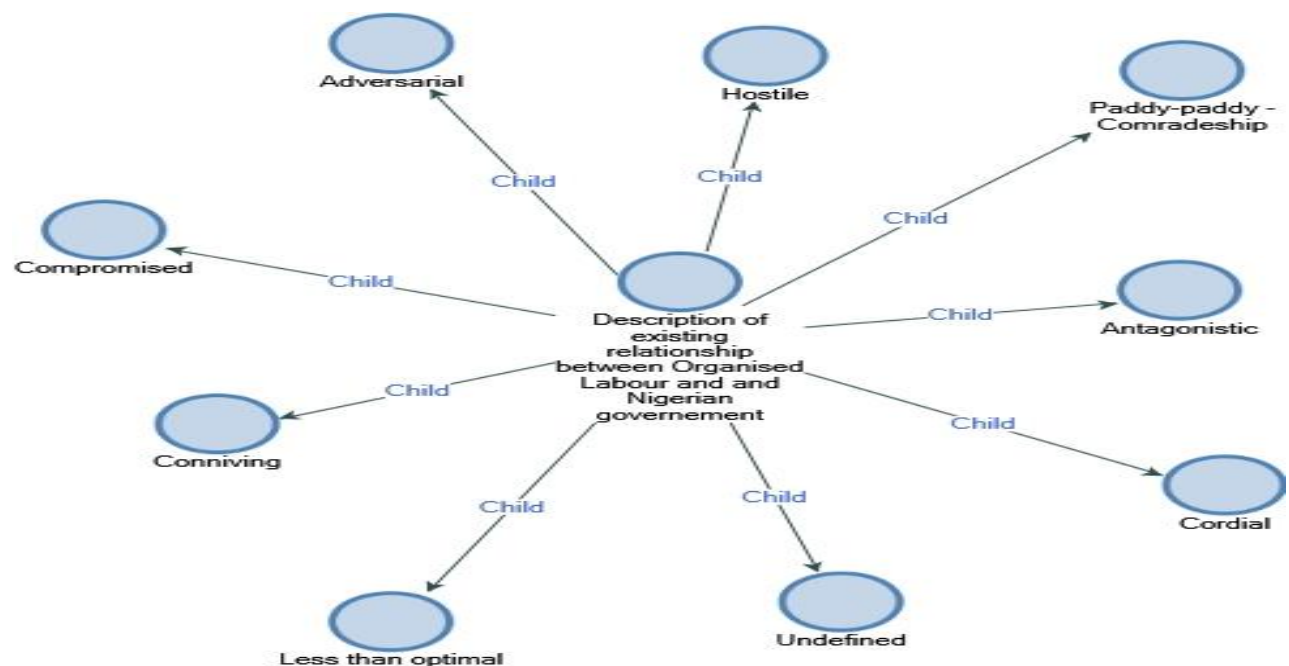
Meanwhile, there seems to be a consensus among the respondents in their response to **question 14**. In line with their responses, the existence of a vibrant Labour Union is central to the democratic consolidation process in Nigeria. **Figure 5.5** below shows the pattern of the responses on the investigation of NLC's vibrancy. In order to gain more insight into the vibrancy of organised labour in the fourth republic, the respondents were asked **question 15** by the researcher. The existing relationship between organised labour and the Nigeria government in the fourth republic was variously described by the respondents, which is illustrated by **figure 5.6**.

Figure 5.5: Model showing the pattern of responses to Nigeria Labour Congress's vibrancy



Source: Generated by the Author, 2018

Figure 5.6: Model showing the dynamics of existing relationship between Organised Labour and Nigeria Government



Source: Generated by the Author, 2018

Interpretation:

While there was almost a consensus from the responses of the respondents that the existence of a vibrant Labour Union is central to the democratic consolidation process in Nigeria. It is, however, discernible from the responses that there is a significant difference in the vibrancy of Nigeria Labour Congress during the military regime and in the post-transition era. Several factors, ranging from ‘change in focus’ to ‘quality of leadership’ were identified to be responsible for this, central to these factors was ‘change in the political environment’. Respondents that see the political environment as one of the determinants of labour union vibrancy argued, among other justifications, that constructive engagement under the civilian regime overshadowed the confrontational nature of state-society relation under the military regime. The existing relationship between organised labour and the Nigerian government in the fourth republic, which is a function of the Congress’ vibrancy, was not static. While the relationship at the beginning of the republic can be said to hostile, adversarial and antagonistic. The relationship now is seen as a compromised, conniving and more cordial.

4 Basic challenges militating against the effectiveness of Nigeria Labour Congress in consolidating democracy in Nigeria

This objective is aimed at identifying and analysing the basic challenges militating against the effectiveness of Nigeria Labour Congress in consolidating democracy in Nigeria and at finding possible ways of overcoming the challenges. In order to generate exhaustive responses from the respondents, they were asked the following interview questions by the researcher: **Question 16:** Would you say Strike as an instrument often used by NLC has not been effective? **Question 17:** In your own opinion, do you see the need for NLC to adopt a more productive weapon other than the strike in her disagreement with the government? **Question 18:** If yes, can you kindly suggest some alternatives to strike action by NLC? **Question 19:** Would you agree that Nigeria Labour Congress is about to lose its relevance among the Nigerian populace? **Question 20:** If yes, what, in your own opinion is/are responsible for this? **Question 21:** Do you see the need for NLC to be more effective as a member of civil society organisations? **Question 22:** What, in your view, is/are militating against NLC's effectiveness? **Question 23:** How in your opinion can this/these be overcome?

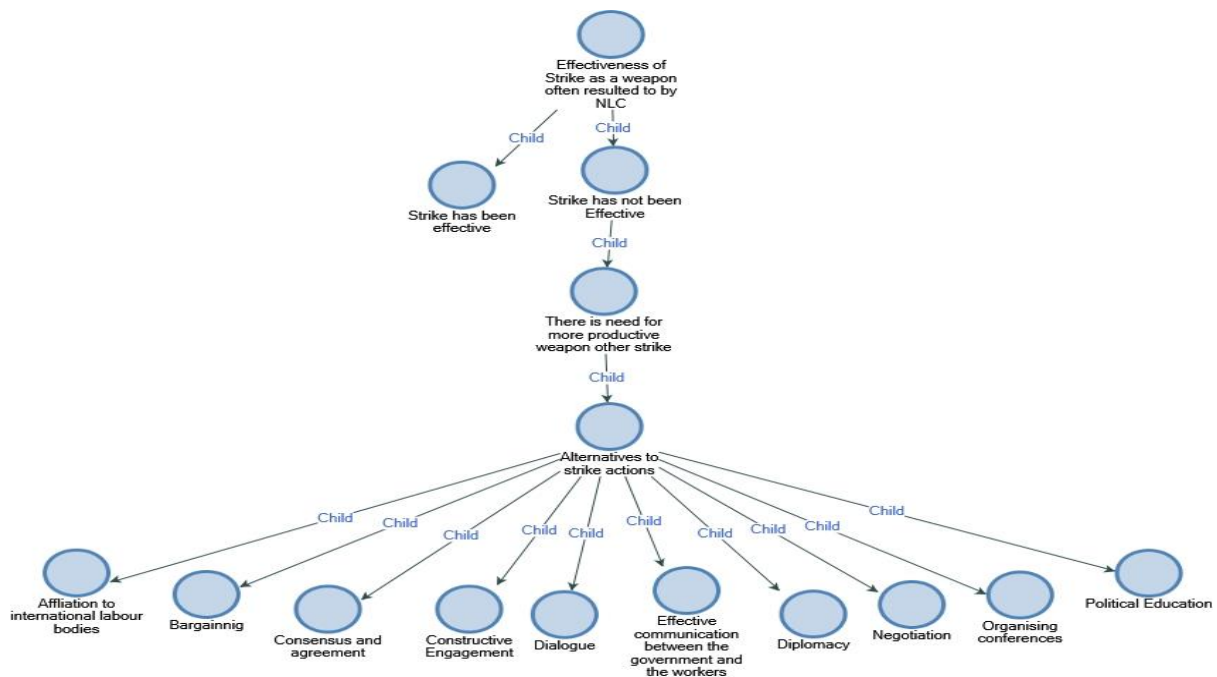
While some respondents in their responses to **question 16** believed strike, an instrument often used by NLC, has been effective. To **Respondent 10**, for instance, *“it has been effective; an industrial strike is a potent instrument of engaging the government, but it is always taking as the last resort”*. In **Respondent 5’s** words, *“to a large extent, it has been effective, particularly during the military era. In the fourth republic, it has been yielding results, it depends on the way we analyse effectiveness”*. Most respondents, however, see strike to be ineffective. For instance, According to **Respondent 3**, *“it has not been effective and I think it has lost its potency. When you use a tool too often even the people you are directing it at will no longer fear it. Hence, the organised labour needs to be more creative and come out with something new. The strike bite more the people expected to be protected”*. For **Respondent 6**, *“to me, strike is not a tool that is effective”*. To **Respondent 2**, *“it hasn't been effective, it has not brought the desired result”*. Adoption of a more productive weapon other than the strike by NLC in her disagreement with the government was the most held opinion by the respondents while responding to **question 17**. According to **Respondent 22**, *“I think they should look at other ways of putting across their grievances”*. For **Respondent 3**, *“certainly, strike has outlived its usefulness”*. Meanwhile, **Respondent 5** and **Respondent 12** didn't see any other productive weapon other than the strike.

According to **Respondent 5**: *"expect you will give us a more productive option. To a large extent, the alternative to strike is strike because that is the last option. What government is to do is to prevent strike from happening by doing the needful but if they continue not to do the needful there is no alternative as at now. Strike doesn't just come, they must have consulted, and dialogue before resulting to strike action, if the government had yielded to their demands, there wouldn't have been strike. In order to avoid strike, the government should be truthful and responsible"*.

For **Respondent 12**: *"Have you ever find an alternative to strike in the history of the labour struggles in the world? Strikes are recognised by both national and international labour laws of all modern states, so you can't criminalise it. And the modern capitalist mode of production has never invented an alternative to strike and nobody can do it under capitalism. Stop deceiving yourself that there is alternative to strike until there is no injustice, there will be no strikes. Justice is the only alternative to strike unless you are wearing the face of the employers and paying their politics and they say, 'stop strike'. When somebody is being cheated that he shouldn't protest, you beat him and say he shouldn't cry, that is what you are saying"*.

It is noteworthy that not all the respondents who see the need for NLC to adopt a more productive weapon other than strike were able to suggest alternatives weapon to strike action in their responses to **question 18**. For **Respondent 2**, *"I can't think of anyone now"*. However, for others, alternatives to strike action includes bargaining, negotiation, dialogues and host of others as represented in **figure 5.7**.

Figure 5.7: Model showing the pattern of responses to Effectiveness of Strike



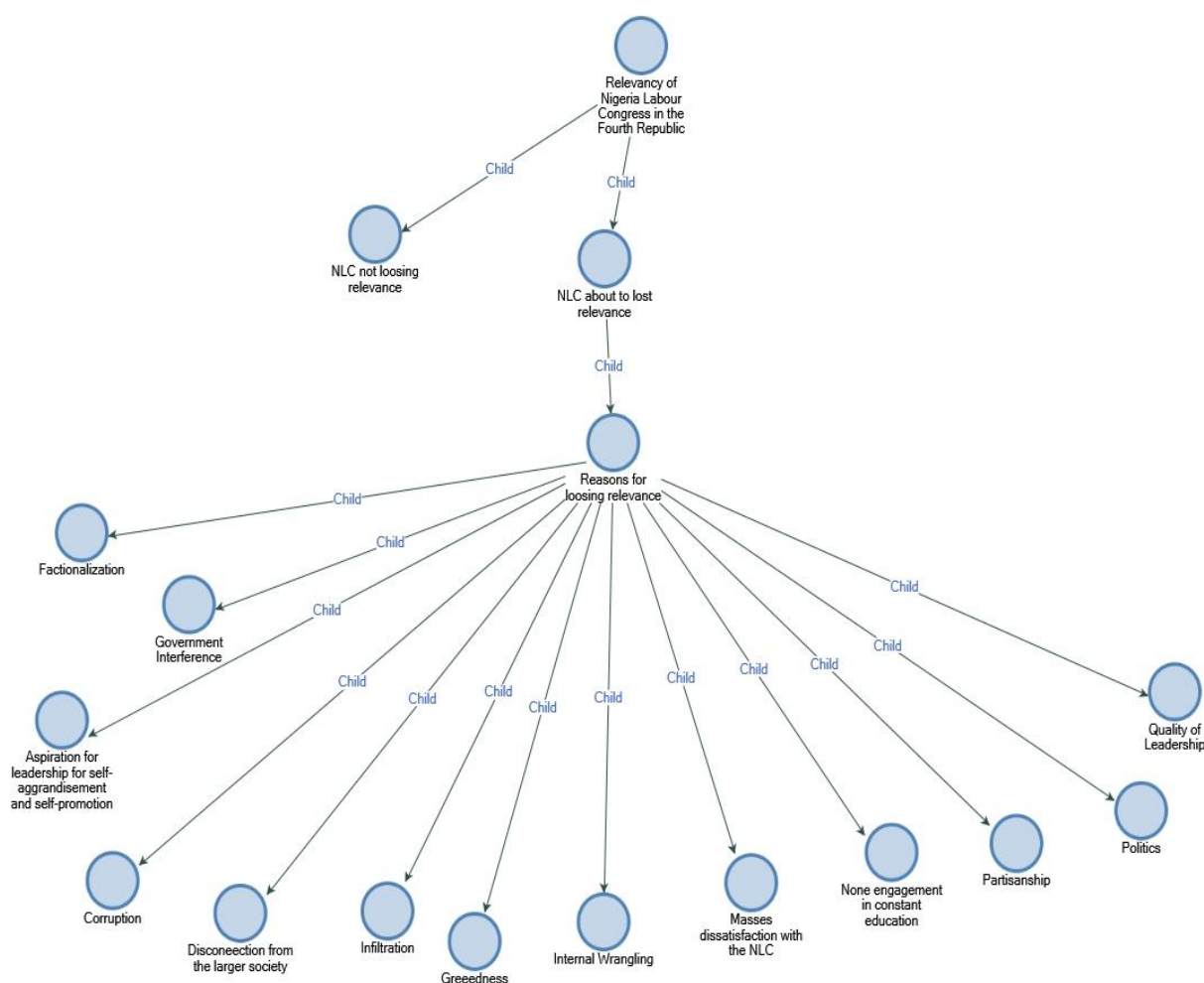
Source: Generated by the Author, 2018

In order to further address the research objective, respondents were asked **question 19**. To the minority of the respondents, NLC is still very relevant. In **Respondent 12's** word, *“no, it is not true, it is a propaganda. Unless you are saying Nigerian workers are completely irrelevant, then the labour movement would disappear. Are you saying that the Nigeria workers have lost their relevance in the economic development of this country? Is that what you are trying to say?”* For **Respondent 16**, *“they are relevant, and I am not seeing Nigeria people totally rejecting the relevance of labour”*. According to R19, *“I wouldn't say it has lost its relevance, I would say that people are somehow disenchanted, they may not be happy especially because of last failed protest which is also not the fault of the labour, the people just refused to mobilise. Yes, they may have their grouse with labour, but it doesn't mean labour has lost its relevance. So, it may not be correct to say that they have lost relevance but that they may “suffered popularity problem” among the people. Labour remains the only credible opposition that we have to the government as of today, no matter how weak they may be. Where are other CSOs, all of them are looking for government contract or donor agencies funding, is only labour, as weak as it appears to be, that is still showing some sparkle”*. However, most respondents either agreed that NLC is about to lose or has lost its relevance among the Nigerian populace. For instance, according to **Respondent 2**, *“it has lost its relevance totally, in my view, it is better we don't have NLC”*. In the same vein, **Respondent 3** submits, *“not just about to, it has certainly lost it. Now, they are even factionalised”*. For **Respondent 10**, *“they have lost their*

*bite, they have virtually lost their relevance". To **Respondent 6**, "as of today, the relevance is fading and if things continue this way, in the next ten years we will never remember there is a labour union in Nigeria".*

Factors responsible for this, in the opinion of the respondents, in their response to **question 20**, include among other factionalization, government interference, corruption and quality of leadership. **Figure 5.8** further illustrate the pattern of responses to the relevancy of NLC in the fourth republic.

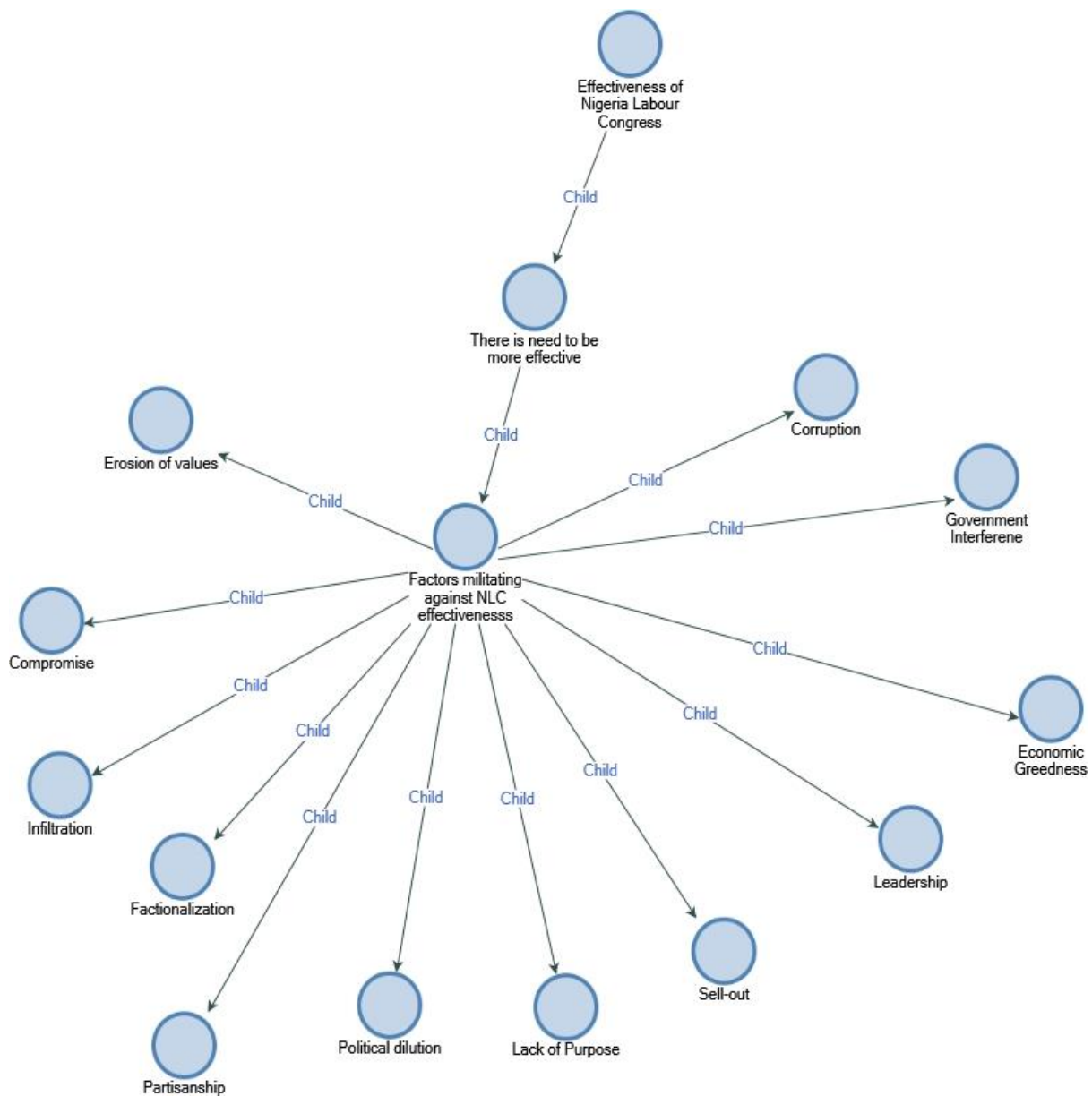
Figure 5.8: Model showing the pattern of responses to the relevancy of NLC in the Fourth Republic



Source: Generated by the Author, 2018

There seems to be a consensus among the respondents on the need for NLC to be more effective as a member of civil society organisations, in their responses to **question 21**. According to **Respondent 14**: “yes, there is a need to recalibrate and resuscitate NLC. NLC is only existing in name, is no longer functioning as it were. There is the need for it to have a rebirth and a refocus and re-strategized such that it becomes more potent, more relevant and more useful to the Nigeria society”. For **Respondent 19**: “yes, there is that need, in fact, NLC should begin to play its leadership role. I think that labour should begin to design strategies, begin to design modalities for building a mass popular support base for the people of Nigeria”. To **R3**: “certainly, they need to be more effective as a member of CSOs. To be more effective means they must speak to the issues that resonate with the society”. In response to **question 22**, several factors are militating against NLC’s effectiveness. In the view of the respondents, the problems militating against NLC’s effectiveness range from erosion of values to corruption. **Figure 5.9** shows the pattern of respondents’ assessment of NLC’s effectiveness.

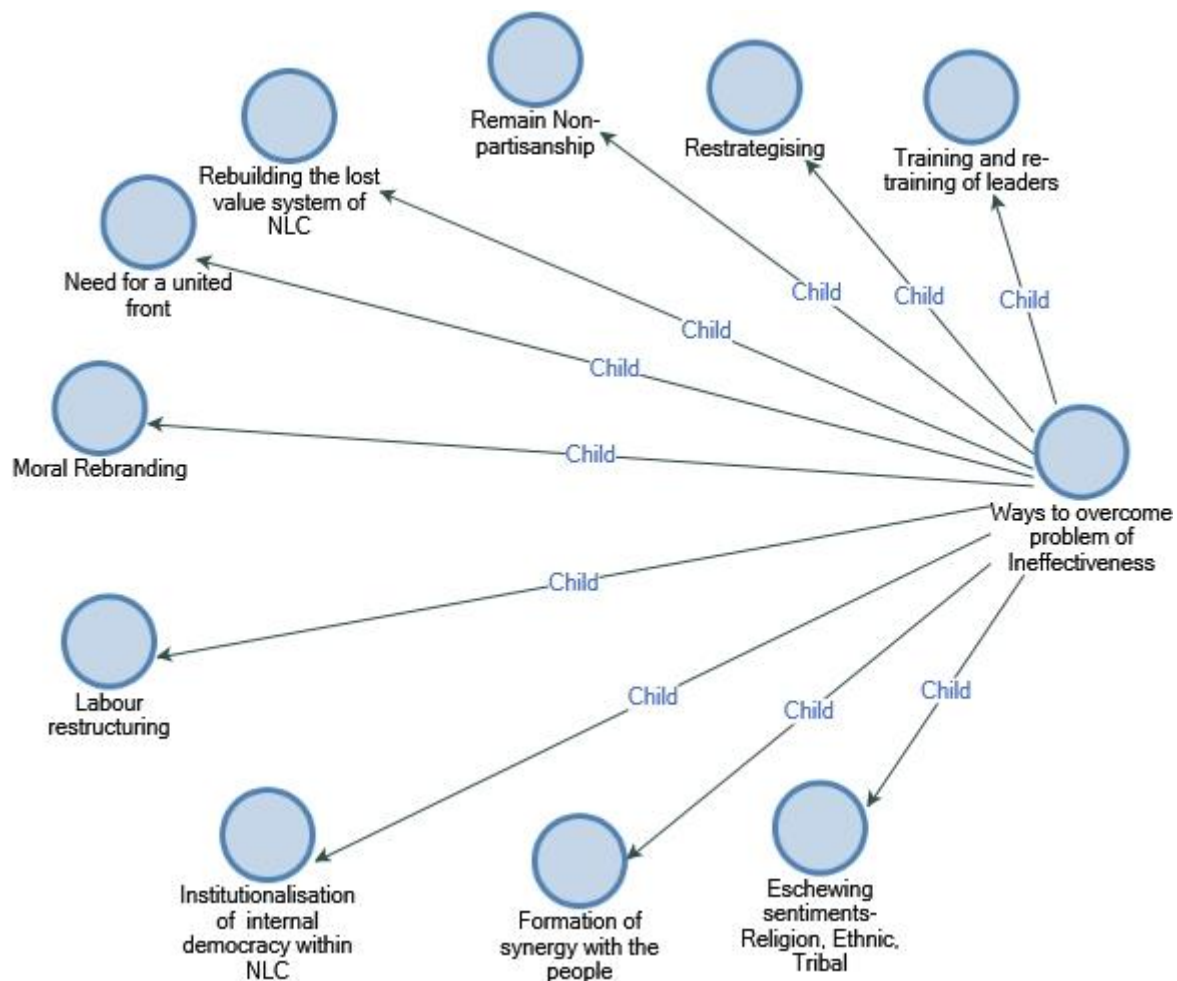
Figure 5.9: Model showing the pattern of respondents' assessment of NLC's effectiveness.



Source: Generated by the Author, 2018

Respondents in their responses to **question 23** suggested ways through which the problems militating against NLC's effectiveness can be overcome. **Figure 5.10** shows the model of the ways as suggested by the respondents.

Figure 5.10: Model showing the pattern of suggested ways to overcome the problem of Ineffectiveness



Source: Generated by the Author, 2018

Interpretation:

It is evident from the above that strike as an instrument often used by NLC has not been effective, hence, the need for NLC to adopt a more productive weapon in her disagreement with the government. Alternatives to strike, as suggested by the respondents, include bargaining, consensus and agreement, constructive, Negotiation, diplomacy etc. It can be concluded from the above that Nigeria Labour Congress is about to lose its relevance among the Nigerian populace. Factors responsible for this, in the opinion of the respondents, include government interference, corruption, quality of leadership, internal wrangling etc. It is evident therefore that NLC has not been too effective, hence, the need for NLC to be more effective as

a member of civil society organisations. The problems militating against NLC's effectiveness range from erosion of values to corruption.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented the result of the data analysis using the combination of both the manual qualitative method and the Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (Nvivo) in order to maximize the advantages of both methods. It is obvious from the above that the role played by organized labour in the transition to civil rule in May 1999 in Nigeria was significant. Specific labour unions' activities that eventually led to democratic rule includes: Agitation, activism, industrial action, forming alliance with other pro-democracy group and public enlightenment. While Nigeria Labour Congress continue to play some significant roles after the enthronement of democratic rule in 1999, the roles, however, have not been satisfactory. Though, several factors were responsible for the non-satisfactory role, at the centre of these is 'change in the political environment'. It is evidenced, therefore, that NLC has not been too effective. Problems militating against NLC's effectiveness range from erosion of values to corruption. It is instructive to note that this chapter will be central to the subsequent ones, chapter five and six, which will partly depend on this chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

LABOUR UNIONS AND NIGERIAN DEMOCRATIC EXPERIENCE: AN ASSESSMENT

6.1 Introduction

This chapter evaluates the role played by organised labour in the democratic history of Nigeria. The chapter addresses the first and second objectives of the study and shows that answers have been provided to the first and second research questions. The chapter relates the findings of the qualitative data as presented in chapter four to previous studies on the subject matter. To achieve this, the chapter is divided into two sections, with each section addressing each research objective.

6.2 Objective One: The role played by organized labour in the transition to civil rule in May 1999 in Nigeria

Objective one is discussed in relation to the following key factors, namely: (i) Labour and Nigeria's journey to independence in 1960; (ii) Labour Unions and the emergence of democratic rule in Nigeria in 1999.

6.2.1 Labour and political Process before Independence

Organised labour and indeed the labour union have taken up roles that go beyond their traditional role of protecting workers welfare and class liberation discussed in chapter two. Without a doubt, the history of organised labour in Nigeria and in some other place is firmly interwoven with the struggles for democratic ideals such as human rights, welfare, wage, equal franchise. As presented in chapter four, there was no major difference in the view of the respondents that the role played by organised labour in the political development of Nigeria during the colonial era was significant. According to Respondent 11:

Generally, if there were any serious threat against the colonial masters by the Nigeria CSOs, it actually came from the organised labour movement as at that time, not even the political parties (Interview, 2017).

Giving more insight into the above, Respondent 15 submitted as follows:

Yes, labour union played a significant role in the political development of Nigeria and it has been a role conferred or adopted or willingly went into by this organisation even before independence. As we know, the story started in early 1900 when we have the Nigeria Railway Association or Nigeria Railway workers and other civil society organisations forming little groups and trying to agitate for freedom. So, it has always been the agitation aspect of the society, they play a role (Interview, 2017).

Similarly, the respondents were unanimous in their responses that that Organised Labour contributed to the nation's attainment of independence in 1960. Respondent 1, for instance, believes that efforts of the labour movement in the anti-colonial's struggles cannot be discounted. For Respondent 10, *"there is no way we can write the struggle for independence in Nigeria without mentioning the labour unions. They played significant roles in liberating this country politically"* (Interview, 2017).

In the opinion of Respondent 6:

Yes, to a very reasonable extent, there is no way we will talk about the activities that culminated in the independence of Nigeria in 1960 without mentioning the role of the labour unions, they contributed immensely. They were one of the instruments that were significantly used in the process of decolonizing Nigeria (Interview, 2016).

In the response of Respondent 19:

Yes, they played a significant role, at least in mobilising the people against the shackles of colonialism especially the struggles led Pa Imodu in the Railway Workers Union where they assisted in galvanising anti-colonial movement in ensuring that obnoxious colonial policies as it affects the workers then were challenged. They led several protests challenging unfavourable colonial policies as at that time. So, one can safely conclude that they did play significant roles during the anti-colonial struggles (Interview, 2017).

Citing specific role played by labour during this period, Respondent 11 mentioned the Enugu coal massacre, Ekmuku society of Asaba and women riot in Abba. In his word:

Organised labour contributed significantly because if you look at the 1949 - Enugu coal massacre, the role of Ekmuku society of Asaba and women riot in Abba. All these, in their own ways also contributed. Their struggles forced the colonial masters to quickly push for independence. In a nutshell, labour movement did challenge the colonial masters on segregation, obnoxious and discriminatory policies, they also hasten the process of independence. In all, positive contributions were made by labour in Nigeria (Interview, 2017).

Giving more insight into the contributions of the labour movement, Respondent 11 further submits:

Nigeria labour movement under the Trade Union Congress (TUC) organised so many rallies, demonstrations and to a larger extent strikes, one of which was the 1945 strike called COLA led Pa Michael Imodu. They trekked from Ebute Meta to Victoria Island to challenge the colonial government obnoxious policies. The NCNC joined hand with the labour movement to challenge the policy. In fact, if there were any successful alliance under the umbrella of civil society before independence that NCNC/labour alliance is popularly mentioned today. Another contribution that we need to also underline is the fact that the labour was for example, although that happened in 1962

when there was that relationship of neo-colonialism between Nigeria and her formal colonial master, when they entered into Anglo-Nigeria defence pact, the pact was abrogated in 1962. The organised labour actually mobilised and sensitized the Nigeria society on the consequences of the pact/treaty. They serve as an agency that set the agenda for Nigeria democratization. In a nutshell, labour movement helps greatly in terms of aggregating the interest of Nigerians and also in articulating same interest by way of sensitization and mobilization to stand up against the colonial rule (Interview, 2017).

According to R1, *the down tool led by Pa Imodu brought a standstill to the operations of the "government of the day" - colonial masters. It brought about open doors to discuss independent (Interview, 2016).*

In sum, the empirical findings reveal that labour union involvement in the Nigeria political development is dated back to the colonial period. It is also evident that labour moment along with other actors actively participated in the process that led to the decolonization of Nigeria. These findings agreed with the previous studies that have been conducted on organized labour and Nigeria political development. For instance, Okafor and Malizu (2013) in a study on *the media, democracy and trade unionism in Nigeria* note that Nigeria labour has been in the vanguard of all national issues right from the colonial times, at independence and during the military era. It led the struggles, and bore hard repression from the state, particularly during the anti-colonial struggle (1940s-1960s) when the country was under the firm grip of the colonial master. A veteran labour writer, Pastor Umoh James Umoh, in his characterization of the anti-colonial struggles of labour movement that ultimately led to the country's independence submits that "all agitations for the improvement in salary and working conditions of Nigerian workers always had as its conclusion, the need for political independence" (cited in Lakemfa, 2012: para 3).

Literature on Nigeria Labour movement has also historicised the 1945 general strike mostly cited by the respondents. According to Yaqub (1994), the most celebrated, the most successful, and the most effective in impact among the labours anti-colonial struggles was the General Strike of 1945. The strike, which was in protest of the government's refusal to increase wages after years of severe inflation, lasted for 44 days in Lagos and continued for as long as 52 days in the provinces. During the strike, economic activities with exception of the essential services like electricity and hospitals were paralyzed throughout the country. The strike culminated in the establishment of the Tudor Davies Commission in 1945 whose report among others upheld the grudges of the workers against high cost of living; awarded increase in the cost of living allowance (COLA), removed the restrictive legislation on trade union activities and made other

recommendations (Awoniyi, 1996; Osiki, 2009; Ubaku et al., 2014). The colonial government was also compelled by the strike action to place a premium on labour matters, leading to the creation of a Department of Labour and enactment of Trade Disputes and Arbitration Ordinance. In this respect the remarks of the Tudor Davies Commission assume a prophetic character:

It is apparent that the influence and power of the Nigerian Trade Unions for good or ill should not be underestimated, for if their organisational strength – financial and numerical – is small what may be termed their operational strength is great (para.83, p.23).

This finding also corroborates previous studies such as Sunmonu (1997); Abiodun (1997); Lakemfa, (2009) and Sklar (2015). In the opinion of Lakemfa, another heroic event in the anti-colonial struggles of the labour movement was the protests that followed the shooting of defenceless Nigerians coal miners at the Iva Valley Mine. On 18 November 1949, European superior Police Officers and men of the Nigeria Police detachment led by F.S. Philip, a Senior Superintendent of Police (SSP), opened gunfire on the innocent miners. The shooting claimed at least 21 lives among the striking miners while 51 others were seriously injured, 29 of whom were hospitalized for several weeks. In response to the killing, labour and other nationalists didn't only agonize, they also organised. There were protests in Enugu, with delegates sent from Lagos. According to Sunmonu (1997), the 21 Enugu coal mine martyrs was the whistle that blew the start of the race for the demand for independence. For Abiodun (1997), the killing constituted a major element of the anti-colonial struggle, it rekindled political activities, as well as the nationalist struggles. Thereafter, the labour movement became more concerted in their anti-colonial and more dedicated to the achievement of decolonization in Nigeria within the shortest possible time or immediately (Sklar, 2015).

The NCNC/labour alliance alluded to by Respondent 11 is in line with what Awoniyi (1996) documented in his study *“Trade Unions and the Political Process”*. According to him, the first attempt of trade unionism into the national democratic process was the participation in 1942 of two labour activists in the activities of Nigeria Reconstruction Group (NEC), a small private study group set up by Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe. The group, which was made up of fourteen people, with a representative of the Nigerian Union of Teachers, Mr E.E. Esua and a member representing the Railway Workers Union, Chief Michael Imoudu as members. This group, according to Awoniyi (1996), researched into Nigeria's political, social, economic and cultural problems and their efforts came to a climax with the formation of the National Council of

Nigeria and Cameroons in 1944, which was later changed to the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC). Two years after its formation, a nationwide tour was organised by NCNC to protest against some clauses in the Richards Constitution (new constitution) considered obnoxious. Among the delegates for the protest was Michael Imuodu who was the leader of the first central labour organisation (see Awoniyi: 1996; Osiki, 2009; Ubaku et al., 2014).

6.2.2 Labour Unions and Democratic Process in the Post-independence Nigeria

While several factors may have contributed to the 1999 democratic transition, the labour union has been largely singled out by most respondents as being instrumental in the transition from authoritarian regimes to democracy in 1999. According to Respondent 15:

They (labour unions) really played a very significant role during the era of the military regime. Some of them have to go on exile, some incarcerated when they stood up and speak against the despondent military administrations. They were always consistency in the fight and in the struggle for the democracy to come into place (Interview, 2017).

In the submission of Respondent 14:

Yes, one can say that labour unions played a role or they were part of the platform that ushered in democratic rule in 1999 because they were also part of the struggles of NADECO, as it was then known. They were part of the group that fought the military to standstill prior to 1999 full-blown civil rule in Nigeria. So, one can say without fear that they also contributed to democratic rule in 1999 (Interview, 2017).

For Respondent 19,

Yes, if you look at the activities immediately before 1999, you find the labour movement playing very active roles, particularly in showing support for groups and individuals who as at that time were at the vanguard of challenging the military who had taking over the reign of power at that time. If you look at labour movement and other CSOs one can conclude that yes, they assisted in a great deal in making sure that the military goes back to the barracks and in enthroning civil rule in Nigeria (Interview, 2017).

According to the respondents, labour union leaders launched themselves back into the struggle in the latter years of independence. Respondent 23 recalls thus:

When there was an electoral crisis in 1964, labour called a general strike to force the government to respect the ballot box and its results.

For Respondent 17:

You could recollect that just after the civil war, General Yakub Gowon promised to hand over power to civilian government by 1975. Shortly after, with oil-boom and other economic advantages, he said 1975 is no longer realistic, the labour protest that greeted this statement of his led to the coup of Muritala Muhammad who later promised to hand-over by 1979. So, if not for the protest or the agitations of the labour union may be Gowon would have rule till eternity. The birth of the fourth republic, I will see

it as a product of the struggles of NLC. After the 3rd republic was finally truncated by General Sanni Abacha, for up to a year, the NLC made Nigeria ungovernable for the military government. There were a lot of protests, strikes. They organised Nigerians to resist the military government. Eventually, the military break their files and ranks, and a lot of people were killed, a lot went into exile, a lot of labour union leaders were sacked. Despite all these, they insisted that a new civilian government must come on board. After Abacha, Abubakar came in and after few months, the fourth republic was birthed (Interview, 2016).

The above agreed with the previous studies that have the post-independence struggles of labour union chronicled. Yaqub (1994) in a study on the *contribution of labour to the democratization Process in Nigeria* considers the 1964 strike to be highly successful and resulted in substantial concessions to the workers. He further notes that the military intervention did not have an impact on the labour's contribution to the democratization process in the country.

While labour's struggles against the dictatorial policies of successive military regimes were alluded to by the respondents, it is instructive to note that the struggles that followed the annulment of June 12, 1993, election were frequently mentioned and discussed by the respondents. Respondent 9 for instance, submits thus:

After the annulment of June 12 election, the NUPENG and PENGASSAN were at the forefront and gave the military a tough time. And because of their activities, we were able to attain democracy. At a point, Abacha had to proscribe the NLC and that shows that they were very important and they were able to challenge the military rulers then. This democratic dispensation wouldn't have come to be if not for the support of NLC. Mobilization and sensitization against military rule. Sabotaging the military rule. All these are the indirect ways (Interview, 2017).

For Respondent1:

With reference to the June 12 election and the protest that greeted it, definitely, Labour Union played a major role because it was the popular demands. Labour participation was in response to the yearnings of the Nigerians. Protest, mass actions, from NUPENG to PENGASSAN led by Frank Kokori shut down a major source of income for Nigeria with the belief that if the major source for Nigeria is shut down, the government will feel the impact and (they do) they wouldn't be able to meet their responsibilities, hence, there will be mass action against them (Interview, 2016).

In the opinion of Respondent 19:

NLC provided support for NADECO who has the vanguard of challenging the annulment of June 12, 1993 election which later brought in General Sanni Abacha. Concretely you will find out that it was the labour movement who mobilised other organisations including CSOs to challenge the continued attempt by Abacha to metamorphose into a civilian president. The labour movement as at time helped against providing enabling environment for Abacha in transforming into a civilian government. Beyond that, they also organised a series of activities in mobilising the

people to realise that the time has come for democracy to take root in Nigeria. So, if sum all these activities together, it is correct to say that they played a significant role in Nigeria democratic journey (Interview, 2017).

The results of these findings have been well documented by previous studies. However, while the respondents identified NLC with the June 12's struggle, it is of note that the position of the NLC leadership under Pascal Bafyau over the annulment was rather suspicious as chronicled in the previous studies. In the account of the June 12 struggle given by Omotosho and Oyeranmi (2014), the leadership of the union at the centre was less assertive in their position than other civil society organisations which had merged into a dedicated opposition to the issue. All the same, it could be inferred that labour had been compromised. This lukewarm attitude of NLC leadership, in the opinion of Iyayi (2008), could be traced to Bafyau's extensive informal networks with the military regime and his inability to become Abiola's running mate. Giving credence to the above assertion was the submission of Momoh that:

When Babangida annulled the election, Bafyau was complacent or indifferent. He contended that it was an 'intra-bourgeoise conflict' and labour should not be involved. He went further to say that the June 12 matter could divide the ranks of the NLC and weaken it. For him, Labour's unity was more important than the issues at stake; justice and democracy (1996:64).

The following further illustrate the shifty nature position of NLC leadership: the first public statement on the June 12 election by NLC was made on 28 June 1993. In the statement, rather than condemn the Government's suspending the announcement of the election results and ask it to respect the wish of the electorates, the NLC President called on the government to "make an immediate and categorical statement on why it subverted the wishes and will of the Nigerian people..." as expressed in the June 12 election. Of course, government, obviously on a cue, issued a press statement through Nduka Irabor (Momoh, 1996:64). Unlike the NLC president, Bafyau that was less assertive, the declaration of Central Working Committee (CWC) of the NLC that the annulment is not acceptable to the working people and the nation showed that "it was opposed to the military, supported most of the demands of the pro-democracy groups and other popular movement, and was prepared to commit itself to a popular struggle for military disengagement from politics and the restoration of democracy" (Ihonvbere 1997: 83).

The heroic struggles of other affiliate unions of NLC mentioned by the respondents were documented by Lakemfa (1997) in his work, *The Trade Union Movement: Travails and Struggles*. According to him, several affiliate unions of NLC such as the National Union of Petroleum and National Gas Workers (NUPENG) embarked on a strike, which lasted for eleven days and in the process paralyzed all sectors of the economy. He further noted that the

impressive struggles waged by the other civil societies such as Campaign for Democracy (CD), NUPENG and PENGASSAN strongly influence the position of National Executive Council (NEC) of NLC. It was in the face of these actions led by the NLC and other civil societies that Babangida had to bow to pressure and resigned on the 26 August 1993 (see Akintola, 2002; Ihonvbere and Vaughan, 2003; Falola and Heaton, 2008).

Specific labour activities that eventually led the emergence of democratic rule in 1999 as identified by the respondents include protest, mass actions, mass rally, strike action, etc. (see figure 5.1). On the specific roles played by labour, some respondents submit as follows: For Respondent 5:

The labour movement was at the centre of the struggle, for example, an affiliate of the NLC, ASUU went on several protests, and several campaigns within and outside the university to force the military junta to relinquish power in 1999. Apart from ASUU, the parent body, NLC, were at the forefront of that struggle, the like of Kokoori who was the leader of NUPENG or PENGASAN as at that time and a number of them in the CLO which interact and relate with NLC actually fought on the street particularly when the June 12, 1993 election was truncated, the labour movement went on rampage, went on the street to protest the annulment, interact with the international communities and pro-democracy groups to ensure that democracy is enthroned in Nigeria in 1999 (Interview, 2016).

To Respondent 1,

Protest, mass actions, from NUPENG (The Nigeria Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers) to PENGASSAN (The Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria) led by Frank Kokori shut down a major source of income for Nigeria with the belief that if the major source for Nigeria is shut down, the government will feel the impact and wouldn't be able to meet their responsibilities, hence, there will be mass action against them. Nigeria Union of Journalist (NUJ) agreed to move against the government and make sure every publication of theirs were against the government. Then, there were more of activist journalists rather than professional journalists. The editorials, the views from every newspaper were tailored towards the return to democracy. So, it wasn't a victory for political actors alone, it was majorly a victory for all including the NUJ, NUPENG, NLC, PENGASSAN and civil servants (Interview, 2016).

Chronicling some of the struggles of the labour union during the period, Respondent 6 submits thus:

Prior to 1999, during the military era, especially between 1983 when General Buhari took over up to 1993, the labour union were very instrumental. The annulment of June 12 election was responded to, among several institutions, the labour unions and they did a great job in ensuring that the government of Babaginda step-aside. Even after the ouster of Babaginda, the introduction of Shonekan led interim government and the

Abacha's coup, the labour union were still active. They serve the purpose of mobilisation towards achieving return to the civil rule in 1999 (Interview, 2016).

In the narrative of Respondent 3:

When Abacha wanted to transform self from military to civilian in a concocted manner, the labour leader rose unto the occasion, particularly when the five political parties adopted Abacha. The role they played in assisting NADECO and indeed NADECO couldn't have done anything without the labour movement particularly NUPENG that was at the heart of Nigeria economy because they were in the oil industry (R3).

In the submission of Respondent 5,

The mass rally they organised during Abacha, the labour counter the two million march organised in support of Abacha with 5 million march against him. Street protest is one of the instruments used then and it worked (Interview, 2017).

The above submissions and findings validate the existing studies such as Nwoko (2009); Popoola (2012); Oyelere (2014) that the activism demonstrated by labour union on the Nigerian political landscape became more noticeable under the dictatorial era of General Ibrahim Babangida and during General Abacha's regime. However, the narrative of Ngara and Esebonu (2012) on the 5 million march against Abacha's self-succession bid was at variance with that of the findings. Unlike the respondent that credited the organisation of the 5 million-man march to the NLC, in the opinion of Ngara and Esebonu (2012), the march was organised by the United Action for Democracy (UAD) led by Olisa Agbakoba. That which is incontrovertible, however, is the fact that the march was organised in response to the two-million-man march inspired by some shadow political groups that went by the name Youths Earnestly Asks for Abacha (YEAA) and the National Council of Youth Association of Nigeria (NCYA).

6.3 Objective two: The performance of Nigeria Labour Congress in the quest for democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

This section assesses the performance of Nigeria Labour Congress after the transition to democratic rule and in Nigeria's quest to consolidate her hard-won democracy. The section addresses the second objective of the study and shows that the second research question is adequately answered. As revealed by the results of the findings presented in chapter four, Nigeria Labour Congress continue to play some significant roles after the enthronement of democratic rule in 1999. According to most of the respondents, the roles have not been too satisfactory though. Much is still expected from the Congress by Nigerians. Similarly, it's obvious from the findings that while NLC can be seen to be contributing to democratic consolidation process in Nigeria, the contributions have not been immense in accordance with most of the respondents.

Specific labour activities after the 1999 transition geared towards democratic consolidation as represented in **figure 5.2** includes: formation of political parties – Labour Party (LP); truncating the third term agenda of president Obasanjo; developing the consciousness of Nigerians through rallies, conferences etc.; election monitoring; ensuring electoral credibility through the use of card reader. This chapter thus relates the findings as presented in chapter four to previous literature on the subject matter. In doing this, the performance of Nigeria Labour Congress geared towards democratic consolidation after the transition to democratic rule is discussed in relation to these three indicators, namely;

- i. Guaranteeing free, fair and credible Elections,
- ii. Guarding against democratic threats,
- iii. Influencing public policy.

6.3.1 Guaranteeing Free, Fair and Credible Elections

As presented in chapter four, respondents were divided between those who believe that Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) has contributed immensely to Nigeria's democratic consolidation process in the fourth republic and those who see the contribution of NLC (if any) to democratic consolidation process in the fourth republic has been not immense. However, the majority of the respondents identifies ensuring free, fair and credible elections as one of the major activities of labour union after the 1999 transition that has helped deepen Nigeria democracy. Some of the labour's activities geared towards this, as submitted by the respondents, include agitation for free and fair elections; participation in election monitoring as observers, calling for electoral reforms and advocating for the use of card reader. According to Respondent 11,

In the area of democracy and democratic consolidation, NLC is always in favour of democracy, participated in transition monitory group (TMG) for the credibility of the Nigeria elections. It also participated in the Justice Uwais Electoral Reform Committee (Interview, 2017).

In the opinion of Respondent 5:

They have also participated in the electioneering process to act as observers during elections in order to ensure that elections are conducted in a free and fair manner. Likewise, in the area of political education, they have helped to mobilise the Nigeria workers to participate fully in the electoral process (Interview, 2016).

Respondent 15 noted that:

Organised labour has been challenging the government on free, fair and credible elections and continuously call for electoral reforms (Interview, 2017).

The results of these findings relate to the previous studies that were conducted on Nigeria electoral process. With 1999 election marred by electoral malpractices, issue of a free, fair and credible election has become a major challenge in the Nigeria democratic experience. People begin to gradually lose faith in Nigeria's electoral process, which raises the concern of the labour movement. The 2003 general elections in Nigeria provided the NLC with an opportunity to restore people's faith. As noted by Omotola (2006), the beliefs of labour that the fairness and credibility of electoral process can be fostered through election monitoring informed the formation of Labour Election Monitoring Team (LEMT) ahead of the 2003 election (Omotola, 2006). LEMT has since 2003 become an active participant in the nation's election alongside several Nigerian civil society groups as Domestic Observers. Corroborating this, Eze and Chinwuba (2015) submit that NLC and other relevant stakeholder evolved a whole lot of strategies to prevent incidents of electoral malpractices, which characterised previous elections. Initiatives put in place by these stakeholders at ensuring a transparent and peaceful poll that would lead to a civilian-civilian government includes workers civic education and election monitoring.

Omotola (2011a), in a study on *electoral reform and the prospects of democratic consolidation in Nigeria*, alluded to the role played by NLC in the electoral reform process as revealed by the study. According to him, labours led the struggle for electoral reform geared towards the attainment of institutional and administrative autonomy of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), given the colossal failure of the 2007 general elections. These emerging signs of pervasive confidence in electoral reform, especially within labour unions and other civil societies partly informed the setting up of the Justice Uwais Electoral Reform Committee by President Yar'Adua (also in fulfilment of his inaugural speech). Knowing the effect of electoral reform on the prospects of effective electoral governance and democratic consolidation in Nigeria, the NLC didn't only supported the committee but actively participated as a member.

Similarly, Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), in furtherance of its struggle for the reform of Nigeria's electoral management body (EMB), embarked on protest demanding the removal of the INEC Chairman, Prof Maurice Iwu. His removal, the NLC believe, will ensure free, fair and credible elections. The INEC helmsman failed to secure another time in office due to the pressure mounted on President Jonathan by organised labour and other civil societies (Soweto, 2010; Muttaqa, 2011).

Another way through which NLC ensures free, fair and credible elections in Nigeria, as submitted by some of the respondents, was the efforts put in place by the Congress towards the use of card for the 2015 election. Respondent 17, for instance, recalls:

When the former President Dr Goodluck Jonathan wanted to stop INEC from using card readers and from engaging in some practices that Nigeria felt will disrupt the conduct of a free and fair election, labour was at the forefront. They championed the use of card readers as proposed by INEC. They even prevented the then president from removing the then INEC Chairman- Prof Athairu Jega (Interview, 2017).

The above confirms the extant literature such as AdamuMakama and Muhammed (2015); Alebiosu (2016); Dahiru, et al. (2017). According to AdamuMakama and Muhammed (2015), concerns over the problems of election rigging and other forms of election malpractice informed the plan of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to introduce the use of card reader machines ahead of the 2015 general elections. The plan was greeted with vehement opposition when it was first announced by some Nigerians, especially politicians who are usually the direct beneficiary of electoral frauds. While the public outcry that greeted the planned introduction of the machines was enough to discourage INEC to continue with the plan, the NLC was counted among other stakeholders that insisted on its use. As noted earlier, NLC believed the use of the smart card readers in determining the authenticity of permanent voter cards during the 2015 general elections will go a long way to make the election more credible, transparent, free and fair. After the election, NLC didn't only praise INEC for the success recorded as a result of the technologically based innovations, the electoral body was enjoyed to ensure that its use become a legitimate integral part of the country's electoral laws and system (Alebiosu, 2016; Dahiru, et al., 2017).

It is instructive to note that the use of card reader machine has not only ensured transparency and credibility of the nation's elections, it has also rekindled public trust and confidence in the electoral process, which is one of the basic ingredients of consolidated democracy.

6.3.2 Guarding Against Democratic Threats

Insights into the interviews conducted suggest that some of the specific labour activities after the transition to democratic rule in 1999 stated by the respondents were geared towards safeguarding democracy from several incidents that have threatened the consolidation process. Such activities, in the submission of the respondents, include: the role played during former President Obasanjo's third agenda and during late President Yar'adua's health crisis.

Cataloguing the contributions of NLC to the process of democratic consolidation, Respondent 11 submits thus:

...First, they were principal to the abortion of 3rd term agenda of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo... (Interview, 2017)

To Respondent 24:

NLC frustrated Obasanjo's third term ambition... (Interview, 2017).

It is aptly to note that the journey to democratic consolidation since the rebirth of democracy in 1999 has been both stormy and bumpy. There have been several incidents that have threatened the consolidation process, one of such was an attempt in 2004 by former President Obasanjo to extend his term in office as against the two terms of a four-year term constitutionally allowed for elected governor and president. An effort at amending the constitution to allow him to run for a third term in office heated the Nigerian political space to the point that it almost plunged the country into a political stalemate. Obasanjo's third term agenda was not only undemocratic but a threat to the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria (Okem, 2013). The findings support Egwu and Ibrahim (2010) and Okem (2013)'s assertions that the campaign against tenure extension brought together an extremely diverse coalition, with organised labour playing a significant role, to defeat a constitutional amendment that would have extended Obasanjo's tenure.

An important strategy adopted by the anti-third term activists in the parliament was to form alliances with individuals and groups outside the legislative assembly, including labour unions, other civil society groups, opposition parties and individual politicians who were averse to the third-term agenda. Labour and other civil society groups mounted forceful campaigns against the tenure elongation. They reached out to masses by means of advertorials in newspapers, press releases and most importantly, via mass mobilization. Aside from the relentless efforts of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), other affiliates such as the Amalgamated Textile Workers Union of Nigeria, also mobilised support against tenure elongation. Professional groups, including the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) and Nigerian Medical Association (NMA), also joined the broad coalition of civil society and legislators against the third-term bid. All these informed the action of the National Assembly in May 2006, when it discarded the constitutional reform proposals intended to enable President Olusegun Obasanjo a third term in office (Ibrahim, 2006; Ibrahim, 2007).

Another major threat to democracy and democratic consolidation process in Nigeria was the intrigues and politics played around the President Umar Yar'Adua's ill-health. His long

absence from office turned out to be a major political issue in Nigeria from November 2009 to March 2010. It is important to note that Yar'Adua's health crisis was not actually about his sickness as such. Instead, it is connected more to his failure to transmit a letter to the National Assembly to that effect, as required by the constitution. This would have facilitated his VP, Goodluck Jonathan an automatic assumption of office in an acting capacity. His absence undermined the stability of the entire regime and nearly put the process of democratic consolidation into jeopardy. The situations led to cumulative regression towards anarchy and instability in the polity. One of the most fundamental elements of any democratic society is the supremacy of the constitution, this was seriously threatened. The state of affairs remains a dilly-dally one until February 9, 2010, when the Senate, relying on the "Doctrine of Necessity" passed a resolution making Jonathan the Acting President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. The House of Representatives in a similar resolution endorsed the decision of the Senate (Zounmenou, 2010; Omotola, 2011b).

While a number of factors may have accounted for the invocation of the "Doctrine of Necessity", the findings of this study reveals that the activities of the organised labour and other Civil Society Organisations facilitated the enthronement of Jonathan, first, as Acting President and second as substantive President on 6 May 2010. To Respondent 25, *this is a major landmark in democratic consolidation process in Nigeria*. This finding relates to the previous studies that have been documented on the role played by NLC alongside other civil society groups in the constitutional crises that resulted from President Yar'Adua's long absence. Omotola (2011b), for instance, notes that the protest embarked on by labour leaders and other civil society organizations such as the Save Nigeria Group (SNG) and Enough is Enough Group was impactful. The protest, taking to the National Assembly, demanded a resolution that will give deserved recognition to vice president Jonathan as acting president. This brought about the invocation of the now popular "Doctrine of Necessity" by the National Assembly to make Jonathan an Acting President on 9 February 2010. For Okoli and Atelhe (2015), the history of Nigerian democracy with respect to the doctrine of necessity, which made the vice president an acting president cannot be completed without recourse to the contribution of the Nigeria Labour Congress and other CSOs.

6.3.3 Influencing Public Policy

The major instrument for the operation of every government is public policy. While the executive and the legislative arms of government have come to be the principal originators of government policies in a democratic setting, the labour union is one of the major participants

that influence public policy. The findings of the study show that the organised labour has ensured that the government does not make policies that will, by any means, be injurious to their members and indeed, the entire common people in the state. It is evident from the respondents that the Nigeria Labour Congress have succeeded greatly in making the government revert a number of unpopular policies. Some of the unpopular policies that have been successfully challenged by organised labour as identified by various respondents include: fuel price hike; removal of fuel subsidy; proposed sales of the government-owned Petroleum Refineries in Port Harcourt and Kaduna and Egbin power generation plant; increase in the rates of value added tax (VAT) and Income Tax etc. It is apparent in the respondents' responses that methods employed by labour in influencing public policies includes strikes, protests, lobbying, petitions, legal actions and others.

In the opinion of Respondent 5:

They stood on the side of the masses to protest several policies of the government, particularly in 1999 and thereafter most especially on fuel increase which actually affect the masses, former labour leader, Adams Oshiomole led several protests to ensure that price of fuel was reduced (Interview, 2015).

Corroborating the above, Respondent 15 submit thus:

They have been challenging government policies that are at variance with people's interest e.g. removal of fuel subsidy by Jonathan led government (Interview, 2017).

Extant literature reveals that NLC had continued to influence several policies of the government considered unpopular, which corroborates the finding of this study. For instance, the series of protests led by the NLC in 2000 against the efforts of the federal government to 'deregulate' the national petroleum market resulted in the removal of the earlier increase made on these products by the government (Alubo, 2007). Similarly, the massive street procession of the NLC and others civil society against fuel price hike led to the announcement of an unconditional 14-month freeze in the price of petroleum products with effect from 1 October 2005 to 31 December 2006 by the Obasanjo led government (Okafor, 2009; Eze and Chinwuba, 2015). The N10 per litre increase in the pump price of petroleum products, as well as the increase in the rates of value added tax (VAT) and Income Tax from five per cent each to ten per cent announced by Obasanjo two days before his departure from office was reversed by Yar'Adua following a four-day strike embarked upon by the organised labour (Okaka and Eriaguna, 2010; Onifade and Ojukwu, 2010). In the same way, the removal of subsidy announced by President Jonathan on January 1, 2012, provoked a strong resistance from the organised labour and general masses. The strike jointly declared by NLC and TUC snowballed

into what was later known as “Occupy Nigeria Protests”. The protests which began across the country on January 9, 2012, go on (officially) for over two weeks. However, following two days of negotiations, President Jonathan announced the return of the subsidy and a new pump price of 97 Naira (Bassey, 2012; Kew and Oshikoya, 2014).

It is evident from the literature that the NLC has not only influenced unpopular economic policies, some anti-democratic policies of government had also been influenced. For instance, the decision of INEC in 2002 not to register additional political parties was challenged in court by yet to be registered Labour Party (Party for Social Democracy-PSD) teaming up with Lawyer Gani Fawehinmi. This spirited legal battle by Chief Gani Fawehinmi, along with the then prevailing public mood, led to the court overruling the INEC excessive requirements for party registration. As a result of this development, the INEC was obliged to recognize all the new political parties seeking registration including the PSD (Ogunde, 2007; Beckman and Lukman, 2010).

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the findings presented in the previous chapter. The discussion was based on the first and second objectives of the study. The majority of the participants who shared their views, to a large extent, agreed with the findings of previous works. In other words, most of the findings of this study are supported by the existing literature. However, there are instances where there are slight differences in the narrative of the respondents and that of the previous scholars. This chapter has thus linked the findings to the existing literature. It blended the findings from the literature review with those from empirical research. In that sense, this study enriches the discussion on the role played by organized labour in Nigeria’s democratic experience. As such, the study’s findings can be read within the broader context of labour activism as one of the themes in the democratic study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LABOUR UNIONS AND THE DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES.

7.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the third and fourth objectives of the study and shows that answers have been provided to the third and fourth research questions. The chapter addresses some of the basic issues and challenges in relation to labour unions and the democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic. The Chapter relates the findings of the data presented in chapter four to previous literature on the subject matter. To achieve this, the Chapter was divided into two sections, with each section addressing each objective.

7.2 Objective Three: The vibrancy of the Labour Union in response to the political environment

The third objective was to investigate whether the vibrancy of Labour Union is in response to the political environment under which it operates. It is evident from the previous Chapter and the data analysis presented in chapter four that the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) has contributed to Nigeria's democratic consolidation process in the fourth republic. It should be noted, however, as revealed by the data presented, that the contribution of the NLC to democratic consolidation process has neither been immense nor satisfactory. As revealed by the findings from the empirical research, the existence of a vibrant Labour Union is central to the democratic consolidation process in Nigeria. However, there is a significant difference between the vibrancy of Nigeria Labour Congress during the military regime and in its vibrancy in the post-transition era. While several factors were identified by the respondents to be responsible for the significant changes in the vibrancy of Nigeria Labour Congress, 'change in political environment' was at the heart of these factors. As submitted by the eleventh respondent:

Yes, the political environment is a major determinant of labour union performance, even the vibrancy of the labour movements because if the song changes the dance also changes to suit the situation, which is what is also transpiring under the current dispensation. For instance, constructive engagement under the civilian regime overshadowed the confrontational nature of state-society relation under the military regime. Under the civilian regime on the other hands, that confrontation is no longer the case but sometimes mutual understanding, consensus and agreement (Interview, 2017).

To the ninth respondent:

Yes, the environment dictates the vibrancy. Because of the democratic structures, we have the national assemblies, the judiciary where grievances can be taken to, there are different channels where you can air your view unlike under the military rule where all channels were blocked (Interview, 2017).

In accounting for the 'change in the political environment', the fifth respondent notes that:

In the military era, military rule by fiat and with such fiat NLC was at the receiving end and I think the mode of participation as at that time was quite different from what they are experiencing currently. Now, it is democracy, most of the agitations and struggles have actually change, the tactic has changed, the dynamic has changed, there are rules of law to a certain extent, the court process is functional unlike in the past that military will just roll out a decree, send soldiers to ban protest and rallies, all these are quite impossible in the era of democracy in Nigeria (Interview, 2016).

The centrality of the existence of a vibrant labour union to democracy and democratic consolidation process has been noted by previous studies. For instance, Rueschemeyer, et al., in a study on the role of organised labour in the creation of democracy, for instance, concludes that "the organized working class was a central player in developing democracy in most countries" (1992:270). Similarly, Collier (1999) underscore the impactful roles played by the organised labour during the democratization process in the late twentieth century. In the same vein, the significant difference in the vibrancy of Nigeria Labour Congress during the military regime and in the post-transition era has been noted in the extant literature. According to Popoola (2012), the vibrancy, fervour, bravery and the coordinated actions with which Labour Union fought for democracy seem to have fizzled out. This finding also gives credence to the submission of a former leader of the union, Adams Oshiomhole. Oshiomhole, who passed a blanket judgment of failure on the contemporary leadership of the NLC at a national leadership retreat of the NLC held in Calabar, Cross River State. According to him, the Congress had failed to live up to its primary commitments to the Nigerian state and workers (Oshiomhole, 2015).

It is, however, noteworthy that none of the previous studies has associated the vibrancy of Labour Union with the political environment under which it operates. Hence, the ability of this study in establishing such is one of the major contributions of this study to the existing studies. The study reveals that the political environment in a civil rule allows for constructive engagement while state-society relation under the military regime was confrontational in nature. As argued by some respondents, the existence of various democratic structures in a civil rule such as national assemblies and the judiciary allows for peaceful resolution of labour-state

conflicts unlike the militancy approach that usually characterised such during the military regime.

Aside from the political environment, which has made the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) less vibrancy, other challenges militating against the effectiveness/vibrancy of NLC shall be examined in the next section.

7.3 Objective Four: Challenges Militating against Nigeria Labour Congress's Effectiveness and the Prospect of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

The last objective of this study was to identify and analyse the basic challenges militating against Nigeria labour congress's effectiveness and the prospect of democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic. Under this objective, numerous challenges were identified, such as Government Interference, Factionalisation; Corruption; Quality of Leadership; Lack of Internal Democracy; Involvement in Partisan Politics/Infiltration by Politicians; Ethnic, Regional and Religion Sentiments and Lack of Fund.

7.3.1 Government Interference

Government Interference is one of the challenges identified by this study as militating against the effectiveness of NLC. According to the sixteenth respondent, "*government intervention is a very strong factor in undermining the influence of labour*" (Interview, 2017). This is in line with the opinion of Emiola (2008). According to him, the labour union in Nigeria has witnessed leaps and bounds in development, splits and mergers, sanctions and proscriptions leading to the stage in which government intervention seems to be the determining factor of its development or demise. In Yehudah's (2006) argument, the government employed a range of strategies in its meddlesomeness in the affairs of organized labour. Such strategies include; issuance of decrees that regulated unions in the selection of leaders, giving directive for the merging of various unions and proscription of some and also the employment of the divide and intimidate tactics. Anyim, et al. (2013b) traced the beginning of the government's continuous interference in labour matters in Nigeria can to the promulgation of the Trade Unions (Central Labour Organization) (Special Provision) Decree No.44 of 1976. The decree, among other things, withdrew the registration of the existing four labour organizations and outlawed the registration of the new NLC. The government moved a step further by appointing an administrator for trade unions who was charged with the formation of a single central trade union (Anyim, et al., 2013b).

The government's exercise of absolute power over the affairs of the NLC, though more noticeable during the military era, was also recorded in the fourth republic, most especially during the eight years of Obasanjo civilian regime. Given the incessant action, it is sufficient to assert that the government interference in the affairs of the organised labour is impacting negatively on the Congress' effectiveness.

7.3.2 Factionalisation

Though trade union unity is desirable for its vibrancy, factionalisation within the union is a recurring issue. Existing literature shows that divisions within the labour union movement are borne out of factors that are internal and external to the labour unions. Internal disagreements and animosities within unions have dwindled, divided and undermined the NLC - this was more evident in times of national political crises. Despite a robust profile of popular activism, pro-worker and anti-statist; the division, sectarian struggles and inter-union rivalry that have pervaded the NLC has negative consequences on its effectiveness (Adewumi, 2007; Tar, 2009). Suffice as an example to explain this was the recent leadership impasse that bedevilled the Nigeria Labour Congress after the rescheduled election held between March 12 and 14, 2015. Dissatisfied with the emergence of Comrade Ayuba Wabba as the president, Comrade Ajaero teamed up with other disgruntled members to form another labour centre named the United Labour Congress. The non-participation of the Comrade Joe Ajaero-led faction of NLC negatively impacted on the strike action declared by the NLC in 2016 (Ahiuma-Young, 2016).

The external ones are found with the state who continue to claim the monopoly of regulating labour. Threatened by the determination of workers to organize themselves in trade unions, successive governments in Nigeria (colonial or neo-colonial, civilian or military regimes) have, on a regular basis, undermine the unity of the Nigerian labour movement. The Nigerian state often exploits extra-judicial and political intrigues to undermine the innate strength of a united labour front. In the endless struggle between the radicals and conservatives within the trade union movement, the Nigerian state has always taken sides with the conservatives. In cases where the state fails to co-opt the unions, it resorts to abetting factionalisation, which offers some justification for taking over the running of the unions (Adewumi, 2007). Respondent 16 confirms the factionalisation nature of the NLC, its effect on her effectiveness and the role played by the government. According to him:

One of the factors that account for the NLC's ineffectiveness is internal wrangling within the union. As at today, NLC is divided along two lines based on self-interest and that has really affected them to present a common front on national issues...some have

suggested that some individuals within the government are behind the Ajero breaking away from main labour centre-NLC, that can't be denied in its entirety. Government intervention is a very strong factor in undermining the influence of labour.

7.3.3 Corruption

Corruption and corrupt practices remain one of the hindrances to the goals and aspirations of the NLC. In the submission of the tenth respondent:

The top echelon of labour union leadership is often monetarily bribed, materially motivated and corrupted by the government. Once the labour leaders gave in, there is no way they can be able to confront the government effectively (Interview, 2017).

To the twenty-third respondent:

Some labour leaders have become so corrupted because they are close to the seat of power, they dine and wine with them. For you to start biting the fingers that feed you, it is a very difficult thing for anybody to do, in our human nature (Interview, 2017).

According to the fifteenth respondent:

The calling off of the general strike embarked upon during the "Occupy Nigeria Protests" by labour leaders was seen by other civil society activists as an outcome of monetary inducement. As a consequence, the 2016 strike called by NLC against the planned removal of subsidy by President Buhari did not enjoy the support of the masses. Labour activists are now perceived by the Nigeria masses as people that can be easily bought over by the government (Interview, 2017).

The views of respondents 10, 23 and 15 above confirm the findings of Babawale (2018). According to him, the government see organised labour as the only viable opposition that often remained resolute on doing things properly and fighting for the rights of Nigerians. Hence, the government oftentimes resulted in buying some of the labour leaders over to the government side to keep the Congress quiet. Consequently, the leadership is compromised and cannot fight the government in unity. The same trajectory can be gleaned from the view expressed by a member of the Presidential Advisory Committee Against Corruption (PACAC), Prof. Femi Odekunle, who declared the labour leaders as corrupt. He further stressed that the NLC and its TUC counterpart had over the years been compromised and their leaders are no longer trustworthy (Oladimeji, 2016).

Closely knitted to the issue of corruption is lack of transparency and accountability on the part of union leaders. In the submission of the fourteenth respondent, lack of transparency and accountability exposes the leaders to countless charges of corruption, ineptitude, and

insensitivity to members' views. All these, in his opinion, make the Congress to begin losing its relevance among the Nigerian populace (Interview, 2017). Tar's (2009) findings give credence to this submission. According to him, until recently, NLC was poor in maintaining accountability and transparency. Scandals of various degrees involving the abuse of funds by union officers are common.

7.3.4 Quality of Leadership

The findings of this study have shown that the lack of quality leadership is one of the challenges militating against NLC's effectiveness. According to the fifth respondent:

The quality of the leadership in NLC is dwindling, is not like what is obtainable in the past, the value system in the labour union, the training and focus have also changed (Interview, 2016).

Putting it more explicitly, the third respondent opines that:

The last purposive leadership of NLC was during the Adams Oshiomhole, after that there has been a steady decrease. Aspiration for NLC's leadership, of recent, is for self-aggrandisement and self-promotion (interview, 2016).

To the eleventh respondent:

Leadership has, to a greater extent, assisted in drawing back the struggle waged by the NLC. Some of them gave up halfway into the struggle and that created a lot of suspicions that some comrades were actually bribed to succumbed to the state (Interview, 2017).

For the twenty-second respondent:

Some of the labour leaders have become fortune seekers, they are neither sincere to the people nor to their fellow comrades. They will start a struggle and go behind the people they are leading to collect money allegedly (Interview, 2017).

The findings confirm the position of Babawale (2018) that sometimes, the leadership of the union lacks the needed skills and prowess to discharge their statutory functions effectively, by that defeating the workers' interest. In his opinion, some union leaders lack bargaining and negotiating skills, which place the workers at a disadvantage.

7.3.5 Lack of Internal Democracy

In spite of continuous agitation for participatory democracy in the larger society by the NLC, the findings of this study reveal that NLC, like every other organization, also faces the challenge of entrenching internal democracy. Making this assertion, the eleventh respondent submits as follows:

One of the factors that bring about NLC's ineffectiveness is the self-centeredness of the labour leaders, they are not promoting internal democracy within (Interview, 2017).

This is in agreement with the view of Okojie (2011) that the democratic credentials carry by NLC and the rich organisational structure it demonstrates, which seeks to make room for the diverse interests of its members and affiliates, is only on the face value. Putting it more unequivocally, Adefolaju (2013) believes that the NLC seems to operate fairly democratically on the one hand, especially with regard to regular elections, meetings, constitutionalism and due process. On the other hand, it shows an inherent failure in the area of social inclusivity. In the same way, the NLC is lacking in the area of consensus-building with members often polarized along sectarian interests. In his final opinion, the NLC, in this manner, cannot be said to be very democratic within.

Perhaps what gives more credence to the finding of this study was the NLC's own self-criticism, which emerged in the context of a post-military situation analysis:

- Internal operations of the trade union movement in Nigeria give cause for great concern. Military rule and the attendant might-is-right ethos have impacted on civil society, including unions, occasioning some acute imitative militarism. Some of the worst manifestations in the movement can be seen in an officership culture that is not founded on principles of democracy and union rules and values.
- Major decisions on policies are occasionally adopted without broad consultations or debates within the union and its various organs.
- Harmony and synergy between union leadership and membership have in some cases been subverted by poor officership, involving no consultation and legitimacy. Thus, the membership is not able to own the union or its decisions and tends to be apathetic.
- Observed lapses and sharp practice in relation to finances exact a heavy toll on resources and funds, with the attendant consequences of weakened capacity and trust.
- Modes of internal communication are inadequate (NLC, 2006:29-30).

It is self-evident from the above that internal democracy in the Nigeria Labour Congress is at its lowest ebb. The question can then be asked, if there cannot be internal democracy within

the labour union, how effectively and efficiently can it promote and sustain such in the larger polity.

7.3.6 Involvement in Partisan Politics/Infiltration by Politicians

What should be the disposition of organised labour towards partisan politics has been a major dilemma labour union is faced with from the beginnings of the trade union movement in Nigeria. It should be noted that this dilemma is not limited to unions in Nigeria, trade unions in different countries have had to face such often. This is due to the fact that labour unions are essentially organisations for the economic well-being of workers. However, objective reality often points to the fact that such limited economic aims can hardly be met without some form of partisan political engagement or the other on the part of the labour movement. Describing the existing relationship between organised labour and the Nigerian government in the fourth republic, the ninth respondent sees it as *the infiltration of the labour union by the government and the labour people conniving with the government* (Interview, 2016).

Taking the argument further, the fifth respondent accused the labour leaders of dinning too much with the government especially at the state levels. According to him:

Most of the NLC chapters at the state levels appears like an appendage of most of the state governors. Some labour leaders are contractors who take contracts from the state government and when that happens, he who pays the pipers dictates the tune, which is exactly what is happening. Most of them could not be firm, some couldn't hold on to labour matter and deal with it squarely because of their interaction with the political elites, they have not been able to distinguish themselves the way it was in the past, during the time of Kokoori and Adams Oshiomole (Interview, 2016).

In the opinion of the twenty-second respondent, the reason for its ineffectiveness is because the labour leaders themselves are not sincere, some of them resorted to being used by the politician. Some aligned with political parties, in the process, they get involved and get their hands soiled. Existing literature corroborate this finding, Aye (2012) for instance, traced the involvement of Nigerian labour movement in partisan politics back to 1946 when the then Trade Union Congress affiliated with the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). It is pertinent to note that aside from the fact that the involvement of labour in partisan politics partly hindered her effectiveness, it has also led to the labour ranks being infiltrated by the politicians.

7.3.7 Ethnic, Regional and Religion Sentiments

Division of member of NLC along sectarian interests, especially, ethnic, regional, and religious differences is one of the challenges identified by this study militating against NLC's

effectiveness. The eleventh respondent, for instance, blamed the non-satisfactory role/ineffectiveness of the NLC since the enthronement of democratic rule in 1999 on divisive issues in the Nigeria politics where religion, regional politics and ethnicity are brought in. According to him:

Ethnic, regional and religion sentiments contributed to the reduction of the zeal, commitment and the tempo of the struggle in the Nigeria labour movement. These tendencies partly explained the unsuccessful strikes embarked on by organised labour during Buhari administration while the ones embarked on during the administrations of Obasanjo, Jonathan and during Yar'Adua were successful (Interview, 2017).

The findings confirmed the scholarly work of Tar (2009). He opines that at some points in time, notably during national political crises, the NLC often become fragmented and divided politically, with different state branches and members from different ethnic groups and regions advocating contradictory views.

7.3.8 Lack of Fund

Every association need fund to discharge its functions effectively and the Nigeria Labour Congress is not an exception. Lack of fund has been identified in this study as one of the challenges militating against NLC's effectiveness. It reflects the views of many respondents during the interview. For instance, the fifteenth respondent when discussing the external factor militating against NLC's effectiveness underscores the political economy dimension. According to him, *"a situation in which politicians sponsor the election of labour leader due to lack of fund, the adage that he who pays the piper dictates its tunes easily comes to mind"* (Interview, 2017). This finding agrees with the position of Athanasius (2018) and Babawale (2018). According to Athanasius (2018), as at today, the NLC is still faced with the challenges of a limited financial base. For Babawale (2018), labour leaders are sometimes susceptible to being influenced by the government due to the paucity of funds. When such happens, the leadership of the union may be undermined as the interest of the workers and masses are likely to be in jeopardy while the integrity of the leadership is compromised.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the findings presented in chapter five. The discussion was based on the third and fourth objectives of the study. The majority of the participants who shared their views, to a large extent, agreed with the previous works. In other words, most of the findings of this study are supported by the existing literature. However, there are instances where there are slight differences in the narrative of the respondents and that of the previous scholars. This

chapter has thus linked the findings to the existing literature. It blended the findings from the extant literature with those from empirical research. Of note, is the finding of this study that the vibrancy of the Labour Union is in response to the political environment under which it operates. In that sense, this study enriches the discussion on the role played by organized labour in Nigeria's democratic experience. As such, the study's findings can be read within the broader context of labour activism as one of the themes in the democratic study.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a sum up of the study from the first chapter up to chapter SEVEN. It draws valid deductive and empirical inferences from the study and also makes tangible recommendations and suggestions for future research. The study evaluates critically the contributions of civil society organizations (with a special focus on Nigeria Labour Congress) to democratic consolidation process in Nigeria's fourth republic. In order to achieve this, the following general objectives are set: (i) to evaluate the role played by organized labour in the transition to civil rule in May 1999 in Nigeria; (ii) to assess the performance of Nigeria Labour Congress in the quest for democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic; (iii) to investigate whether the vibrancy of Labour Union is in response to the political environment under which it operates; (iv) to identify and analyse the basic challenges militating against the effectiveness of Nigeria Labour Congress in consolidating democracy in Nigeria.

8.2 Summary of chapters

Chapter one is the introductory chapter. It provides a general background of the study with Nigeria history put in perspective. It also states clearly the research objectives and the research questions. Also included in this chapter are the scope of the study, justification of the study and the limitations of the study. The major concepts of the study were also clarified and conceptualized.

Chapter two was divided into two sections. The first section is a review of relevant literature central to the study. The review of the literature was carried out under the following headings and sub-headings: The historical conception of civil society; Civil society and the State; Civil society, democracy and democratic consolidation: the nexus and lastly an overview of the existing trends of literature on civil society organisations and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. With the review, gaps in knowledge that require specific intervention were identified. Appropriately, the succeeding chapters intervene by providing the missing link and situating this study in the proper context. The second section examined critically the theoretical framework upon which this study is based.

Chapter three examined the method adopted for the research. It was discussed under the following headings: Research Philosophy – Positivism, Realism, Pragmatism and

Interpretivism (Interpretivist); Research Design; Research population; Sample and Sampling Technique; Data collection - Primary sources and methods of data collection, Secondary source and methods of data collection; Data analysis; Ethical Consideration; Strengths of the Research Instrument used.

The fourth chapter put labour union in perspective under the following headings: Labour unions as a component of civil society organisations; An overview of labour/trade union; Labour/Trade union: An historical overview; The European experience; The case of Nigeria; The early trade unions; The establishment of a central labour union; The birth of the third NLC and incessant government intervention; An overview of what labour unions stand for; The primary functions carried out by labour unions; An overview of labour unions methods of engagement during conflict; an overview of the existing trends of literature on civil society organisations and democratic consolidation in Nigeria and lastly, an overview of the links between labour unions and democracy

The fifth chapter is a presentation of the empirical data. The study used the combination of both the manual qualitative method and the Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (Nvivo) in order to maximize the advantages of both methods. After data collection through conducted interviews, the researcher transcribed and imported the data into Nvivo for coding. The research objectives formed the question which also formed the main themes, while the responses formed the sub-themes.

Chapter six provides answers to the research questions raised in chapter one. In doing this, the Chapter evaluates the role played by organised labour in the democratic history of Nigeria. The Chapter addresses the first and second objectives of the study and shows that answers have been provided to the first and second research questions. To achieve this, the chapter was divided into two sections, with each section addressing each objective. The chapter relates the findings of the study presented in chapter four to previous literature on the subject matter.

Chapter seven addresses the third and fourth objectives of the study and show that answers have been provided to the third and fourth research questions. The chapter addresses some of the basic issues and challenges in relation to labour unions and the democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic. The chapter relates the empirical data as presented in chapter four to previous literature on the subject matter. To achieve this, the chapter was divided into two sections, with each section addressing each objective.

The current chapter, which is the eighth chapter provides a recap of all the chapters as well as conclusion and recommendations. The scholarly contribution to knowledge in the field of civil society, the labour movement, democratization and democratic consolidation is outlined and areas for future research are noted.

8.3 Conclusion

The following are major findings of the study in relation to the research objectives and research questions:

- (i) The study revealed that even though trade union struggle started with demands for better working conditions during the colonial period, it moved with time and growth in consciousness to the demand for independence.
- (ii) It is evident from the study that the withdrawal of the colonialist from governance and the subsequent handing over of power to Nigerians in 1960 didn't come as a result of the British act of benevolence. It came essentially as a consequence of the agitation and efforts of labour and nationalists' movements.
- (iii) The study further notes that organised labour along with other actors actively participated in the decolonization process and contributed significantly to the nation's attainment of independence in 1960.
- (iv) Similarly, it is axiomatic from the study that the disengagement of the military from governance in Nigeria and the enthronement of democracy that follows happened, to a large extent, owing to the agitation and efforts of organised labour and other civil societies. Civil society, most especially those groups with a clearly pro-democracy and human rights focus, spearheaded the torturous struggle for the removal of the military from the helm of state affairs.
- (v) Another major conclusion drawn from the study is that it is almost difficult if not impossible to examine the struggle for democracy in Nigeria without the vanguard role played by organised labour and other civil society been mentioned.
- (vi) It is evident from the study that Nigeria Labour Congress continue to play significant roles after the enthronement of democratic rule in 1999, the momentum of their struggle as well as the vibrancy, however, is not perfectly satisfactory.
- (vii) It is also clear that the union is about to lose its relevance among the Nigerian populace.
- (viii) It is observable from the study that there is a need for NLC to adopt a more productive weapon other than the strike in her disagreement with the government.

- (ix) It is obvious from the study that there was a significant difference in the vibrancy of Nigeria Labour Congress before the transition in 1999 and after the transition to democratic rule. This was partly due to the political environment which allows for constructive engagement in a civil rule as against the confrontational nature of state-society relation under the military regime.
- (x) The study further notes that a number of challenges are militating against the effectiveness of Nigeria Labour Congress in consolidating democracy in Nigeria.

8.4 Recommendations

In order to enhance a prosperous future for organised labour in Nigeria so that it can play its expected role in the democratic process and live up to the aspirations of their members, the following recommendations have to be considered for implementation by the concerned body. First, workers should ensure that the issue of centralized trade unionism is brought back to the constitution one way or the other. This will put an end to several industrial unions struggling to join forces to seize control of the labour centre for political or other selfish reasons.

Second, the government should restrain itself from interfering in affairs that are strictly internal to the unions. Rather, democratic instruments and institutions such as the Industrial Arbitration Panel should be created and supported by the government to handle all labour matters without restrictions.

Third, the best way to advance vibrant unionism is for the leaders to live above board. The leaders should learn not to be partisan either in politicking or make an attempt to side government just to either get financial rewards, safeguard their position or serve their selfish interests. Labour should not be directly involved in politics, rather, it should be a watchdog of the misdeed of politicians both the workers and the general society. A situation in which the labour leadership sides a political party or a regime in power can only result in the creation of opposition from different sections of the political class and the society in general. The leadership of labour have an obligation not to allow this to happen.

Fourth, labour should institutionalise internal democracy at various aspect of its leadership machinery. Both the process of the creation and administration of a centralized union should be democratised. This democratization should be seen to be practised. One, through fair representation and election of officials by instituting a very prudent electoral process that will conduct an open and transparent election which will provide credible leaders. Two, through the operation of the union constitution, to achieve the excellent objectives of the body. Three

and finally, the central labour body should create incentives and opportunities that will encourage workers to put their best in productive activity to increase the wealth of the nation.

Fifth, there should be a qualitative education for all labour union leaders, so they can match the intelligence and wits of employers, government and its agencies. Labour unions should meet the internal challenges facing them, which include strengthening the leadership skills, abilities and competence of all levels of their leadership. Some of the problems facing the Congress can be overcome or addressed by training and re-training of their leaders. They should also strengthen their human resource base by ensuring that they have enough staff of the required orientation who will conduct union work at all levels.

Sixth, accelerated action should be given to the unionization of all non-unionized workers in several sectors of the economy. Labour needs a united front to be able to confront the government because the machinery of government is very strong unless the labour union is united, they cannot have a significant impact in relation to their demands from the government.

Seventh, labour should recreate itself, it should make the working people and masses the focal of her engagement with the state all the time. Similarly, labour should work out more productive modalities of engaging the government other than the strike.

8.5 Contribution to Knowledge in the Field of Civil Society, Labour Movement, Democratization and Democratic Consolidation

A study of civil society organisation and democratic consolidation with a specific focus on the role of Nigeria Labour Congress in Nigeria's fourth republic, at a period Nigeria's democracy is more than a decade and a half, is an intellectual contribution to the existing works. This study contributed to the works in the field of civil society, labour movement, democratization and democratic consolidation. Unlike most of the previous works that focussed generally on Civil Society Organisations or on organisations such as Human Rights Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or Civil Liberty Organization (CLO), the study focuses on the roles/activities of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC). In contrast to many of the previous studies that were undertaken before Nigerian transition was completed, the study is coming at a time when not only has the transition process been completed but the democratic era in Nigeria is now more than a decade and a half old. Contrary to most of the recent studies that are based on data which cover less than half of the current era of democratic politics in the country, the conclusions arrived at in this study are based on recent data – the Fourth republic – 1999 till date. The findings of this study are largely based on fieldwork which is a significant departure

from desk analysis that has defined most works on the phenomenon. The aim of this work, therefore, is to fill the gap by investigating the contributions of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) to democratic consolidation in Nigeria since the inception of current democratic dispensation. Essentially, therefore, this study has complimented to the existing ones in the field of civil society, labour movement and democracy. It is suggested that further studies should focus on the role of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC)'s counterpart, the Trade Union Congress. This would extend the knowledge on the nexus between civil society organisations and democratic consolidation, and further enrich the existing literature.

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APPENDIX A

Research Instrument

Civil Society Organizations and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: An Appraisal of the Role of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC).

Interview Script for all the Clusters of the Interviewees

Question 1: In your own opinion, would you say Labour Unions played any significant roles in the political development of Nigeria during the colonial era?

Question 2: To the best of your knowledge, would you say that Organised Labour contributed to the nation's attainment of independence in 1960?

- Question 3:** In what specific way(s) do they contributed (if they do)?
- Question 4:** In your own view, would you submit that Labour Unions were one of the catalysts to the emergence of democratic rule in Nigeria in 1999?
- Question 5:** Could you please give concrete example(s), if you so submit?
- Question 6:** By your own assessment, do you see organised Labour playing any significant roles since the enthronement of democracy in 1999?
- Question 7:** Could you please avail with some example(s)?
- Question 8:** Would you say, in your own opinion that the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) has contributed immensely to Nigeria's democratic consolidation process in the fourth republic?
- Question 9:** If not, what in your candid opinion, is/are responsible for this?
- Question 10:** Would you agree that the role been playing by Nigeria Labour Congress, after the enthronement of democratic government a decade and a half year ago has not been satisfactory?
- Question 11:** In your own estimation, do you see any significant difference in the vibrancy of Nigeria Labour Congress during the military regime and in the post-transition era?
- Question 12:** If yes, what in your view could be responsible for this?
- Question 13:** Do you see the political environment as one of the determinants of labour union vibrancy?
- Question 14:** Would you agree that the existence of a vibrant Labour Union is central to the democratic consolidation process in Nigeria?
- Question 15:** How would you describe the existing relationship between organised labour and the Nigerian government in the fourth republic?
- Question 16:** Would you say Strike as an instrument often used by NLC has not been effective?
- Question 17:** In your own opinion, do you see the need for NLC to adopt a more productive weapon other than the strike in her disagreement with the government?
- Question 18:** If yes, can you kindly suggest some alternatives to strike action by NLC?
- Question 19:** Would you agree that Nigeria Labour Congress is about to lose its relevance among the Nigerian populace?
- Question 20:** If yes, what in your own opinion, is/are responsible for this?
- Question 21:** Do you see the need for NLC to be more effective as a member of civil society organisations?
- Question 22:** What in your view, is/are militating against NLC's effectiveness?
- Question 23:** How in your opinion can this/these be overcome?

APPENDIX B

Ethical Clearance



17 October 2016

Mr Talabi Rasheed Ayegbusi 215062512
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Ayegbusi

Protocol reference number: HSS/1628/0160

Project title: Civil Society Organizations and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: An appraisal of the Role of Nigeria Labor Congress (NLC)

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 30 September 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully



Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Science Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr Olusola Ogunnubi
cc Academic Leader: Professor Maheshvari Naidu
cc School Admin: Ms N Radebe & Mr E Stanley

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag 284001, Durban 4001

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 261 3567/89534557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 261 4339 Email: shenuka@ukzn.ac.za / shenuka@ukzn.ac.za / shenuka@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



Founding Campuses

Edenwood

Howard College

Medical School

Pietermaritzburg

Westville

APPENDIX C

Gate Keeper Letter from Ekiti State University, Ado-Ekiti (Registrar's Office)

EKITI STATE UNIVERSITY

P.M.B. 5363, ADO-EKITI, EKITI STATE, NIGERIA.
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR

Registrar,

Akin Arogundade.

B.A (Hons), LL.B (Hons), LL.M, BL, MAOA



E-mail: registrar@eksu.edu.ng,
luwarogundade@yahoo.com
+234803 507 0544
Tel: +234808 550 3659

Ref. No: AD/FD.9/VOL.XV/278

16th June, 2016


Mr. Talabi Rasheed Ayegbusi,
University of Kwazulu-Natal,
Political Science,
Howard College Campus,
Durban, 4041,
South Africa.

LETTER OF PERMISSION

Kindly refer to your letter on the above subject.

In your letter, you requested for a letter of permission to conduct interview with some academics on thematic issues of your research titled "Civil Society Organisations and Democratic Consolidation in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic: An Appraisal of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC).



I write to convey the approval of the Vice – Chancellor to you on your request and wish you success in your endeavour.


A.O. Adegboye
For: Registrar

www.eksu.edu.ng

APPENDIX D

Gate Keeper Letter from Lagos State University, Lagos (ASUU)

	<h1>ACADEMIC STAFF UNION OF UNIVERSITIES</h1> <h2>LAGOS STATE UNIVERSITY BRANCH</h2> <p>Badagry Expressway, Ojo, P.M.B. 1087, Apapa, Lagos. TEL: 08123417589 Email: asuu.lasu@yahoo.com, asuu.lasu@gmail.com</p>	
<h3>[ASUU - LASU]</h3>		
<p>Our Ref: ASUU-LASU/GS/16/054 Your Ref: _____ Date: 15th July, 2016</p>		
<p>Mr. T.R. Aiyegbusi, University of Kwazulu-Natal, Political Science Howard, College Campus, Durban, 4041, South Africa.</p>		
<p>Dear Mr. Aiyegbusi,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">RE: LETTER OF REQUEST</p> <p>Sequel to your request to engage some of the Executive members of our great Union ASUU-LASU, as participants in your doctoral research project. I write to convey to you, the approval of the Chairman of the Union to go ahead and make your selections.</p> <p>The Union wishes you the best in this academic journey.</p> <p>Thank you.</p> <div style="background-color: black; width: 200px; height: 40px; margin: 10px auto;"></div> <p>Tony Dansu, PhD Secretary, ASUU-LASU 08023921081</p>		

APPENDIX E

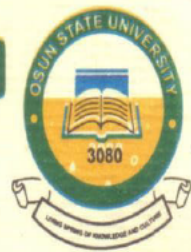
Gate Keeper Letter from Osun State University, Osogbo (ASUU)



ACADEMIC STAFF UNION OF UNIVERSITIES (ASUU)

Osun State University Branch

ASUU Secretariat Main Campus, Osogbo
Email: asuuniosun@yahoo.com



Our Ref:..... Your Ref:..... Date: 13th July, 2016

Mr T. R. Ayegbusi,
University of Kwazulu-Natal,
Political Science Howard College Campus,
Durban, 4041,
South Africa.

Dear Mr T. R. Ayegbusi,

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT INTERVIEW


At its meeting of Friday 24th June, 2016, the Executive Council of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), Osun State University Branch considered your letter dated 24th May, 2016, wherein you requested for permission to conduct interviews with some of the executive members of this Union.


The council noted that ASUU, as an academic Union established to advance frontier of knowledge, shall always encourage research activities aimed at promoting the popular participation of the organized civil societies in the consolidation of the democratic processes in Africa.

The council therefore unanimously approved your request and granted the permission sought.

On behalf of the Council and the entire members of ASUU UNIOSUN, we wish you a successful completion of the programme.

Thanks

Comrade (Dr) 
Ag Branch Chairperson

Comrade (Dr) 
Branch Secretary

APPENDIX F

Gate Keeper Letter from Osun State University, Osogbo (Office of the Registrar)



OSUN STATE UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR

PMB 4494, Osogbo, Osun State Nigeria

Tel: +234 806 321 5595

www.uniosun.edu.ng

E-mail: gafar.shittu@uniosun.edu.ng

bayoshittu2008@yahoo.com

Ref: REG/ADM/MISC/12/VOL.9/222

June 29, 2016.

Mr. Talabi Rasheed AYEGBUSI
University of Kwazulu-Natal,
Political Science Howard,
College Campus,
Durban 4041,
South-Africa.

RE: LETTER OF REQUEST

Your letter dated June 6, 2016 on your request for permission to conduct interview with some academic staff of the University refers, please.

I write to inform you that the Acting Vice-Chancellor has graciously approved your request to conduct interviews with some academic staff of the University on your research titled: Civil Society Organisations and Democratic Consolidation in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic: An appraisal of the Role of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC).

kindly note that you are advised to submit a copy of the Ethical Clearance Certificate obtained from Institutional Research Ethic Committee to the office of the Registrar upon commencement of your research.

We wish you a fulfilling experience.

Thank you.



G.A.A Shittu
Acting Registrar

G.A.A. SHITTU B.Sc, MPA, (IFE) MNIM, MANUPA
Ag. REGISTRAR



APPENDIX G

Gate Keeper Letter from Nigeria Labour Congress, Osogbo (Osun State Council)



NIGERIA LABOUR CONGRESS

OSUN STATE COUNCIL

Motto:- "Labour Creates Wealth".

*All Communications should be addressed to
the State Secretary*

State Secretariat

Opp. Anglican Commercial Grammar School,
Old Ikirun Road, Osogbo
Osun State, Nigeria

Our Ref. NLC/OS/COR/01/4

24th August, 2016
Date:-

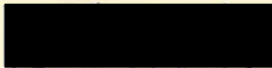
Mr. Talabi Rasheed Ayegbusi,
University of Kwazulu natal,
Political Science Howard College Campus,
Durban 4041,
South Africa.

Re: Letter of Request

Your letter dated 15th June, 2016 requesting for permission to conduct interview with some of our executive is received with warm interest.

I write to inform you of the Congress Chairman approval.

Wishing you a very successful research undertakings.


Comrade Rufus A. Adeyemi
State Secretary

APPENDIX H

Table 2.3: Affiliate Members of Nigeria Labour Congress as at December 2016

S/N	NAME OF THE AFFILIATE MEMBER
1.	Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU)
2.	Academic Staff Union of Polytechnic (ASUP)
3.	Academic Staff Union of Research Institutions
4.	Agriculture and Allied Employees of Nigeria (AAEUN)
5.	Association of Senior Staff of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institutions (ASSBIFI)
6.	Amalgamated Union of Public Corporation, Civil Service Technical and Recreational Services Employees (AUPCTRE)
7.	Colleges of Education Academic Staff Union (COEASU)
8.	Iron & Steel Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
9.	Judicial Staff Union of Nigeria
10.	Maritime Workers Union of Nigeria (MWUN)
11.	Medical and Health Workers Union of Nigeria (MHWUN)
12.	Metal Products Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (MEPROSSAN)
13.	National Association of Academic Technologists (NAAT)
14.	National Association of Nigeria Nurses and Midwives (NANNM)
15.	National Union of Air Transport Employees (NUATE)
16.	National Union of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institution Employees
17.	National Union of Chemical, Footwear, Rubber, Leather and Non-Metallic Employees (NUCFLANMPE)
18.	National Union of Civil Engineering, Construction, Furniture and Wood Workers (NUCECFWW)
19.	National Union of Electricity Employees of Nigeria (NUEEN)
20.	National Union of Food, Beverage and Tobacco Employees of Nigeria (NUFBTEN)
21.	National Union of Hotels and Personal Services Workers (NUHPSWN)
22.	National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas (NUPENG)
23.	National Union of Posts and Telecommunication Employees (NUPTE)
24.	National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW)
25.	National Union of Printing, Publishing and Paper Products Workers

26.	National Union of Lottery Agents and Employees
27.	National Union of Shop and Distributive Employees (NUSDE)
28.	National Union of Textile, Garment and Tailoring Workers of Nigeria (NUTGTWN)
29.	Nigeria Civil Service Union
30.	Nigeria Union of Civil Service Secretariat Stenographic Workers
31.	Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ)
32.	Nigeria Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE)
33.	Nigeria Union of Mine Workers (NUMW)
34.	Nigeria Union of Pensioners (NUP)
35.	Nigeria Union of Railwaymen
36.	Nigeria Union of Teachers (NUT)
37.	Nigeria Welders and Fitters Association (NIWELFA)
38.	Non-Academic Staff Union of Educational and Associated Institutions
39.	Parliamentary Staff Association of Nigeria
40.	Radio, Television and Theatre Workers Union of Nigeria (RATTAWU)
41.	Senior Staff Association of Nigerian Polytechnics (SSANIP)
42.	Senior Staff Association of Nigerian Universities (SSANU)
43.	Steel & Engineering Workers Union of Nigeria (SEWUN)

Source: Author's compilation from NLC's official website

APPENDIX I

Table 2.4: Affiliate Members of Trade Union Congress, Nigeria as at December 2016

S/N	NAME OF THE AFFILIATE MEMBER
1.	Association of Senior Civil Servants of Nigeria (ASCSN)
2.	Association of Senior Staff of Banks, Insurance & Financial Institutions (ASSBIFI)
3.	Air Transport Services Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (ATSSSAN)
4.	Automobile, Boatyards, Transport Equipment & Allied Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (AUTOBATE)
5.	Chemical & Non-Metallic Products Senior Staff Association (CANMPSSA)
6.	Construction & Civil Engineering Senior Staff Association (CCESSA)
7.	Food, Beverage & Tobacco Senior Staff Association (FOBTOB)
8.	Hotel & Personal Services Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (HAPSSSA)
9.	Footwear, Leather & Rubber Products Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (FWLRPSSA)
10.	National Association of Aircraft Pilots and Engineers (NAAPE)
11.	Nigeria Merchant Navy Officer & Water Transport Senior Staff Association (NMNOWTSSA)
12.	Petroleum & Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (PENGASSAN)
13.	Precision, Electrical & Related Equipment Senior Staff Association (PERESSA)
14.	Shop & Distributive Trade Senior Staff Association (SHOPDIS)
15.	Senior Staff Association of Communications, Transport & Corporations (SSACTAC)
16.	Senior Staff Association of Universities, Teaching Hospitals, Research & Associated Institutions (SSAUTHRIAI)
17.	Textile, Garments & Tailoring Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (TGTSSAN)
18.	Academic Staff Union of Secondary Schools (ASUSS)
19.	Senior Staff Association of Shipping, Clearing & Forwarding Agencies (SSASCFA)
20.	Nigerian Union of Allied Health Professions (NUAHP) formerly known as NUPMTPAM
21.	Senior Staff Association of Electricity & Allied Companies (SSAE & AC)
22.	Pulp, Paper & Paper Products Printing & Publishing Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (PPAPPPPSSAN)
23.	Association of Professional Footballers of Nigeria (APFON)
24.	The National Association of Community Health Practitioners of Nigeria (NACHPN)

Source: Author's compilation from TUC Nigeria's official website