

**THE IMPACT OF TRADE UNIONS ON
PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM
IN
NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY**

By

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Doctor of Administration in the discipline of Public Administration
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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree of Doctor of Administration in the discipline of Public Administration in the Faculty of Commerce and Administration at the University of Zululand, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at another university.

Signature

:

A handwritten signature in dark ink, featuring a large, stylized 'P' and 'A' followed by a horizontal line extending to the right.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to:

Nishi, Nasheel and Sanveer Balkaran – my loving wife and sons who understood the value of my research and selflessly sacrificed quality family time and allowed me the space to pursue this research.

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ASUU	- Academic Staff Union of Universities
ANC	- African National Congress
AUPCTRE	- Amalgamated Union of Public Corporations, Civil Service Technical and Recreational Services Employees
BPSR	- Bureau of Public Service Reforms
COSATU	- Congress of South African Trade Unions
DFID	- Department for International Development
DPSA	- Department of Public Service and Administration
ECA	- Economic Commission for Africa
FEC	- Federal Executive Council's
FSP	- Fiscal Strategy Paper
GEPF	- Government Employees' Pension Fund
HCSF	- Head of the Civil Service of the Federation
HDC	- Historically Disadvantaged Communities
ILO	- International Labour Organisation
IMF	- International Monetary Fund
JAF	- Joint Action Forum
JIPSA	- Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition
LRA	- Labour Relations Act
GEAR	- Macro-Economic Strategy for Growth and Employment
MPSA	- Minister for Public Service and Administration
NEDLAC	- National Economic Development and Labour Council
NEEDS	- National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
NJIC	- National Joint Public Service Negotiating Council
NALEDI	- National Labour and Economic Development Institute
NSPSR	- National Strategy for Public Service Reforms
NPAI	- New Public Administration Initiative

NPM	- New Public Management
NLC	- Nigeria Labour Congress
OSD	- Occupational Specific Differentiation
OPSC	- Office of the Public Service Commission
PRC	- Presidential Review Commission –Transformation in the Public Service
PALAMA	- Public Administration Leadership and Management Academy
PAMB	- Public Administration Management Bill
PFMA	- Public Finance Management Act
PSRP	- Public Sector Reform Program
PAS	- Public Service Act
PSC	- Public Service Commission
PSCBC	- Public Service Coordinating Bargaining Council
PSDP	- Public Service Delivery Programme
PSR	- Public Service Reform
PSRP	- Public Service Reform Programme
RDP	- Reconstruction and Development Programme
SPS	- Single Public Service
SACP	- South African Communist Party
SADC	- Southern African Development Community
SOE	- State Owned Enterprises
SAP	- Structural Adjustments Programmes
VSP	- Voluntary Severance Package

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ABSTRACT

And in the end, an entire epoch in human history, the epoch of colonialism and white foreign rule, progressed to its ultimate historical burial grounds because, from Morocco and Algeria to Guinea Bissau and Senegal, from Ghana and Nigeria to Tanzania and Kenya, from the Congo and Angola to Zimbabwe and South Africa, the Africans dared to stand up to say the new must be born, whatever the sacrifice we have to make - Africa must be free!
(Boesak, 2005, p. 36)

This thesis aims to facilitate the sharing of reform practices through the achievements of public service reforms (PSR) in Nigeria and South Africa. In Africa, public service unions are traditionally seen as obstacles who oppose public service reforms with their assumed tested interests in dealing only with bread and butter issues and existing employment patterns and representing high pay packages. This thesis sets out to prove that trade unions have made an impact on public service reform in Nigeria and South Africa. Whilst the trade union movement is very strong in both countries, the relationship between the trade unions and the ruling party in South Africa is markedly different than that of Nigeria. As the workplace environment has changed so to have the trade unions. Trade unions are now being criticised for failing to respond to the needs of the workers and the trade union leadership are seen as part of a statist political coalition. In concluding, this study has been successful in achieving the aims regarding the impact of trade unions on public service reform and that trade unions are not a spent force and have a constructive role to play as it has gone beyond the stage of talking about public service reform and the debate needs to shift from reforming to re-creating the public service, re-engineering the public service and re-forming the public service.

KEYWORDS

Public service, reform, trade union, colonialism, structural adjustments, new public management, paradigm, agencification, governance, decentralisation

CHAPTER 1

Transformation of a society entails a metamorphosis; a complete change in both form and substance. Transformation of our society calls for its reorientation from past values and practices defined by racism, sexism, inequality and lack of respect for human rights towards the values reflected in our national constitution.

Mamphela Ramphele¹

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The public service machinery of most countries is by far the largest employer, accounting for approximately twenty five percent of any nation's work-force; thus serving as a key strength from which many synergies can be drawn. Historical data and universal trends indicate that the public service is *ipse dixit* and *doctrinaire* (dogmatic); adopting that which is traditionally regarded as 'first world benchmarked' standards, the veracity of which is sometimes debatable. It is the largest spender in virtually every developing country; thereby setting the policy environment for the rest of the economy. A developing country rests on an achieving public service and a competent public administration at its pulse; therefore a strong and achieving public service is a necessary condition for a competitively successful nation.

As a necessary condition to compete as a globally successful and relevant nation, government faces a constant barrage for change from citizens, public society and international organizations. Reforms are regarded as major changes in the pattern of doing things. Globally one general reason for public service reforms is to restrain public spending, lighten the bureaucratic burden, and to reshape social policies that cannot be afforded.

The aim of all reform efforts is the concern to correct the mistakes of the past or to devise new approaches in tackling issues on the path of nation-building and development; to perform better and improve service delivery by ensuring greater transparency and accountability in decision making.

¹Mamphela Ramphele is a medical doctor with a PhD and rose to prominence in the 1970s as an

Since the late 1950s, post-independent African countries, have vigorously adopted a 'new Africa agenda' and embarked on a wide-range of reform programmes. At the outset these programmes are inherently identifiable by the following thematic framework comprising financial, management, administration, tax and governance reforms.

Consequently African governments had embarked on comprehensive public service reform programmes in an attempt to construct a conceptual bridge using the public service as a tool for the implementation of developmental goals and objectives whilst on the other hand striving to attain a younger, virile, transparent and efficient new public service.

By the end of the 20th century the study and implications of public service reform had generated a body of literature. Research undertaken by reform specialists such as Hood (1991), Pollitt & Bouckaert (2004) Cameron (2009), Thornhill (2008), Jimoh (2007) and Yahaya (2003) *et al* have sought to augment the body of knowledge by looking at key aspects and by analysing various public service models. In the evaluation of the reform paradigm and without denying the modernisation agenda experiences of other countries (both developed and developing), it is highly probable that every reform can be classified concomitantly as both 'successful and unsuccessful'. Reforms have parallel advantages and disadvantages or success or failure, depending from whose point of view it would be assessed? Accordingly public service reform is an ongoing evolutionary global phenomenon, incrementally building on previous measures. All reforms are regarded as a constant 'work-in-progress'

South Africa and Nigeria are the two hegemons on the African continent with a shared history and a common legacy. Nigeria is regarded as a luminary and 'big brother' amongst independent African nations. Nigeria has proactively assisted African countries such as Angola, Ghana, Zimbabwe and South Africa amongst others in their battles for freedom from colonialism and apartheid. South Africa on the other hand represents everything typical of what a modern, reformed African country should be; including being the home of the iconoclastic Nelson Mandela and democracy. Nigeria and South Africa are both constitutional democracies in transition and their historical Anglophone background and parallel historical time frames has shaped its public services.

Both countries have embarked on numerous public service reform initiatives motivated by a myriad of factors. According to the US Census Bureau (2010), Nigeria is regarded as one of the wealthiest nations in Africa, with abundant natural reserves, vast oil reserves and abundant human capital and entrepreneurial spirit. In its 50 years since gaining

independence in 1960, Nigeria has endured tumultuous periods of intermittent military and publician rule. During these periods there has been a litany of maladministration, lack of service delivery, lawlessness, corruption, nepotism, and instances of plutocracy which has left this wealthy nation on the verge of bankruptcy. The life expectancy of its people is even lower than that of Haiti and Somalia (US Census Bureau, 2010). Upon returning to publician rule, Nigeria embarked on its Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP).

Comparatively, the majority black population of South Africa had endured 'crimes against humanity' through the much despised system of 'Apartheid'. This institutionalised discriminatory practices perpetrated since 1948 by the minority white Afrikaner government, created huge socio-economic cleavages such I all strata of life - education, housing, health, justice etc. In 1994, South Africa became a constitutional democracy and the ANC government immediately embarked on its 'Reconstruction and Development' (RDP) reform programme. As South Africa embarked on its mission to build a developmental state, a strong public service was needed to help in achieving this goal.

The public service is the administrative arms of any government. However, the public services in both Nigeria and South Africa were regarded as minions of the governments of the day and lacked credibility and legitimacy. In order to deliver these reform programmes equitably and efficiently, both the Nigerian and South African public services had to deliver reform through their respective its public services. As a first step, Nigeria and South Africa had to embark on Public Service Reforms (PSR). In ensuring best practice, various public administration models were adopted (mainly that of the developed nations, and these reforms had been influenced directly and indirectly by the doctrines, ideology and concepts of the New Public Management (NPM).

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) considers South Africa as the leader in public service transformation and public service reform in Africa despite South Africa being a nascent democratic only since 1994 as compared to Nigeria which became independent in 1960.

In the reform initiative that drives the reform process, reform initiatives are presided over by the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA) in South Africa whilst the Bureau of Public Service Reforms (BPSR) is responsible in overseeing the reform processes in Nigeria.

An assessment of the relevant literature survey as indicated in Chapter 2, undoubtedly reflects that public service reform is a symbiotic association in developing countries and can be achieved by understanding the interplay between public institutions, its surrounding social context (community) and its culture which is fundamental to developing a reform strategy.

This thesis is a neoteric attempt to mature the debate on public service reforms. It has the following key objectives.

1. Firstly, this is an empirically-based comparative perspective of public service reform in Nigeria and South Africa, using the Nigerian experience within the African continental context as the yardstick to measure reforms in South Africa.
2. Secondly, the public service as an institutionalised entity is subject to intrinsic change and influence by peripheral elements and the presence of other critical and equally important stakeholders such as the Public Service Trade Unions.
3. Finally, an overview of some of the challenges that exist within the South African and Nigerian public services in meeting the challenges of the 21st century.

In the circumstances, it is submitted that on a conspectus of the above facts, that the convergence of all of the aforementioned approaches provides a fertile environment for these factors to come into focus in the ensuing chapters.

Kuye (2006:230-309) posits that reform never goes out of style in the public service because political, economic and social conditions are evolutionary and is always changing. Fundamentally, as democracy takes hold in Africa, public service policies and structures as well as human resource (capital) capacities have to be reviewed. Many African countries such as Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Morocco, Namibia, Senegal, Tanzania and Uganda amongst others have embarked on comprehensive public service reforms aimed at improving the quality of life of their citizens, and creating new government machineries to establish efficient and effective management systems.

However, despite the tremendous efforts and resources allocated to reforms, little progress has been made, and many African countries have not come close to their goal of developing and sufficiently transforming their societies. With a few exceptions of successful cases (e.g. Botswana), public service management remains at a lethargic stage.

The political transition in South Africa from apartheid to post-apartheid society has had dramatic consequences for the Public Service as the transition from an out-dated colonial

paradigm to a more appropriate mode in prevailing norms and practices internationally (Cloete & Mokgoro, 1995, p. 193). Similarly after the end of the colonial era and repressive military regime(s), Nigeria became a public democracy. Out of the 50 years of independence, Nigeria was under military dictatorship for 28 years and has had only 22 years of democracy. Although polarised on opposite ends of the African continent, the legacy of colonialism left deep imprints on the political, social, economic and cultural landscapes of contemporary South Africa and Nigeria.

Against this background, Amoaka (2004: vii-viii) believes that a need arises for African countries to learn from each other's experiences in terms of efforts at public service reforms. Ekoriko (2005:5) argues that the importance of South Africa and Nigeria as two entrenched democracies in sub-Saharan Africa cannot be underestimated. However, the respective Nigerian and South African public services lacked credibility and had to transform themselves into contemporaneous institutions acceptable to the populous at large.

Politically, trade unions constitute one of the institutions capable of representing the interests of the citizens and are considered a critical constituent in exerting pressure on public service reforms. Trade unions in most developing African countries have fostered politico-alliance with the ruling parties. It is thus logical that an evaluation of what Hassen (2000:12-17) called the coalition for change is undertaken to examine the perceived impact of trade unions on core public service reform as they are seen to be focused in politico-alliance with the ruling parties in South Africa and Nigeria.

A better insight into the drivers of public service reform will be provided from exploring the two countries and their reform efforts through studying the impact of trade unions in public service reform. The focus of the research will relate to similarities, and apparent tensions and contradictions which may present in Public Service Reform (PSR) in both countries.

The results will offer exchange and transfer of knowledge through lessons which will bring into effect best practices which is one of the main aims of Public Service Reforming as Trade Unions ideologically pose challenges to governments which foster a leftist approach in a capitalist developmental economy. The focus of the research will relate to apparent tensions and contradictions in the application of a coalition for change which present in both countries relevant to Public Service Reform (PSR). The study will also examine the perceived lessening impact of Trade Unions on core Public Service Reform as they are seen to be focused in politico-alliance with the ruling parties in South Africa and Nigeria.

All of the above provide catalysts for change and reform which underlies the need to align the structure of public service and delivery to the cultural dictates of each African nation.

The issues discussed below which are further expatiated and highlighted in the literature survey are of the greatest concern to the researcher:

1.2 REFORMS AND DEFINITIONS

There are marked differences in what constitutes the public service as an organisation because governance arrangements vary from country to country. Civil Service and Administration Reform as a theme is generalised and broad and it is imperative to define Public Service Reform by distinguishing and differentiating between Civil Service and the Public Service; as in some cases, the terms are used interchangeably within a specific context.

A. Civil Service

The Civil Service is defined by Oladipo (2007:363-378) and Hewitt & Fraser (2009) as a subset of the public service which advises on and develops policy, implements government policies and programmes, and manages day-to-day activities. It is the core, permanent administrative arm of government and comprises permanent and pensionable officials employed in public capacity working in government ministries, departments and agencies. The Civil Service is the machinery through which the government implements its policies, designed to meet political aims and provide social services but does not preclude the legislative and the judicial arms of government in the attainment of the objectives of the Civil Service.

B. Public Service

The Public Service is defined by (Cloete J. J., 2006) as that portion of an economy whose activities (economic and non-economic) are under the direct control of the state? The state owns all resources and uses it to achieve its own goals and to maximise the well-being of society as a whole. It regards all the legislative, governmental and administrative institutions at central, regional/provincial and the local/municipal levels of government as well as the functionaries employed in and the functions performed by these institutions, as the Public Service.

C. Public Policy

(Kay, 2006, p. 2) defines public policy as "anything a government chooses to do or not to do". Public service processes of decision-making and implementation in the modern state are approached through a variety of 'models'. A public policy expresses a general set of objectives or a desired state of affairs. Policy is about choice and its consequences and subsequent choices unfold in a chronological process in which uncertainty is a defining feature. It is common practice for government to embark on reforms to correct ills in the polity. Public Service Reform

D. Public Service Reform

Public Service Reform is defined by (Monavvarian, 2004, p. 581) and (Flynn, 2009, p. 40) as producing a measurable improvement in services or a positive change in the relationship between the citizen and the state. It is a long, potentially slow and possibly unrewarding pursuit. Reform is a necessity for growth and development of any human organization and is a disciplined approach to re-ordering of priorities. Reforms are usually necessitated by the need to reorientate and re-position existing programmes and arrangements in order to make them perform more efficiently. Reforms are also predicated on the assumption that there could have been fundamental bottlenecks that have militated against the achievements of the core objectives of such development programmes. Governments provide a service which is often intangible and hard to measure. This characteristic makes the evaluation of their performance a challenging task.

1.2.1 TYPES OF REFORMS

A. First/Second/Third Generation

FIRST GENERATION REFORMS - In broad terms Selowsky in Jimoh (2007: 3-13) categorised reform into two: namely, first-generation and second-generation reforms. First-generation reforms are concerned with economic stabilization, while second-generation reforms involve structural adjustments that improve resource allocation and as well as used factors of mobility that is, internal efficiency.

SECOND-GENERATION REFORMS - As part of efforts to enhance internal efficiency of the domestic economy, second-generation reforms include Public Service Reforms and anti-corruption activities. Second-generation public service reforms hinge on systems that are

loosely connected and welded together through social dialogue which needs to be underpinned and framed by legislation, political institutions, and authoritative structures (Webster & Wood, 2004, pp. 51-56).

THIRD GENERATION REFORM - Early adopters of first and second generation reforms introduced a 'third generation reform' to combat and correct problems of the first and second generation reforms such as fragmented government policy and service delivery, incapacity to formulate policy that crossed specialised boundaries, skills of the public servants that developed more slowly than those of the service providers.

Flynn (2009:35-37) posits that reform may be cyclical as the search for efficiency gains leads to a concentration on getting reduced costs through the supply chain. The focus on costs takes attention away from policy problems and the quality of services as a whole. However, Analoui (2009:489) in view of numerous case studies undertaken, questions whether reforming the public service has had the objective of making those services more effective, efficient and less expensive and capable of providing a better quality of service. These measures have not always been so positively received by those mostly affected – the public servants. Consequently expectation of a single reform to reverse all the things toward the benefits of all groups is misleading.

B. New Public Administration

The New Public Administration conceptualised during the Syracuse University Minnowbrook Conference (1968), also popularly called the Minnowbrook Perspective, provided an alternative perspective to the study and paradigm of public administration, by highlighting the anomalies within the traditional theories, although unable to provide alternatives (Denhardt, 2008, pp. 102-103).

C. New Public Management (NPM)

Hood (1999:1) defines New Public Management as '...management culture that emphasizes the centrality of the citizen or customer, as well as accountability for results. It is a set of broadly similar administrative doctrines, which dominated the public administration reform which captures most of the structural, organizational and managerial changes taking place in the public services and a bundle of management approaches and techniques borrowed from the private-for-profit service. NPM shifts the emphasis from traditional public administration to public management, pushing the state towards 'managerialism'. The

traditional model of organization and delivery of public services, based on the principles of bureaucratic hierarchy, planning and centralization, direct control and self-sufficiency, is apparently being replaced by a market-based public service management or enterprise culture.'

D. Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)

These core paradigms have been triggered by the quest for efficiency, cost containment, quality improvement and good governance and for ways to cut the cost of delivering public services. Public service reform programmes that have taken place in developing countries during the last two decades were introduced as part of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the World Bank under the influence of the New Public Management (NPM). Governments in developing countries advocated the implementation of NPM doctrines such as SAP which have institutionalised Public Service Reforms. It further claims that SAPs are not imposed as conditionalities by donor entities as this is contrary to the United Nations (UN) resolution that developing countries must take ownership of their reform agenda. Experts such as Goldsmith, Flynn, Girishshanker and Manning all claim that the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in sub-Saharan Africa did not have a huge impact on employee numbers.

E. Professional Public Service

The longstanding assumptions that public services should be organized according to bureaucratic principles, and delivered through a career bureaucracy serving governments of any political persuasion, has been seriously challenged. Erudite academics and some scholars dispute whether the creation of a Professional Public Service can increase the efficacy of the public service as the concept of "Managerialism" has negative consequences for a professional public service. New trends to employ senior staff on contract affect the neutrality of the public service as officials are not at liberty to provide "frank and fearless" advice to ministers, fearing that they may be dismissed for insubordination. Additionally, having senior public servants on contract allows the minister to impose a network of patronage, possibly appointing new staff with allegiance and loyalty to the governing party, and hence forsaking the experience and expertise built up over the years by serving officials.

1.2.2 SOUTH AFRICA: REFORMS

A. Legislation

The legislative framework of the South African Constitution (108 of 1996), the Public Service Act (103 of 1994); the Public Service Regulations provided the political mandates. These mandates have evolved over the years from just developing policy to implementation and support as well as facilitating service delivery improvement. In 1996 the final Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) was adopted and proclaimed the need for a Public Service that was accountable to society; efficient, economic, and effective in its operations and enhances public participation.

RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (RDP) - After the 1994 elections, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was the major policy initiative of the African National Congress (ANC) government. The RDP was intended to be a social democratic vision for the country with an emphasis on welfare rights for the poor. It was an integrated, coherent socio-economic programme that attempted to integrate development, reconstruction, and redistribution into a unified programme. It was intended to be a vision for the fundamental transformation of South African society (RSA, 1994, p. 7).

MACRO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY FOR GROWTH AND EMPLOYMENT (GEAR) in 1996 committed the government to more orthodox fiscal policies. GEAR was a macroeconomic strategy primarily aimed at reducing the government budget deficit, albeit within a broader growth and development strategy.

WHITE PAPER - TRANSFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE (1995) - adopted international best practice and trends which envisaged a public service that was lean, decentralised, effective, and efficient which provided improved quality services.

WHITE PAPER - TRANSFORMING PUBLIC SERVICE (BATHO PELE) (1997) adopting for a governance approach, its social contract with its citizens, devolving away from over centralised, hierarchical, and rule-bound systems and focusing on results.

B. Review Commissions

PRESIDENTIAL REVIEW COMMISSION (PRC) - In 1996, a Presidential Review Commission (PRC) - Inquiry on Transformation and Reform in the Public Service was set up to evaluate the South African Public Service. The PRC Report made recommendations, some of which were implemented by the new government. The PRC was also scathing in its criticism and damning of the failure to develop a clear vision or strategic direction as Government had retained and added to what has been essentially a Public Service characterized by duplication and 'separate development' (Calland, 2006, pp. 78-79). The PRC found no justification for the massive number of public officials, "given the finite resources available and the priorities of government".

The MAPHAI COMMISSION, an extension of the PRC, also identified capacitorial lapses in the top echelons and recommended the strengthening of coordination at the centre of government to formulate policies and prioritization within available resources. A crucial recommendation was the replacement of the existing Public Service Commission (PSC) with that of an Office of the Public Service Commission (OPSC) on the grounds of efficiency and effectiveness whilst retaining its independence and continuing to carry out the functions as stipulated in the South African Constitution.

C. Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA)

The DPSA was established in 1996 in terms of the Public Service Act (103 of 1994) to transform, modernize, strengthen and oversee changes to the structure of the public service through institutional reform. The priority for the DPSA, post-1994, was to build a vibrant organization capable of taking public service transformation forward, provide support to the Minister for Public Service and Administration (MPSA) in policy making; devise regulations which impact on the way in which the Public Service operates and carry out the necessary functions in terms of its constitutional and legislative mandates.

D. Senior Management Service (SMS)

In 2001 the DPSA adopted a report on the establishment of a Senior Management Service (SMS) cadre of public servants incorporating managers between the ranks of Director and Director-General. The key objective was to improve the ability of the public service to recruit and retain quality managers and to create a mobile and flexible public service-wide pool of scarce resources as the high turnover of Director-Generals had been a source of concern to

government. Subsequently since 1999, Cabinet had decided that Heads of Department be appointed for 3 years.

E. Financial Reform

The introduction of the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA) and the Public Service Act (PSA) brought about a process of decentralizing public administration from both the financial and the human resources management perspectives. A central element of public service reform is financial reforms and budgeting towards programme budgeting. South Africa in its public service financial reforms introduced three year programme budgeting and by according line managers more financial authority. South Africa, in keeping with best practice, has adopted the accrual accounting system; which has generally been at the forefront of public management reforms. The adoption of accruals is a significant and radical reform to the financial management of governments. In accrual accounting, which supplements cash accounting systems whereby financial information that is available to management is current, and provides meaningful analysis of resource usage within a department. These reforms aim to hold management responsible for outcomes and outputs whilst eliminating controls on inputs. Managers are responsible for all costs associated with the outputs produced, and accruals effective and efficient decision-making by managers.

With the advancement of democratization, decentralization reforms and good governance, Participatory Budgeting has gained global recognition from governments and public society as an effective platform for strengthening transparency, accountability in public expenditure management and service delivery. The use of participatory budgeting has grown exponentially in many countries and more recently, in Africa, creating a growing demand to develop and implement participatory budgeting within the context of South Africa's development. A major source of discord between the stakeholders in the South African public service has always been the compilation of the annual budget, incorporating the annual salary increases and the budget for improvements to conditions of employment. In this regard public service trade unions argue that as part of the collective bargaining process, government is acting in bad faith.

F. Tax Reform

There is a link between the quality of public service delivery and national performance, with government facing the challenge of adapting to these dynamic factors. Tax collection has direct implications on the quality of representative democracy through the budget process, which is a political mechanism by which government extracts revenue from taxpayers and reallocates resources to society. The budget process is a highly contentious policy arena creating distributional conflicts.

G. Decentralisation

Prior to 1994 the public service was highly centralised. Bureaucracy was institutionalised in the public service during the apartheid regime and this functioned extremely well given the quasi-military nature of the public service which embraced bureaucratic line authority in a highly controlled political environment. This infused a culture where officials were not entrusted with responsibility for the consequences of independent decision making and this invariably led to people working in silos and the duplication of functions and wastage of resources. In stark contrast to the provision of the PFMA and the PSA, an enduring 'command culture' existed within the public service management environ, which continued to undermine efforts to deliver a reform agenda based on a more flexible approach of working and thinking. Many procedures were still in place that restricted the freedom of frontline managers to apply hands-on professional management, prevented them from taking risks, drive up standards, develop new solutions and exercise real authority over budgetary control that affected their specific departmental needs. Such authority ideally resides with those responsible for service delivery.

H. Corporatisation (Agencification)

Government had embarked on a programme of corporatisation (or agencification) which entailed converting public service departments into corporatized 'free standing enterprises'. Corporatisation in South Africa was in the form of public entities. Public entities were seen as a vehicle to assist the state in delivering developmental goals and accelerate service delivery by circumventing the bureaucratic systems. The DPSA drew on the experience of countries such as Britain and New Zealand in this regard which were regarded as international best practice. However, cabinet has expressed its concern about the

fragmentation of the public service and the non-performance of the public entities created through the corporatisation programme.

I. Single Public Service (SPS)

In 2006, Cabinet had approved the development of a Single Public Service (SPS), which was a major public service reform initiative. The concept of incorporating a seamless blending of the three tiers of government (national, provincial and local government) into a Single Public Service involved the design of framework legislation and regulations for all three spheres of government. The ideal scenario would be for any citizen to approach any service delivery point close to him/her and receive a basket of government services from officials who can provide such a range of services.

J. Batho Pele

Batho Pele has created a framework away from a bureaucratic system towards a process and a new way of working for treating citizens as customers. It entailed a shift which embraced faster and more responsive action and which put the needs of the public first. However, studies have shown that “street-level bureaucrats” at cold-face level have wide discretion which actually determines a great deal of actual public policy. This has created a self-interested rather than professional culture within the public service with most public servants able to quote the Batho Pele Charter, but not translate it into action. The recurrent violent anti-service delivery protests serve to undermine the government’s reform and developmental agenda.

K. Ministries of Monitoring and Evaluation and Planning

In keeping with international best practice in governance, the Office of the Presidency had created the two pivotal Ministerial portfolios of Monitoring and Evaluation; and Planning. This was to ensure the effectiveness of government’s overall service delivery programmes and its adherence to the Batho Pele principles and social contract with its citizens. The DPSA (2010:5-9) acknowledged that due to the deployment of staff to other National Macro-organisation of the State (NMOS), Ministerial imbizos and the Presidential Hotline programmes, this had impacted negatively on the implementation of other projects which become side-tracked or if not monitored actively, may even become stagnant or redundant.

All cabinet ministers and provincial members of the Executive Council (MEC) had signed the unprecedented Improving Government's Performance through Measurable Performance and Accountable Delivery Performance Agreements. This historic undertaking binds each minister personally to account for his/her department's performance and outcomes in terms of service delivery.

L. Governance

The DPSA launched its compulsory Public Service Charter, concurrently with the introduction of the Public Service Integrity Management Framework, as an effective anti-corruption strategy to ensure compliance through the monitoring and evaluation of public servants, regulating good governance and probity in the public service with the intention to act as a deterrent while strengthening capacity to prevent and combat corruption. The intention of the Public Service Charter was to consolidate the attributes, commitments, rules and ethical principles of a public servant.

M. Skills development / Occupational Specific Differentiation (OSD)

The Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) was set up by government to speed up skills development. It looked at skills shortages and ways to develop these skills and consisted of government, labour and business. The public service has introduced Occupational Specific Differentiation (OSD) for professions such as medical, nurses, teachers and engineers in order to deal with the skills problem.

1.2.3 NIGERIA: REFORMS

Since its formation, Nigeria maintains its status as perhaps Africa's most complex nation. The emergence of a transformed Nigeria is based on a sensitive perception that Nigerians had not been allowed to have their legitimate share in the public services. It was realized that Nigeria which faced a similar range of challenges, issues, and problems as any other developing nation, needed to implement basic public service reforms administration.

A. Post-Independence

On 1 October 1960, when Nigeria became independent, the English public service system had become entrenched to the extent that Nigeria had even inherited its strong colonial societal traditions. Enormous transformations resulted and led to devolution of many

traditional forms, while many of the transplanted western forms evolved into major institutions.

B. Reform Commissions

Since 1945, various panels had been set up by the various governments to study and make recommendations for the reforming of the Civil Service. Prominent amongst these were the Tudoe Davies Commission (1945), Harragin Commission (1946), Gorsuch Commission (1954), Mbanefo Commission (1959), Margan Commission (1963), Adebo Commission (1971), Udoji Commission ((1972-74) and the Dotun Philips Panel (1985) all of which had attempted to address lapses and inadequacies of the Civil Service. The outcome of these reports of the various panels impacted on the structure of the service and the remuneration and productivity of the public servant.

C. Militarisation

In its post-independence history, no Nigerian government has achieved long term stability and the country has been ruled more often by military regimes than politicians. From 1966, the Nigerian public service experienced a decline and decay in all public institutions. Mbaku, Lowenberg and Hazlett (1997:126) are of the opinion that all Nigerian political factions had been involved in determined efforts to capture the apparatus of government as an instrument for the enrichment of the politically powerful. Nigeria experienced a military coup in 1966 which led to the end of a publician regime and the end of the First Republic. While many factors led to military intervention, the loss of popular support and legitimacy clearly weakened these democratic regimes sufficiently to allow the armed forces to step in. The Nigerian public experienced little or no protection by the imposed military conflict and were victims of many social, economic and political challenges and abuse by the armed forces/police. Most schools, hospitals, roads, electricity, water and other public infrastructure were destroyed.

D. Transition to Civilian Government – 1999

On 29 May 1999, Nigeria's transition to publician government ended a long, turbulent period of military rule and failed democratic experiments. The Obasanjo government successfully executed a transition program and handed power over back to publicians. Out of the 50 years of independence, Nigeria was under military dictatorship for 28 years and has had only 22 years of democracy.

E. First and Second Republics

A coup in 1966 led to the end of the First Republic. Between 1966 and 1999, Nigeria faced aborted coups, successive military takeovers, and democracy with 'slender' frames. The First Republic in 1966 and the Second Republic in 1983 (the two previous publician regimes) had both failed and this discouraged possibilities for Public Service Reform. However, post-independent developments showed the unsuitability of the political system under which Nigerian leaders operated; which later gave way to another system of democracy known as the Presidential System of Government. The changes from the Westminster Model to the Presidential System of Government over time also impacted on efficiency, effectiveness and productivity of the Public Service.

F. Fourth Republic

The Fourth Republic from 1999 has turned out be Nigeria's longest incursion into public rule celebrating over a decade since returning to public rule. The Obasanjo Government undertook in terms of the Kuru Declaration to "critically review practices and procedures in every Ministry and Department of Government, with the aim of introducing and inculcating modern management techniques and procedures so as to rapidly increase their productivity and service delivery to the public" (FGN, 2001). The Constitution (Chapter Six) provides for a service oriented Public Service at Federal and State Levels (Constitution (Nigeria), 1999). However, notwithstanding the above, the Nigerian Public Service is battling to grasp its relevance in the 21st Century.

The findings of a study commissioned in July 2003 by the Head of the Civil Service of the Federation (HCSF), revealed that "the public service was in a very bad shape". The Federal Executive Council's (FEC) was charged with the responsibility to evolve a strategy for comprehensive Public Service Reform (BPSR, 2010). The Obasanjo Federal Government introduced its NATIONAL ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY (NEEDS) to undertake a major reformation of government and its institutions (FGN, 2004, pp. 36-38).

G. Bureau for Public Service Reform (BPSR)

In February 2004 the BUREAU FOR PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM (BPSR) was established as an agency of the Federal Government of Nigeria and is charged with the responsibility of coordinating and managing the Public Service Reform processes.

H. National Strategy for Public Service Reforms (NSPSR)

The current administration of President Goodluck Jonathan re-affirmed its commitment to the reform process and in June 2010 collaborated with the United Kingdom (UK) based Department for International Development (DFID), to develop a new NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR PUBLIC SERVICE REFORMS (NSPSR). The Federal Government's NSPSR reform agenda took into account lessons learnt from the public service reforms initiated and undertaken by President Obasanjo's return to public rule in 1999 and other earlier Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAP).

I. Reform Ownership in Nigeria

Reform is a global phenomenon and public service reforms have been necessary at different times in Nigeria's history as a result of the existing, real or perceived imbalances, differences and inequalities. Although the public service reform agenda in Nigeria is home-grown, its neo-liberal character poses a major challenge for its implementation. It is important to stress that the issue of reform ownership is a serious and contentious issue in Nigeria. Successive governments need to adopt incremental ownership of successful programmes and build on for the sake of its citizens.

J. Neutrality of Public Service

In the face of all atrocities and imposed adversities, Aderibigde (2002:1) believes that Nigeria's public service has remained one of the institutions that had sustained the unity of the nation, during the military, ethnic and religious crises that had characterised the polity which would have caused its dismemberment. There was a call for a commitment and neutrality of the public service in ensuring a smooth transition during each of the successive regime changes. In promoting national unity and ethnic harmony, there were calls for the review and evolution of a good public service where recruitment, promotion and discipline procedures on merit would be the sole criteria, standardisation of all appointments especially a coherent competitive examination for the evaluation of aptitude, competence, education and experience.

K. Challenges: Nigeria as a failed state

The anticipated benefits of democracy had been slow to emerge, and the new dispensation had failed to fulfil the expectations of many Nigerians which had resulted in Nigeria today

experiencing a fundamental crisis in governance (Lewis & Adetula, 2006). At various times, analysts have tended to see Nigeria as an almost failed state despite the abundance of resources for development. Another concern that poses a threat to Nigeria's internal stability although Nigeria is a secular nation; is religion which has already divided the country and has permeated the public service at Federal, state and local levels.

Nigeria is determined to reposition itself for the 21st century, transform its government and build a public service that is performance and results oriented, customer-centric and professionally driven.

1.2.4 TRADE UNIONISM: IMPACT

At the commencement of the 21st century, the study of the characteristics and implications of the public service reform paradigm had already generated a body of literature. Research has sought to enrich this body of knowledge of public service reforms by looking at key aspects and by analysing public policy and specificities of the modernization agenda. In evaluation, every reform can be classified concomitantly as both 'successful and unsuccessful'. However, all reform has advantages and disadvantages or success or failure, depending from whose point of view it would be assessed? This question aptly implies that recognition of critical stakeholders before, during and after reform is essential.

In democracies, various actors impact on a country's policy-making actions, all of whom create the space for equality and social dialogue. Government relies on its employees (labour) for the implementation of its Public Service Reform programme. The influence of trade unions in the corridors of power has grown in political substance and political space and deems that the state as employer needs to listen to trade unions as social partners and take account of their views in cooperation activities as trade unions have developed against the backdrop of "revolutionary lines" and are products of change and are therefore already reform converts. Therefore trade unions are convinced that they have the capacity to change the direction of public service reform through social dialogue as the strength of well led trade unions in the public service is an important ingredient to secure increased political impact.

Nonetheless, no attention had been directed at the role and the impact of trade unions as a stakeholder in the Public Service Reform agenda and this remains under-theorized?

Accordingly as a legitimate organization, government as the employer recognise and interact with the trade unions through a recognised platform such as the bargaining councils; often referred to as 'negotiating machinery'. Hence a key demand of the trade unions is to obtain a formal consultative status and strongly supports a process of dialogue with the social partners as a way to enhance dialogue and cooperation between the state and trade unions. These bargaining mechanisms are important as structures of authority for the implementation of policy, redressing of grievances of employment and establishment of new conditions of service.

Public Service Reform embraces the nexus between trade unions and the state's fundamental constitutional duty to secure its citizens' welfare. Trade unions consequently have a direct vested interest in protecting the rights of its members who exist as part of the broader community. There is no doubt that the cooperation between government and public society will promote and implement people centred and sustainable public service delivery reforms.

Brineman (2008) posits the notion that "conventional trade unionism is pretty much dead" as trade unions have lost all relevance in a modern democracy? This argument is advanced and supported by Edeh (2004:44) who argues that trade unions exist essentially only to protect and advance the interest of the citizens who are living in the sphere of its operation where its members live.

Sen (2008) and Nhlapo (2007), countenance Brineman and Edeh by adducing that trade unions have transformed their mind-set from their inability to think broadly beyond their members' interests only and regard trade unions as agents for social change in Africa, citing labour legislation, collective agreements, social security and minimum wages already in place as clear indicators of the strength and influence of trade unions reflecting a capacity to influence public opinion and mobilize action in support of the demands of their constituents. Onabanjo (1999:5), challenges Edeh's thesis that the roles and scope of trade unions in the public service is limited or prescribed only to the 'Bread and Butter' issues. Onabanjo expatiates that public service trade unions not only negotiate for higher wages and better conditions of work; but rather trade unions are concerned with the whole life-style of members and the development of society at large. The aforementioned principles imply a culture of participation in which all stakeholders have a political voice.

Governments by definition are a monopoly. The growth of public service unionism has been associated with the growing mistrust of government and relatively high levels of worker discontent have expressed itself in major strikes and industrial action every year. There is a close relationship between the rise of strike action and union growth which coincide with changes in bargaining practices with regular upsurges in militancy and collective action taking place. Again, this underscores the point that industrial relations trends are wave like.

1.2.4.1 AFRICA

Africa is rich in human and natural resources, yet it is economically the poorest continent in the world with many challenges as dualism is a striking feature of virtually every African society. Many African governments face the dilemma of unlimited needs with finite resources which has resulted in human security assuming critical importance on the basis of the unmitigated slide of Africa into a state of anomie.

The political and trade union situation in Africa is a mixed one. Trade unionism was an important legacy of colonialism which was used by nationalists to revolutionise and fight independence of African countries and have influenced the development of democracy in these countries. Presently most countries find themselves in the 'non-revolutionary phase' of the struggle was inevitable. The role of trade unions in reform has been restructured in the direction of economic and political reforms as a result of the policies of structural adjustment.

A. Pro-Labour Movement

Overall, in some progressive countries there is clearly a pro-labour recognition of the role that the trade union movement has played to varying degrees in securing benefits for working people and in extending the frontiers of freedom, democracy and social progress. It may be a truism but a union is only as strong as its members and the standard measure of union strength is "membership density". The general public service and public service enterprises have become fertile ground for the growth of unions.

B. Anti-Labour Violations

At the other extreme, in many African countries (such as in Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Côte d'Ivoire, Chad, Central African Republic, Cameroon, Burundi, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Guinea, Sudan, Mauritius, Madagascar and Zimbabwe) numerous violations

of trade union rights can be attributed to insecurity, political troubles and armed conflicts. In specific instances, the exploitation of Africa's resources has not been conducive for greater respect for trade union freedoms as unions are still marginalised, outlawed, and/or subject to heavy legal restrictions and including the imprisonment of trade union leaders. Public servants and trade unions find themselves faced with governments who are very hostile and loath to meet their demands and use every means to quash protests, have shown no hesitation in deploying strong-arm tactics; directly interfering in the operations of trade unions and directly appointing pro-government leaders to lead the trade unions as was the case in Nigeria.

C. Public Service Reforms

Trade unionists have become increasingly vocal and instrumental in accelerating the pace of transformation through their sustained support and solidarity with the struggle for liberal democracy. Since independence and in the aftermath of decolonization and demilitarisation, many African states have engaged in periodic public service reforms seeking to rationalise institutional structures and introduce improved management systems and procedures into their public service. Most sub-Saharan African countries according to (Lienert & Modi, 1998) have made only limited progress towards achieving the objectives of public service reform.

There is now a greater need to align the structure of the public service and service delivery to the cultural dictates of each African nation and accordingly (Agbakoba, 2004, p. 137) and (Bhengu, 1996, p. 56), espouse that the connection between the machinery of government and trade unions as stakeholders require that the transformation of the public service converge with a cultural reorientation and the adoption of an Afro-centric perspective.

After years of struggle African trade unionists had to take the lead in advancing development as "nobody will develop Africa except Africans themselves. In some countries, e.g. South Africa, the trade unions have become major players, occupying a vantage position supported by State patronage with the unions nurturing social cohesion by involving themselves in the design of institutions.

Trade unions also felt duty-bound to combat the "negative structural effects of globalisation" in the developing world and its consequences. This required trade unions on the continent to form alliances with other progressive forces in grappling with these challenges. In

keeping with this ethos of social cohesion and the moral obligation of a social contract, public service trade unions believe that they will not be reduced to impotence and nor can governments hold them to principles and policies to which their members do not subscribe.

1.2.4.2 SOUTH AFRICA

The rise of the South African trade unions during 'Apartheid' was a difficult battle to cope with during a hostile climate. However, the battle lines were more clearly drawn as the state as the employer was white and the disadvantaged and discriminated employees invariably were black. During apartheid, the apartheid government recognised the right of white, Indian and coloured workers to belong to trade unions while denying black workers the same right.

Consequently, trade unions argued that workers and their unions could not remain disengaged from community struggles to dismantle the apartheid system. The militancy shown by the trade union movement in support of union recognition was the basis of today's trade union movement which was laid during the 1973 strikes in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. The strikes soon spread to other major centres in the country, prompting the formation of a number of industrially demarcated unions, and the birth of the national trade union movement. Presently, South Africa's trade union movement, arguably the largest and most disciplined on the African continent, has played an influential role in determining labour market and industrial relations policies in the country.

Trade Unions as political agents are catalysts for change and cannot pursue its broad public service reform objectives without being political. Nelson R. Mandela, first president of the democratically elected South Africa, reiterated that his government was equally committed to bring fully into the decision-making processes organs of public society, including the trade union movement and civic organizations. Mandela's message spelt out that trade unions in South Africa politically constitute as an institution; and are instrumental in representing the interests of the large popular strata in disseminating notions of collective rights and having to respond to local crises.

There are three prominent trade union federations with affiliates operating in the public service. These are the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the Federation of Unions of South Africa (Fedusa), and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu). Although the three federations and their respective affiliates compete for membership, they co-

operate in tripartite forums such as National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC), embarking on joint campaigns including demonstrations against amendments to legislation and other issues which impact on society overall.

South Africa's post-1994 labour legislation is among the most progressive in the world. Among the gains the unions have registered over the years is the concession by employers that unilateral decision-making is undemocratic.

Notwithstanding the cordial relationship between the COSATU aligned trade unions and the ANC government, a contradiction manifested itself in the continuing frosty relationship between the state and the public service labour movement which in fact led to violent industrial action during the 2007-2007 periods (Banjo & Balkaran, 2009, pp. 120 - 131).

Whilst Baloyi in (DPSA, 2010) believe that the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA) has played a pivotal role in the maturation of the democratic state, the role of the Public Service Coordinating Bargaining Council (PSCBC) cannot be underestimated in achieving labour peace and stability with public service labour unions by adopting policies aimed at transforming the public service to discharge its responsibility of delivering services to the people.

1.2.4.3 NIGERIA

In the 21st century and under the current publican democratic dispensation; the Nigerian government bases its relationship with trade unions on absolute authority.

Nigerian trade unionism is said to have adopted different orientations at specific times as the various dynamics of evolution forced it to pick up or drop orientations and continue at will. Today it retains its currency as it is declared that there is no group or organisation in Nigeria more patriotic than the Nigerian trade union movement as it represents the only organisation that is truly democratic with voluntarily membership.

The evolution of the Nigerian trade unionism can be traced back to the enactment of the Trade Unions Ordinance of 1938, which was effective from 1 April 1939. Between 1948 and 1956 several worker-oriented political groups were formed, including the United Front of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) which had eventually become the largest labour federation in Nigeria.

Subsequently in 1975 and in order to control the trade unions and to further weaken the Nigeria Labour Congress's (NLC) efforts to oppose government's policy of Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAP), the Nigerian military government introduced a twin policy of limited intervention and guided democracy in labour relations to ensure government dominance over trade unions. In enforcing this policy, the military government enacted several decrees. After intensive mobilisation, lobbying and advocacy work by the Nigerian labour movement, these decrees were abolished in 1998.

A major challenge facing trade unions in Nigeria is that of rebuilding the organisational structures after years of military interference in union administration with trade unions accusations that the Nigerian government has ignored several core labour standards as required by International Labour Organisation (ILO) and international law.

Government public service reforms appear to be seeking to appease external investors who seem to be in favour of working with non-unionized labour. This attitude is again reflected in what appears to impose a 'nuisance' value on trade unions and strikes as the Nigerian government does not appear to appreciate the potential of trade unions to contribute to national development and trade unions and civic groups are treated with disdain, and are often referred to as trouble makers and rabble rousers in the politics of development.

On 19 June 2007 the Joint Action Forum (JAF) was formed as an umbrella body for public societies that comprised the Labour and Civil Society Coalition (LASCO), the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and Trade Union Congress (TUC). The JAF had called on Nigerians to fully participate in planned strikes to force the government to immediately halt the retrenchment of workers and to reform the public sector.

Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC)

The largest, mass fee paying organisation in Nigeria is the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC). With the birth of the modern NLC, the Obasanjo government unilaterally appointed government anti-labour agents to the leadership with the mission to weaken the union and foist its own leadership onto the NLC. NLC unionists were forced on indefinite compulsory leave without pay since the dissolution of the National Executive Council (NEC) by the military in August 1994. Following the repealing of the Trade Union Amendment Decrees 9 and 10 of 1994 which dissolved the executive leadership of the workers central organisation, the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), was handed back by the Federal Government to workers on 17 September 1998 after four years and one month of being under a sole administrator.

One of the greatest challenges facing the NLC was that of the unity within the Nigerian Labour Movement amongst the Trade Union Congress (TUC), Centre for Free Trade Unions (CFTU) and the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU). In this respect, trade unions should be democratically controlled by their members (workers). The NLC as part of the National Joint Public Service Negotiating Council (NJIC) became more relevant and was perceived as such by the Nigerian society, while politically, the NLC assumed the role of a countervailing force in the Nigerian polity without being partisan.

Academic Staff Trade Union of Nigeria Universities (ASUU)

The Academic Staff Trade Union of Nigeria Universities (ASUU) comprises intellectuals who are organised and are extremely militant in defending academic freedom in the Nigerian universities. The ASUU membership of the Nigerian Labour (NLC) has not been steady due to its extreme radicalism. The ASUU as a Trade Union has a history of discordant relations with the various governments in Nigeria (publician and military). During the military regimes, the ASUU vehemently opposed and continued its struggle against imposed authoritarianism. The Obasanjo government's relationship with the ASUU was extremely frictional and very critical and had directed his administration to openly "declare war" on the trade union.

Amalgamated Union of Public Corporations Civil Service Technical and Recreational Services Employees (AUPCTRE)

The Amalgamated Union of Public Corporations, Civil Service Technical and Recreational Services Employees (AUPCTRE) are a public sector union which is involved in the maintenance of roads and public works.

Historically, the leadership of the AUPCTRE provided the principled leadership during the military regime of Abacha and Uba Ahmed periods at a time when the NLC was placed under military administration (control).

The AUPCTRE has accused the office of the Ministry of Labour of being bias. The complaint of the union is that out of the eight unions in the public service, only two are allowed to organise workers beyond Level 06, while the remaining unions in the sector are can do so up to Level 17. According to the union, it is a total breach of the Trade Union Act of 2005, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and African Charter on Human/Peoples' Right for workers to be coerced under any guise to belong to any union against their wish, despite workers' and a legal position on the issue.

1.2.5 SUMMARY

Recent evaluations have shown that reform requires careful analysis and planning as each country is different and within countries different services have different requirements and needs.

In concluding, (Dauda, 2010) believes that it has gone beyond the stage of talking about public service reform and that debate needs to shift from reforming to re-creating the public service, re-engineering the public service and re-forming the public service.

The factors as illustrated above provide an adequate platform for research of this nature, the results of which it is anticipated will stimulate debate, social dialogue and consideration for review of policy and legislation for future public service policy making in South African and Nigeria and reconsideration of critical stakeholders such as public society and especially the trade unions in evaluating their role and contribution in the reform processes.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM

There have been several initiatives to reform the public services in both Nigeria and South Africa. Several drivers of change for reform of the Public Service have attempted to lay claim from within government and externally on such reformation efforts.

Public Service Trade Unions by its very nature are catalysts for change. However, due to the politico-alliance with the ruling party their *bona fides* have been brought into question and are seen by government as an irrelevant nuisance factor in its political space.

The research problem posed is whether Public Service Trade Unions, through its alliance with the ruling party influence and have any impact on Public Service Reform and if they do, can they pursue an Afro-centric Public Service Reform policy or alternatively whether they are merely spectators mimicking a predetermined and encoded reform programme driven by developed countries.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

The role of Trade Unions is prescribed by the narrow delineations of their constitutions and is further proscribed by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions.

As alliance members to former liberation movements which have since independence emerged as ruling political parties; the contradiction that is posed is whether Trade Unions can effectively influence or countenance government from implementing Public Service Reform?

1.4.1 RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

The following study assumptions arise from the research question:

- Public Service Reform in South Africa and Nigeria mimic models in developed countries;
- Trade Unions in Nigeria and South Africa do not look at an Afro-centric context when dealing with policy formulation;
- Trade Unions influence Public Service Reform policy formulation in South Africa and Nigeria;
- Trade Unions have a direct impact on Public Service Reform in Nigeria and South Africa

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research is based on rules of logic, established methodological techniques and statistical theory. As research steadily produces discrete bits of knowledge, a perceptive researcher may draw relevant bits of this knowledge together and try to organise them into some coherent pattern to explain or predict some facet of reality.

Hussey & Hussey (1997:54) point out that methodology refers to the overall approach evident in the research process from the theoretical foundation to the strategies that are used in the collection and analysis of the data. Methods, in contrast, refer to the specific means by which data are collected and analyzed.

In order to lend veracity to my research, it is intended to adopt a multivariate accumulation of sources of material as data in ensuring credibility of the research and authentication of the findings and/or conclusions.

This research adopts the following methodology of a hypothetico-deductive approach starting using the theoretical framework/hypothesis as a point of reference and to test the hypothesis through data subsequently collected through a questionnaire administered survey.

1.5.1 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

A. Primary Research: Questionnaire

The questionnaire is one of the most widely used data survey and collection technique because each respondent is asked to respond to the same set of questions which provides an efficient way of collecting responses from a large sample prior to quantitative analysis. The term "*questionnaire*" is used interrelated as a general term to include all techniques of data collection in which each person is asked to respond to the same set of questions in a predetermined order.

A survey questionnaire was developed using the theoretical framework which underpins the research question as a basis for developing individual questions. The questionnaire was designed using the five (5) point Likert scale weighting responses in terms of:

Table 1 - Likert Scale

STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISA GREE	NEITHER AGREE/NOR DISAGREE	A GREE	STRONGLY AGREE
1	2	3	4	5

Pilot Study

The questionnaire contained both closed and open-ended questions and was initially piloted through the Kwazulu-Natal Public Service Coordinated Bargaining Council (KZN-PSCBC) and all questions were subsequently refined to detect any bias/ambiguity and were re-worked. All geographic regions and language groups were included.

Extensive personal interviews were held in both Nigeria and South Africa.

1. A research trip was undertaken in December 2008 to Nigeria where research meetings were scheduled for Lagos, Ibadan and Abuja to collect primary data, conduct personal interviews, and meet with academics, bureaucrats and policy makers.
2. A similar procedure of collection of primary data and interviews were conducted in South Africa (Pretoria, Johannesburg, Durban, Richards Bay, Empangeni, Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town)

An intense overview of literature from the past five years (2005 – 2010) was undertaken and differences and similarities between the South African and Nigerian Public Service as institutions, its policies and the impact of Trade Unions in the reform process are discussed.

1.5.2 SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The larger the sample's size, the lower the likely error in generalising to the population. The smaller the sample and the smaller the proportion of the total population sampled, the greater the margin of error. Therefore researchers normally work to a 95% level of certainty. (Sekaran, 1992, p. 253) and (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2003, p. 156) (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, Research Methods for Business Students, 2003, p. 156) support a minimum sample size required from different sizes of population at the 95% level of certainty and recommend that in a population size of 1 million and above, the sample size should be 384. Using the sample size as benchmark, it was decided to distribute five hundred (500) questionnaires to allow for non-respondents as well. Non-respondents are different from rest of the population because that have refused to be involved in the research for whatever reason. The questionnaire was administered to officials who deal with Public Service policy development, administration and service delivery in South Africa, Nigeria and where available, other countries on the African continent.

Relevant literature regarding policy formulation, Trade Unions and trade unionism, and service delivery was sourced for the last ten years from Nigeria and South Africa – with the last five years giving relevant, contemporary information which allowed for an up-to-date analysis, which will be useful to both governments and academics.

1.5.3 DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

Most empirical research belongs clearly to one of two categories: Correlational or Experimental research, where variables and their effects are measured. Data analysis techniques are step-by-step procedures which are followed in order to analyse such data which had been collected in a specific fashion. Quantitative data from the close ended questions will be analysed using the following techniques:

A. Inductive and Deductive Approaches

In providing an overview of qualitative analysis, it is apparent that there are different approaches to the process of analysing qualitative data. A research project using a

Deductive position will seek to use existing theory to shape the approach and aspects of data analysis. A research project using an Inductive position will seek to build up a theory that is adequately grounded in a number of relevant cases (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2003, pp. 84-149)

B. Chi Square Test

Chi Square Test is used to test whether two variables are associated. Often descriptive or quantifiable data will be summarised as a two-way contingency table. The Chi Square test enables you to find out how likely it is that the two variables are associated. It is based on a comparison of the observed values with what might be expected if the two distributions were entirely independent. The chi square test calculates the probability that the data could occur by chance alone. A probability of 0.05 means that there is only a 5 per cent chance of the data in your table occurring by chance alone, and is termed statistically significant. Therefore a probability of 0.05 or smaller means you can be at least 95 per cent certain that the relationship between your two variables could not have occurred by chance factors alone.

C. T-Test for Independent Samples

The T-test is the most commonly used method to evaluate the differences in means between two groups. If a quantifiable variable can be divided into two distinct groups using a descriptive variable you can assess the likelihood of these groups being different using an Independent Groups T-Test. This method compares two sample means and the difference in the means of the two groups using a measure of the spread of the scores. In more complex group comparisons one may need to analyze the data using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), which can be considered to be a generalization of the t -test.

D. Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics allows for a clear picture of the data to emerge using Pie-charts and Bar Graphs/Histograms with normal curves. Graphs identify the effects (both expected and unexpected) in the data quicker and "better" than any other data analysis method. Categorized graphs allow the researcher to plot the means, distributions, correlations, etc. across the groups of a given table (e.g., categorized histograms, categorized probability plots, categorized box and whisker plots). Graphs enable you to quickly evaluate and visualize the shape of the data for each group.

E. Causal-Comparative Technique

The research being undertaken is a comparative study of public service reforms in two sub-Saharan African countries. A Causal-Comparative technique will be utilised as the basic objective of a causal-comparative study is used to study closely comparable groups, establish differences and reasons for these differences and to uncover causal links among variables. The causal-comparative research approach is valuable in identifying possible causes for human behaviour in the social sciences context.

It's a moot fact that I will be undertaking research in public service reform in various countries - as institutions and not individuals. It is expected that there will be differences. Notwithstanding this, the overall framework of analysis will be useful on a comparative basis.

F. Correlation Research

Correlation or 'relationship studies' is a measure of the relation between two or more variables. The purpose of Correlation research is to study whether any relationship exists between variables and if such relationships exist then the strength of this relationship must be measured. Correlation or 'relationship studies' is a measure of the relation between two or more variables. The purpose of Correlation research is to study whether any relationship exists between variables and if such relationships exist then the strength of this relationship must be measured. Correlation coefficients can range from -1.00 to +1.00. The value of -1.00 represents a perfect negative correlation while a value of +1.00 represents a perfect positive correlation. A value of 0.00 represents a lack of correlation.

G. Cross Tabulation

Cross tabulation is a combination of two (or more) frequency tables arranged such that each cell in the resulting table represents a unique combination of specific values of cross tabulated variables. Thus, cross tabulation allows us to examine frequencies of observations that belong to specific categories on more than one variable. By examining these frequencies, we can identify relations between cross tabulated variables.

H. Triangulation of Data

Triangulation can be achieved by using different research techniques and can be explained as using more than one source of data collection and analysis in order to give a broad picture of the 'phenomena' under investigation. Triangulation is a process of verification that increases validity by integrating different points of view and methods. As stated above I will incorporate documents and interviews, where required. A triangulated technique according to Wolcott (1988:192) is helpful, "...for cross-checking, varying perspectives on complex issues and events". This will allow triangulation of data which will give a holistic overview to the research findings.

1.5.4 QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE TECHNIQUES

This study will adopt a combined research paradigm into a single research design. The research will use a non-experimental research design using both quantitative and qualitative techniques. A qualitative approach will be used in conducting in-depth interviews with individuals from the target population from which research themes and theories may be inductively developed and then proceed to test these tentative conclusions in the larger population through a survey research strategy and quantitative, statistical analysis tools.

The open-ended questions on the questionnaire will be analysed using:

- Thematic content analysis which has a research method which is a method for the interpretation of the content of data through the classification process of identifying themes or patterns and coding them into different categories.

1.5.5 REFERENCING

A. Referencing Techniques

Referencing is the ethical practice and acknowledgement of a piece of original work by another author which has been referred to or quoted directly in a written piece of work. It is also of informing the reader of any written work of the source of any idea, opinion or information included in the text.

The Harvard System is an author-date system using the author's name and year of publication to identify cited documents within the text. The American Psychological Association system or APA system is a variation on the author-date system. Relatively small

but significant differences exist between the Harvard and APA systems, and many authors adopt a combination of the two systems (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2003, pp. 459-463).

1.5.6 DATA CAPTURING AND PROCESSING SOFTWARE

A. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Software [PASW Statistics 18]

The data for this research will be captured on the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Software [PASW Statistics 18] which is compatible with various spread sheets, and compliant in providing the formatting of the data which will be done in accordance with the specified procedure. SPSS as a statistical analysis software tool is able to “convert” knowledge as the basis of the research into an understanding of complex phenomena as large volumes of data will be ordered, extrapolated, analysed and reported on.

B. Microsoft Office 2010

The Microsoft Office 2010 suite, incorporating Microsoft Word 2010 (word-processing) and Microsoft Excel 2010 (spread sheet) will be used in the completion of this thesis. Microsoft Word 2010 has a built-in Referencing, Citations and Bibliography component; unfortunately it does not include the Harvard Referencing technique, but does include the American Psychological Association system or APA. Therefore the American Psychological Association system or APA referencing technique will be utilised in this presentation.

1.5.7 PRACTICAL AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is imperative that the study be guided by fundamental ethical considerations that relate to responsible research in the human sciences. Permission to interview public servants and access to primary data had to be obtained prior to the interview being conducted. Respondents were assured that they would remain anonymous and informed consent was obtained from participants before distributing questionnaires. Confidentiality will be maintained throughout the study due to the sensitive nature of the research.

1.6 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The thesis embraces chapters structured in the following way to include a discussion of material extrapolated from a theoretical and empirical survey. The research material is divided into five chapters as follows:

CHAPTER ONE

This chapter contains the introduction and overview, addresses the research problem statement, aims and objectives of the study, research methods; theoretical perspectives and research methodology and research contents. A conceptual clarification of some of the terms and definitions - Trade Union, Trade Unionism, public administration, NPM, Public Service Reform, Neo-liberalism and NPM.

CHAPTER TWO

This chapter provides an overview and development of Public Service Reforms in Africa, South Africa and Nigeria and the role of public service trade unions. This chapter analyses the African diasporic surveys of public service reform and trade unionism; differentiating between developed and developing country models. This chapter deals with a survey of the trade union and public service reform theory literature review of post-1994 transition in south Africa and the public service reform process in Nigeria pre/post military rule leading to public administration in order to provide the necessary background for the need to establish a system that will ensure efficient and accountable service delivery.

CHAPTER THREE

This chapter focuses on and analyses the impact of public service trade unions and their contribution in public service reforms in South Africa and Nigeria.

CHAPTER FOUR

This chapter focuses on a discussion of the research methodology applied in this study. The chapter is devoted to analysing and interpreting data collected for the survey and stakeholder perceptions of trade union and public service reform in South Africa and Nigeria.

CHAPTER FIVE

This chapter discusses the Way Forward (A Synergistic Approach) of Trade Union and Public Service Reform in South Africa and Nigeria and provides conclusions and recommendations on the research conducted as well as recommended areas for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

'We should all be aware though that the long-term problems require decades to achieve full reform. Services can be adjusted to improve access quite quickly but the big changes towards greater integration and improved efficiency may take 10 to 15 years. This is a road-trip with no immediate end in sight.'

Professor Stephen Leeder²

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The following chapter critiques different authors, philosophers, academics and trade unionists who have written extensively on the issue of public service reform. The theoretical outlook finds its roots in theories from Karl Marx, Nelson Mandela, R.Thornhill, Zwelinzima Vavi, and Adams Oshiomhwe and other philosophers such as Steve Biko. Marxism provided the framework for many of the anti-colonial movements in Africa within the context of the liberation and democratic struggle and the struggle to wrestle the heart of the labour movement away from capitalist control to be used as a vehicle for the transformation of a nascent society. They viewed their struggle to be anti-colonial, anti racist and anti exploitative. They struggled to usher in a democratic form that would liberate the people, using the administrative mechanism of the state - the public service. It provided a useful point of departure for grappling with challenges in public service reform in Nigeria and South Africa today.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, many countries had enthusiastically taken on the challenging task of reforming their governments along the principles of good governance. The structures of government, especially its ministries and forms of administration, its degree of meritocracy, its mechanisms for policy-making and coordination and for coherent programme implementation, and the neutrality and autonomy of its public servants, cannot be discussed in isolation from the public service as an institution.

²COAG health reform: a long road to ... where? - Melissa Sweet - 14 February 2011 - <http://www.crikey.com.au>

The public service is not just a passive implementer of policy and reform packages, but has been institutionalised as a centre of reform. It has its own interests and accordingly can defend, facilitate or constrain any reform, depending on how it relates to its interests. In ensuring growth, developing countries face a growing need to reform their public services by revisiting and assessing existing structures whilst new policies and strategies are put in place in key areas in order to maximise performance, increase productivity and improve service delivery. Therefore public service reforms are regarded as 'a dynamic and cyclical process at work with a sense of constant movement and recognised oscillations in the distribution of power'.

The presence of multiple actors and equally important stakeholders in the reform initiative is that which creates this vibrancy and constant momentum that drives reform as a process.

Democracy as a culture and a process, cannot be imposed from outside as it requires a change of mentality and should emerge from the 'general will.' Therefore the absence of the indigenous entrepreneurial class and associated human and material resources compelled nascent African states at independence to become cohort stakeholders in 'forced' socio-economic development programmes.

In this regard the real issue is the rise of Africa, which naturally begs the question - Where do Africans intend to position themselves?

2.2 THEORY OF SOCIAL CONVERGENCE/SOCIAL MIMICRY

Reform never goes out of style in the public service because political, economic and social conditions are always changing (Kuye, 2006, pp. 290-309). The fast changing world of the twenty-first century and challenges of globalisation necessitate that countries of the world, especially the developing ones, must engage in systematic efforts of creating sustainable intellectual capital for their effective competitiveness in the international economy.

This thesis uses the *Theory of Social Convergence/Social Mimicry* to add a unique perspective as an indicator of social patterns and structures often emulated by developing states in Africa (Moynihan, 1968, pp. 315-331). Fundamentally, as democracy takes hold in Africa, public sector policies and structures as well as human resource capacities have to be reviewed.

The Nigerian and South African public administrations uncritically embraced a 'foreign invention' which had been introduced by Osborne and Gaebler as a basis for development as a discipline, namely the New Public Management (NPM). The NPM approach propounded by the neo-liberals was accepted universally as a panacea to the governance challenges of the world Maserumule (2010:77-78).

It can be postulated that the social mimicry of western ideals can be interpreted as a systemic pathology which contributed to the past efforts to reform the Public Service of most African states.

However, it must be acknowledged that there are multiplicities of factors that account for reform. Reform can be either endogenous or exogenous in nature, depending on the causes and motivation thereof. Endogenous or *ipsative* reform (nations using its own performance as the norm against which to measure something rather than the performance of other nations) can be self-deprecating. Alternately on the other hand countries adopting exogenous reforms using established developed countries as the yardstick to implement reform risk ignoring the developmental nature of the domestic environ.

2.3 SOUTH AFRICA

The scale and scope of the transformation South Africa embarked on after apartheid is without precedence. South Africa has had to wrestle simultaneously with political, economic and social transformation at all levels. Ramphela (2008:13-14) describes the term 'transformation' to denote fundamental changes in the structures, institutional arrangements, policies, modes of operation and relationships within society. Achieving this shift requires radical changes in values, attitudes and relationships at all levels. This would create the platform for embedding the roots of civic-mindedness that ought to characterise the public service.

2.3.1 POLITICAL DISPENSATION

In 1994 the transformation of the South African public service received top priority with the aim to transform the public service into a servant of the people - accessible, transparent, accountable, efficient, and free of corruption. The new government was concerned that if left unchanged, the policies and practices of the previous apartheid government would

seriously jeopardise the capacity of the public service to meet its new social and economic transformation role in the country.

Since 1910, South Africa has fostered an economic system in which the state's regulatory powers were entrenched and routinely used to enrich the white minority at the expense of its majority black population (Mbaku, 1997, p. 126). During the apartheid era, the South African public service was isolated and out of touch with international developments. In 1979 the apartheid administration began a rationalisation process in an attempt to incorporate efficiency principles in the public service which culminated in the Public Service Act (1984). In 1991, the New Public Administration Initiative (NPAI) identified that it needed to retrospectively interrogate these initiatives as the public service realised that it was suffering from a severe identity and legitimacy crisis and was 'not the employer of choice' for many people as it had difficulty in attracting the 'brightest and the best'. The ANC government also needed to implement a paradigm shift as the public service lacked credibility and was still viewed as the machinery of government that was used by the minority whites to oppress, subjugate and humiliate the black majority.

2.3.1.1 CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

However, the early 1990s saw major political changes in South Africa. Political organisations were unbanned and the apartheid government committed itself to negotiating a new constitution with all political parties. After the 1994 elections, South Africa embarked on majoritarian, multiparty politics and a democratic dispensation. (Cameron & Thornhill, 2009, pp. 897-909) posits that during the transition in the early 1990s, the newly elected African National Congress (ANC) government and new senior officials, having been a liberation movement and a "government in waiting" whilst in exile, had limited knowledge of public service reform (PSR) trends and were looking for new sources of influence. In 1996 the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) was adopted and proclaimed the need for a public service that was efficient and effective in its operations, accountable to society and which enhanced public participation. This Constitution committed government to be transparent and inclusive by provisions in chapters 3 and 10 for an integrated and inter-sectoral, and cooperative approach to governance.

2.3.1.2 WHITE PAPERS ON TRANSFORMATION

The formulation of the White Papers proposed a number of important ways to move the transformation process forward. The principal aim was to establish a framework to guide the transformation of the public service by new policies and legislation in an effort to create a leaner and more cost-effective service.

A. White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (RDP)

In 1994, the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development was published (followed by a second in 1995) to forge ahead with the processes of reconciliation, reconstruction and development. As a programme of policy development and implementation procedures, its aim was to integrate the different organs of government (RSA, 1994).

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was the other major policy initiative of the African National Congress (ANC) government with its intended vision for the fundamental transformation of South African society (RSA, 1994, p. 7). It was an integrated, coherent socio-economic programme that attempted to integrate development, reconstruction, redistribution and reconciliation into a unified programme.

B. White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service

The regulatory approach to government had to be replaced with a developmental-oriented state based on non-racial principles aimed at enriching the quality of life of historically disadvantaged communities (HDC) in a sustainable way. The White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service made provision for the creation of institutional mechanisms to facilitate and co-ordinate the transformation process in the public service. The (RSA, 1995) outlined:

- National policy framework for the transformation of the public service
- Adopted international best practice and trends which envisaged a public service that was:
 - lean
 - decentralised
 - effective
 - efficient
 - provided improved quality services
- Identified the need to trim state expenditure and the size of the public service

- Emphasised the redefining the role of the state.

C. White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele)

The ANC government needed to implement a paradigm shift as the public service lacked credibility and was still viewed as the machinery of government that was used by the minority whites to oppress, subjugate and humiliate the black majority.

Whilst the South African Government had opted for a governance approach, its social contract with its citizens, as encapsulated in the White Paper – Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele), did not disguise that it viewed its citizens as “customers” similar to the more efficient competitive private sector – thereby devolving away from over centralised, hierarchical, and rule-bound systems and focusing on results.

The goals of the White Papers were further entrenched in the Constitution (Hohls & Peroff, 2000). The Constitutional values and principles for Public Administration along with the Bill of Rights clearly committed the government to a broad developmental, redistributive and participative role.

2.3.1.3 MACRO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY FOR GROWTH AND EMPLOYMENT (GEAR)

The adoption of the Macro-Economic Strategy for Growth and Employment (GEAR) in 1996 led to public service reform being implemented in a more budget-driven paradigm with an emphasis on goals such as cost-cutting, rightsizing and privatisation.

Since 1996, the public service has played a pivotal role in the maturation of the democratic state both in giving strategic leadership to the administrative machinery and in spearheading its transformation into “an efficient well-oiled instrument” to implement a democratic dispensation and by strengthening the capacity of the administration as the engine of Government in providing efficient services.

2.3.2 REFORM REVIEW COMMISSIONS

The newly elected democratic ANC government realised that ideologically there needed to be a paradigm shift and fundamental transformation from an apartheid-driven bureaucracy towards a more democratic public service which put its citizens first. In its initial public service assessment, it had become apparent that the ANC government was frustrated at the apparent lack of human resource capacity to bring about transformation. This realisation led to the need to assess and evaluate methods for the transformation into a modern public

service, acceptable to the newly enfranchised black majority. However, the following have had significant and profound impact on public service reform viz.:

- Presidential Review Commission (PRC)
- Maphai Commission
- Single Public Service (SPS)

2.3.2.1 PRESIDENTIAL REVIEW COMMISSION (PRC)

In 1994, the South African public service inherited a fragmented state administration system of the previous government and had to transform this into a unified and integrated national public service. The first step in this direction was the introduction of the Public Service Act (103 of 1994) as it provided for the rationalisation and restructuring of the 11 separate public services, comprising 176 departments (38 national state departments, 76 independent states and 62 self-governing homelands – all inclusive) with approximately 1,27 million public servants, into 32 new departments at national level and 9 new provincial administrations with effect from 1 July 1994 (Hohls & Peroff, 2000, p. 16).

In 1996, a Presidential Review Commission of Inquiry on Transformation on Reform in the Public Service (PRC) was appointed to evaluate the South African public service. It had to support and consolidate the initiatives of the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service, and recommend viable changes that would facilitate the transition and provide a framework for the more fundamental transformation of the public service (Calland, 2006, pp. 78-79). In this regard the PRC Report made a number of recommendations, some of which were implemented by government:

- The Public Service had made little progress in addressing the inherited inequalities and inefficiencies, and that the efficient delivery of quality services left much to be desired.
- Government has retained, and added to, what has been essentially a Public Service characterized by duplication of 'separate development'.
- The role and functions of the Public Services have to be fundamentally rethought as there is no justification for the massive number of public officials, "given the resources available and the priorities of government".

The PRC was also scathing in its criticism of the failure to develop a clear vision or strategic direction (Calland, 2006, pp. 78-79).

2.3.2.2 MAPHAI COMMISSION

The Maphai Commission, an extension of the PRC, also identified incapacity in the top echelons, strengthening direction and coordination at the centre of government to formulate policies, to ensure value for money, and prioritization within available resources.

The Commission further recommended:

- To facilitate the efficient and effective implementation of such policies, and to ensure that they are regularly monitored and reviewed.
- To replace the existing Public Service Commission (PSC) with that of an Office of the Public Service Commission (OPSC), whilst retaining its independence and continuing to carry out the functions as stipulated in the South African Constitution.
- The restructuring of the Public Service Commission on the grounds of efficiency and effectiveness.

2.3.2.3 CABINET CLUSTERS

The PRC had recommended that the direction and coordination of the centre of government should be strengthened. Arising out of these recommendations, government attempted moves towards centralisation in the form of strengthening the core centre of government. These recommendations were accepted and led to the strengthening of the offices of the Presidency.

The PRC also influenced intergovernmental relations as related functions were 'clustered' into Cabinet Clusters to ensure greater policy cohesion and within national departments and between the national and provincial spheres (DPSA, 2010, p. 30) Clusters do not have budgets. The lead department for the programme normally provides funding. This was intended to develop an integrated approach to the formulation and implementation of policy. Levin (2007:13) states that the cluster system provides only horizontal integration, whereas effective integration requires vertical integration across the three spheres of government.

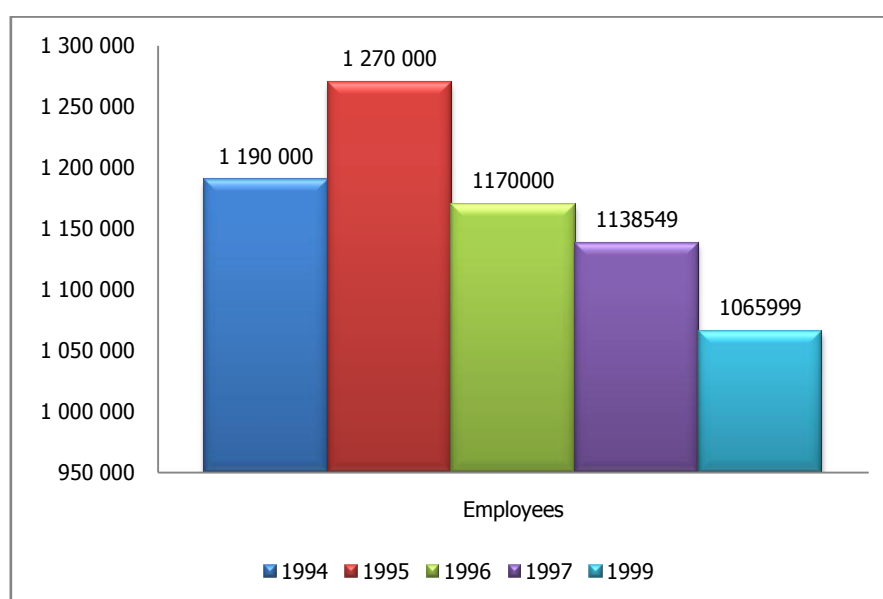
2.3.2.4 UNIFICATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES

South Africa during apartheid consisted of 11 separate public services consisting of 176 departments (38 national state departments, 76 independent states and 62 self-governing homelands) with approximately 1, 27 million public servants, into 32 new departments at national level and 9 new provincial administrations with effect from 1 July 1994.

According to the Department of Public Service and Administration the following indicated the employment figures for the following periods:

- 1994 - 1, 19 million
- 1995 -1, 27 million
- 1996 -1, 17 million
- 1997 - 1, 13 million
- 1999 – 1, 06 million

Figure 1 - Number of Employees (1994-1999)



The Government's aim was to create a single, unified public service through rationalisation and the rightsizing process within the broad framework of reconstruction, development, and administrative transformation in the South African.

2.3.2.5 SINGLE PUBLIC SERVICE

A comparative study was conducted in 2002 to look at the development of a Single Public Service (SPS). In 2006, Cabinet had approved the development of a Single Public Service (SPS), which was a major public service reform initiative. The concept of incorporating a seamless blending of the three tiers of government (national, provincial and local government) into a Single Public Service involved the design of framework legislation and regulations for all three spheres of government.

The ideal scenario should be where a citizen should be able to approach a service delivery point close to him/her and receive a basket of government services from officials who can provide a range of services (basket of services). After Cabinet's approval for its introduction

in May 2008, the Public Administration Management Bill (PAMB) was introduced in the National Assembly in June 2008 (DPSA, 2010, p. 52).

However, the public service trade unions had refused to negotiate on the Bill due to the fact that the Minister had introduced the Bill without any prior consultation with labour and the public service trade unions whatsoever. The Bill was subsequently rejected in the National Economic, Development and Labour Council (Nedlac), a constitutional tripartite negotiation forum, by the public service unions which resulted in the Minister for Public Service and Administration (MPSA) being forced to withdraw the Bill in November 2008 and to date the matter remains withdrawn.

2.3.3 NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT (NPM) FRAMEWORK

While the government never lost sight of its constitutional and development role, it is generally accepted that NPM reforms were influential in South Africa as much of the reforms in South Africa paralleled those which were implemented in other countries, in particular Britain and the USA. It is debatable whether public sector reforms in South Africa had been shaped by the tenets of NPM, including the strong focus on decentralised management of human resources and finance.

The erstwhile Minister of DPSA, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi has confirmed that whilst her government did not adopt the NPM programme, the government borrowed NPM skills and techniques to modernise the public service without buying into the ideological framework.

There were a number of measures that were introduced in the 1990s that would not be adopted now. Under her stewardship, the DPSA began taking a stronger anti-NPM line and moved away from a minimalistic view of the state (Fraser-Moleketi, 2003, 2006).

The transformation of NPM in the South African context occurred partly because the NPM tools, once uncoupled from the underlying doctrine, were open to multiple uses and extensions. NPM instruments or tools applied to a local setting may even mutate into something quite different. While it is true that there are elements of NPM in the reform programme, it has not taken off in the way in South Africa in the way that has commonly been presumed.

While it is true that elements of the government, most notably that of the Treasury have tried to introduce greater efficiency, there appears to have been limited success.

The question that needs to be raised is just how entrenched have NPM reforms worked themselves into the South African public service.

2.3.3.1 FINANCIAL REFORMS

With the advancement of democratization and decentralization reforms and special focus on good governance, there is a direct link between the quality of public service delivery and national performance, with government facing the challenges of adapting to these dynamic factors. Economic reforms go to the heart of the New Public Management (NPM) reforms with tax collection having direct implications on the quality of representative democracy through the budget process. Participatory Budgeting is rapidly gaining attention from governments, public society, and development agencies as an effective platform for strengthening transparency and accountability in public expenditure management, and service delivery. This has created a growing demand to develop and implement participatory budgeting within the context of Africa's development. Critics have argued that the budget process is, in essence, a political mechanism by which government plans to effectively extract and reallocate resources from society. The budget process is, by its nature, a highly contentious policy arena where diverse political actors converge to address distributional conflicts through institutionalised and repeated interactions.

A major source of discord in the South African public service has always been the compilation of the annual budget, incorporating the annual salary increases and the budget for improvements to conditions of employment. At the end of the 2009/2010 financial year the DPSA's total expenditure was R417 880 000 against the voted Budget of R429 833 000.

Countries have moved away from line-item budgeting towards programme budgeting. This also involves a shift away from detailed financial regulations and compliance management towards giving managers more financial discretion and entails giving managers increased control over budgets for which they are held accountable responsible (Hughes, 2003, pp. 172-174)

By adopting accrual accounting, South Africa had indicated that it was at the forefront of public management reforms. Accrual accounting supplements cash accounting systems to ensure that the financial information available to management is current, and provides meaningful analysis of resource usage within a department. The adoption of accruals is a significant and radical reform to the financial management of governments. These reforms aim to hold management responsible for outcomes and outputs whilst eliminating controls

on inputs. In this context, it is expected that managers should be responsible for all costs associated with the outputs produced, not only the immediate outlays. Accruals allow for the capture of these full costs, thereby supporting effective and efficient decision-making by managers (ECA, 2004, pp. 21-22).

The introduction of the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA) (1 of 1999) and the Public Service Act (PSA) (103 OF 1994) brought about a process of decentralizing public administration from both the financial and the human resources management perspectives.

South Africa had introduced budgetary reforms and has introduced three year programme budgeting. The PFMA introduced a performance-based approach where the focus shifted from inputs and rules to outputs and responsibilities. One of the implications of this was that accounting officers are required to do 'life-cycling costing of programme alternative costs' in their costing of new programmes.

The PFMA provides for a wide range of general responsibilities which includes:

- ensuring internal auditing systems
- effective utilisation of departmental resources
- effective systems for collecting of financial resources due to departments
- management of liabilities
- the safeguarding and maintenance of assets
- compliance with legislation when transferring financial resources
- undertaking of disciplinary action against public servants who contravene the Act

The PFMA has also impacted upon politico-administrative relationships in that it has led to conflicting lines of accountability. The Director General has clear responsibility for financial management while the Executive Politicians are responsible for Human Resources.

2.3.3.2 CORPORATISATION (AGENCIFICATION)

Public entities were seen as a vehicle to accelerate service delivery by circumventing the bureaucratic systems. Unfortunately with the birth of democracy, some departments took four to five years to gear up for service delivery. Corporatisation in South Africa was in the form of public entities. In introducing corporatisation, the DPSA drew on the experience of countries such as Britain and New Zealand which was regarded as international best practice. The growth of public entities in the late 1990s was due to a number of reasons.

- A logical split between policy and executing functions
- Converting departments into free standing enterprises or departments
- Disaggregated units entails the breaking up of large entities into corporatized unit
- Engaging with each other on an arm's length basis

In 2000 a combined DPSA and National Treasury investigated the state of public entities. Some public entities had become so autonomous that it became very difficult and highly complicated for government to influence their service delivery outcomes (DPSA, 2000:5) and it was proposed there should be an overarching institutional framework which brought the establishment, management, and review of public entities properly under the control and influence of government (DPSA: 2000: 21-22).

In 2008 there were 282 public entities in the country. These public entities were not extensive across in the Public Service, but were largely gathered together in the Departments of Transport and Trade and Industry. In 2005 the Cabinet being concerned about the fragmentation of the public service, had requested that a further report on public entities be compiled (DPSA: 2008B: 40).

It concluded that there was no policy framework in place to guide the process of establishing and reviewing public entities and this resulted in uncertainty around governance arrangements, financial and performance accountability and the appropriate scope for political intervention.

This was also exacerbated due to the lack of performance culture in these public entities with performance targets and review periods often not being clear. Public entities are in a critical position to assist the state in delivering developmental goals in achieving greater efficiency, cost savings or service quality improvements.

In recent years there has been an attempt to move away from public entities with provision being made for Government components within the public service. They were intended to enable direct service delivery through a focused and fully ring-fenced entity. However unlike public entities they were created under the direct control of the Minister of DPSA who is responsible for the performance of the relevant function (DPSA, 2008B:40-41). It was an attempt to have more direct government control over service delivery.

The Centre for Public Service Innovation (CPSI) in the DPSA was the first Government component that was created. The creation of the Government Employees Medical Scheme (GEMS) also goes against the international trends of agencification and outsourcing.

There was still however union resistance to Government Components.

2.3.3.3 MONITORING AND EVALUATION

In keeping with global and international best practice in governance, the Office of the Presidency had created two pivotal Ministerial portfolios of Minister of Monitoring and Evaluation and Minister of Planning. The White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (RSA, 1997) is generally known as the Batho Pele (People First) initiative. Batho Pele has created a framework for treating citizens as customers and to ensure and maintain the effectiveness of government's overall service delivery programmes and its Batho Pele social contract with its citizens. Its aim was to make service delivery a priority in the public service and called for an improvement in the way services are improved. It also entailed a shift away from bureaucratic systems and processes, towards a new way of working which was faster and more responsive and which put the needs of the people first.

To give effect to this undertaking, all ministers in President Zuma's cabinet had signed the 'Improving Government's Performance through Measurable Performance and Accountable Delivery Performance Agreements'. This historic undertaking binds each minister personally to account for his/her department's performance.

Further in order to implement his change, a programme for Monitoring and Evaluation practitioners has been developed to build capacity of Monitoring and Evaluation practitioners to collect, collate analyze and disseminate of information on the progress and impact of government programmes in terms of the Policy Framework for the Government-wide Monitoring and Evaluation System.

The salient features of the above initiatives of the Zuma government lend itself to another private sector technique and another feature of NPM which is strong on customer focus and in designing and administering services. This entails shaping products to be tested against the needs of service users. Invariably this redefinition of citizens as customers has posed challenges for accountability.

Most public servants can quote the Batho Pele Charter but it is not translated into action which has arguably created a self-interested rather than professional culture within the public service.

2.3.3.4 GOVERNANCE

A. Integrity Management Framework

In June 2010 the DPSA introduced the Public Service Integrity Management Framework as an effective anti-corruption strategy and the strengthening and alignment of all measures regulating good governance and probity in the public service. The intention was to ensure compliance through monitoring and evaluation of public servants and to act as a deterrent while strengthening capacity to prevent and combat corruption.

B. Public Service Charter

The DPSA launched its compulsory Public Service Charter, concurrently with the introduction of the Public Service Integrity Management Framework. The intention was to consolidate the attributes, commitments, rules and ethical principles of a public servant. This change of attitude of public servants will align with working differently for an efficient, effective and development-oriented public service.

The following principles will consolidate the following as defining a public servant of note:

- Eight attributes of a public servant
- Nine commitments of a public servant to the people of South Africa
- Seven rules of engagements for public servants
- Twelve commitments of a public servant to the public service
- Five ethical principles of a public cadre

2.3.4 DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE AND ADMINISTRATION (DPSA)

The Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA) is the engine of Government and employs approximately 1.61 million public service employees and was established in 1996 in terms of the Public Service Act (103 of 1994). It is reported that one in eight people in South Africa work in the public sector; 13% of the total 12.8 million people employed. However, the actual number of people working the broader public sector is higher because it excludes employees of 280 public institutions such as the various boards, e.g. water board, tourism board, gambling board etc.

The mandates of the DPSA are derived through the legislative framework of the South African Constitution (108 of 1996), in particular Chapters 3 and 10; Public Service Act (103 of 1994); Public Service Regulations and the Government's political mandate and priorities.

These mandates have evolved over the years from just developing policy to implementation and support as well as facilitating service delivery improvement.

2.3.4.1 CFA / PSC / DPSA

Prior to 1994, the Commission for Administration (CFA) and its successor the Public Service Commission (PSC) were precursors to the current DPSA. Extensive executive authority and powers resided in the hands of the policy makers as management and delegation in the public service under the CFA and the PSC was highly centralised. In 1996 these executive powers of the PSC were transferred to the Minister of Public Service and Administration (MPSA) with the PSC taking on a research, monitoring and 'watchdog' role. It was argued that this reflected international practice in countries such as Britain and New Zealand. In comparison with PSCs in other countries who had more executive powers, the PSCs emasculated monitoring role was almost unique.

2.3.4.2 EXECUTIVE (POLITICAL) POWER

Leadership and management occupy important positions within bureaucracy. However, executive powers were granted to politicians and not managers although provision existed for further delegation to managers. The ANC believed that in 'letting the politicians manage'. As South Africa was in the throes of a new democracy and transformatory order, the ANC did not trust the senior white bureaucrats of the old apartheid order who dominated the higher levels of the much despised bureaucracy. Therefore the ANC felt that executive politicians were needed to transform the higher echelons of the bureaucracy.

The priority for the DPSA post-1994 was to build a vibrant organization capable of taking public service transformation forward as the attainment of democracy presented the post-apartheid state with twin challenges;

- institutional transformation
- the development of new policies in achieving demographic representation in line with the principles espoused in the nascent democratic constitution

The objective of the DPSA was:

- to transform and modernize the public service
- oversee changes to the structure of the public service
- provide support to the Minister for Public Service and Administration (MPSA) in policy making
- devise regulations which impact on the way in which the Public Service operates

- carry out the necessary functions in terms of its constitutional and legislative mandates

2.3.4.3 ASSESSMENT PROJECT

As South Africa embarked on its mission to build a developmental state it required a strong public service to help achieve this goal. The public service needed to promote people's involvement and their voices needed to be heard. The challenge that was experienced in 1994 was that the country had public servants who had experience in public service, but didn't understand the political direction it needed to take. Post 1994, public servants who understood the political direction, had no experience in public service (Nzimande, 2011).

Therefore at the cusp of the democratic dispensation, the DPSA undertook a major Assessment Project to assess whether the public service of the day had the capacity to implement the programmes that needed to be implemented to transform society. The impact assessment revealed several challenges which were characterised by:

- system, human and institutional weaknesses within the public service environment which included developmental orientation
- non-adherence of the Batho Pele principles
- wasteful utilisation of allocated resources
- ineffective performance management and development system
- lack of a national integrated training
- ineffective measures to combat and prevent corruption
- inadequate support to local government
- filling of vacancies
- lack of response to evolving policy

2.3.4.4 DECENTRALISATION

One of the consequences of the apartheid Public Service institutions was its hierarchy which insulated its public servants into the proverbial silo mentality. This worked extremely well during apartheid, given the quasi-military nature of the public service which totally embraced bureaucratic line authority in a highly controlled political environment. This shaped the culture wherein officials were not entrusted with the responsibility or consequences of a more independent decision making process, and invariably led to the duplication of functions and wastage of resources.

Public service managers felt that the quality and leadership of senior management was so poor that it threatened to 'derail' the government's public service reform agenda. One particular area that had been identified where such leaders had failed to deliver was on their 'clarity of vision'. The enduring 'command culture' within management was a worrying sign that continued to undermine efforts to deliver a reform agenda based on more flexible ways of working and thinking. Many procedures were still in place that restricted the freedom of frontline managers to take risks and develop new solutions through delegated or real authority and budgetary control. (Amble, 2003) argued that in an ideal environment, responsibility for improving standards resides in those responsible for service delivery and not the political elite.

Levin has argued that decentralisation has been a failure in post-independent South Africa, as it had not really empowered managers. This candid statement was made by the Office of the President in its 10 Year Review Report in order to motivate Government's discovery that its successes occurred more often in areas where it had significant control (RSA, 2003, p. 75). Although managers had been granted delegated authority, they were however, not equipped with the necessary resources to utilise these delegations effectively. The reinstatement of power directly into the hands of the Minister of the DPSA resulted in control, being centralised once again in the hands of the Minister. This restructuring resulted in distrust as it was synonymous with that during the apartheid era, where managers had little or no autonomy or responsibility to make meaningful decisions that affected their specific departmental needs.

The South African government acknowledged its myopia in its failed policy of decentralisation. It accepted that decentralization had been implemented far too quickly which had resulted in sufficient capacity not being created. This contrasted with similar parallel transformation programmes which Government had undertaken over the years, particularly in the Human Resources (HR) and financial management government programmes. This has led to on-going service delivery challenges and even provincial administrations being placed under DPSA administration e.g. Provincial Managerial Incapacity in the Eastern Cape where there were regular requests for the DPSA's intervention.

2.3.4.5 INSTITUTIONAL REFORM

One of the overarching strategic objectives of the DPSA was to strengthen the public service through institutional reform. Over the past (16) years, since 1994, the “democratic” government had introduced various reform initiatives and a number of policies and legislation with the objective of changing a rule-bound public service in order to expedite the transformation of the public service to one that best serves the public interest.

The major reform initiative was the establishment of the DPSA and the re-alignment of functions which had previously been undertaken by the CFA and the PSC. However in order to strengthen its capacity in fulfilling its constitutional mandate, two other crucial institutions were established.

A. PALAMA

PALAMA was established as a natural progression from its predecessor, SAMDI which restricted itself mainly to training whilst PALAMA is committed as a crucial government agency to transformation issues and to build a public service capable of driving a priority developmental agenda. However, a favourable public service environment is required in order for PALAMA to deliver on its transformational mandate. In this regard the Minister of the Public Service (MPSA) had committed the DPSA to the development of a Position Paper on the Architecture of the Public Service.

Baloyi (2010:8) envisages that PALAMA should also be at a level where the agency ought to be a preparatory school for entry into the public service, incubating prospective public servants through in-service development intervention in terms of the Batho Pele principles and service delivery.

B. CPSI

In 2009 the Centre for Public Service Innovation (CPSI) was established as a government component to identify, support and nurture innovation in the public service with a view to improving overall service delivery. In accordance with its vital role, the oversight responsibility has shifted from the Public Service Commission (PSC) and the Public Administration Leadership and Management Academy (PALAMA) to the DPSA in terms of the Public Finance Management Act (1999).

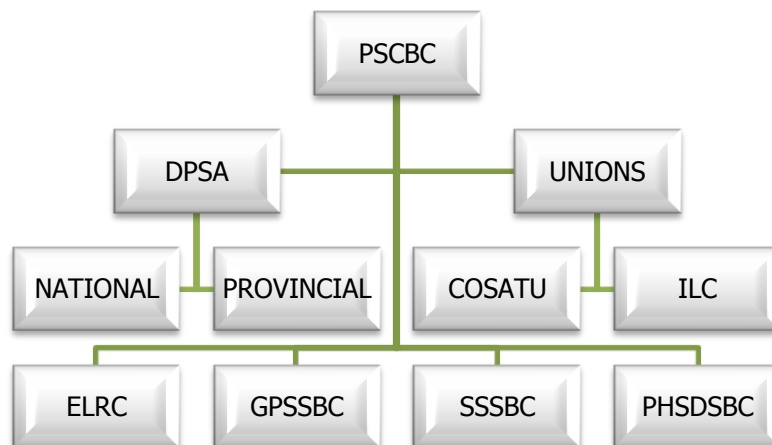
This ‘joined- up’ government approach was put in place to deal with problems of coordination (United Nations, 2005:58). The ‘joined-up’ government is in many ways a new

term coined for the previous administrative doctrine of coordination. It is a response to 'departmentalism' which can be characterised by preoccupation with defending 'institutional turf' and tunnel vision.

C. Public Service Coordinating Bargaining Council (PSCBC)

The Public Service Coordinating Bargaining Council (PSCBC) had been established in terms of the Labour Relations Act (66 of 1995) and was launched in 1997. The aim of the PSCBC is to maintain sound labour relations in the public service. The PSCBC provides a platform for the parties to Council (the State as employer and the public service unions representing over 1.3 million employees) to engage constructively over matters of mutual interest. The PSCBC is an extremely cogent structure in the collective bargaining and dispute resolution process. As the public service is the machinery government uses to ensure the stabilisation and equitable distribution of service delivery, numerous historic and landmark collective agreements were concluded in the PSCBC with all the relevant stakeholders who laid the foundation for the transformation of the public service.

Figure 2 - PSCBC Stakeholders

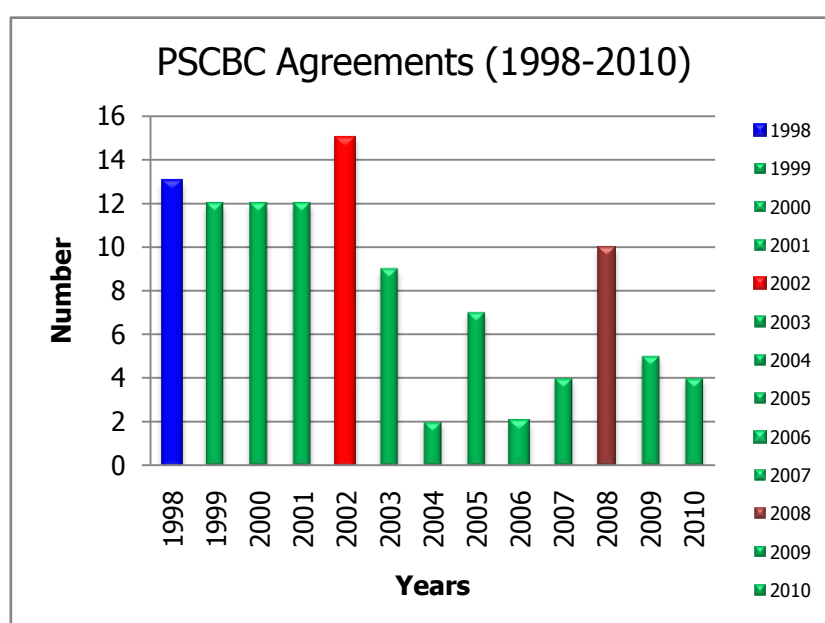


In the period 1998 to 2010 (twelve years), the PSCBC concluded one hundred and seven (107) collective agreements. The PSCBC has had the effect of "smoothing" the way for transforming the face of the public service and has been instrumental in "revolutionising" South African politics due to the impact of the labour movement's influence in the broader politic. South African trade unions as members of the tripartite political alliance have played a major role in delivering a democratic dispensation. The workerism approach and

community proximity to the grass-root community level ensured that they carried a moral mandate. The PSCBC has been both the catalyst and the conduit for transforming the public service (Balkaran, 2005, p. 94).

The development and implementation compensation policies in terms of the Remuneration Policy Framework for the public service ensure co-ordinated collective bargaining and effective programme management for the establishment of the public service.

Figure 3 - PSCBC Agreements (1998-2010)



2.3.4.6 *SENIOR MANAGEMENT SERVICE (SMS)*

The restructuring of the Senior Management Echelon (SMS) within the public service was one of the first areas that became a necessary precondition for taking the broader transformation process forward and the ANC government began in earnest in an attempt to wrest control of the public service by purging the senior most administrative positions in all departments and appointed cadres with similar ideological values and/or anti-apartheid struggle friendships were brought in on the basis of trust to senior positions into the public service.

In 2000 the DPSA commissioned a report on the establishment of a senior cadre of public servants. Whites account for disproportionately large numbers in the managerial category as a whole. The report recommended the establishment of a SMS incorporating managers between the ranks of Director and Director-General. The government instituted the SMS as from the beginning of 2001 with a flexible remuneration system and a competency based

management framework. The SMS was put in place in order to create a mobile and flexible public service-wide pool of scarce resources for utilisation of resources throughout the public service (PSC: 2008A:7). There has been a massive expansion in the SMS since its inception. In 2001 there were 4623 employees in the top 4 levels. By 2008 this had risen to 8592.

Currently, Africans males do, however, constitute a higher proportion than Whites in the senior management skills level category (Hohls & Peroff, 2000, p. 19). The public service has experienced a serious haemorrhage of executive management appointments on Levels 14-16 (Senior General Managers, Deputy Directors-General and Directors-General) This had destabilised public service departments from effectively performing their core functions. Therefore government had attempted to stabilize this trend at public service leadership level. Subsequently a major review of the SMS system occurred. The key objective was to improve the ability of the public service to recruit and retain quality managers.

The flexible remuneration package system had enabled departments to:

- Recruit and retain SMS members
- Compete fairly with the private sector
- Turnover rates were reduced
- Competency based system

The DPSA raised concern about the quality of some of the Director-Generals appointed to the public service as some of these Director-Generals were not interested in equipping themselves to perform. While it is reported that there were some good managers, there were also poor and mediocre officials who lacked soft skills such as discipline, communication, team work.

Since 1997 all Directors-General have been appointed at the behest of the President who is the actual appointing authority. This procedure ensures that the Directors-General are appointed largely on the basis of political affiliation. The British system of professional career HoD has largely been replaced by a combination of political and contract based appointments which had resulted in several challenges being exposed:

- retention of skills
- brain drain from public service to the lucrative private sector
- an exodus of skills to foreign countries
- rapid mobility (promotion) from one department to another within the public service
- skills are not broadened

This led to a rapid turnover of accountability and SMS Managers failing to take responsibility for outcomes they had created.

Directors-General will now be contracted for a period of five years to translate this development and relate it to effective service delivery. The DPSA in considering its Position Paper on the Architecture System of the Public Service is considering revisiting the issue to introduce a contract employment system for Deputy Directors-General and possibly even the entire senior management service level. Such programmes and initiatives if introduced will seek to transform the state of the public service and facilitate the speedy delivery of services by strengthening the mechanism and accelerate a crucial component.

2.3.4.7 OPEN EMPLOYMENT SYSTEM

Sangweni in Dasnois (2005:7) stated that "....in the second decade of our democracy, the public service should be a natural first choice of employment for skilled and dedicated South Africans keen to make a contribution to society, but it isn't. For many people the public service is a last resort, a place to go if you can't do anything else, or a stepping stone to a better-paid private sector job'. This raised the question - how can this be changed? How can South Africa attract the best people into the public service and keep them there? Creating an image of the public service as the place where clever people build careers was part of the answer.

The DPSA introduced an open employment system whereby all posts were to be filled by competition. There was a move away from the closed employment system which meant that posts would no longer be exclusively filled by internal candidates and also to minimise political interference appointments through. This was to create an image of the public service as the place where people could build careers.

The move towards an open employment system was partially influenced by NPM ideology but it also derived from the political situation in South Africa. It was a key aim of the new government to create a representative public service. Clearly, an open system was needed to attract Black candidates particularly at management level.

South Africa's pro-labour laws make it laborious to terminate or dismiss any public servant for incapacity to perform. A flexible human resources system is a key component of NPM and the ability to terminate non-performing staff is another feature of NPM (Hughes, 2003, p. 56).

2.3.4.8 PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT

Performance Management is not new; performance management is as old as Public Administration itself. The Public Service Commission (PSC) pointed out that performance management was a major challenge facing the public service and that the South African public service lacks a substantive performance culture (PSC, 2004, pp. 16-34).

Performance-based accountability has replaced previous public service employment. This is a central feature of public service reform in many countries. There are three main reasons why performance management had been introduced:

- to provide an objective measure to assess manager's performance
- to determine whether they were performing their functions effectively
- to improve the political-administrative interface between politicians and senior management

The PSC also repeatedly expressed concern in its various annual reports at the low level of compliance by senior officials in not signing their performance agreements (PSC, 2007, pp. 45-46).

However these implementation problems of performance management are not unique. Although officials are subservient to Minister in terms of performance agreements, officials manipulated the process. For a number of years there have been widespread service delivery protests in townships all over South Africa. The frequency and spread of these had impacted severely on public awareness. The problem was seen as technical rather than political, as the problem of local authorities and not national government's policy problem, especially, with regard to its attitude to public services (Gentle, 2010). The African National Congress (ANC) government pointed to poor spending capacity at municipal level and instituted measures to force mayors and local councillors to deliver, even making them sign "performance contracts."

The setting of explicit goals and measurement of performance is a key feature of NPM but it appears that this NPM driven reform is only cosmetic and not substantial.

2.3.4.9 RIGHTSIZING

Advocates of rightsizing and downsizing have the same thing in mind; to reduce the size of the public service. Initially rightsizing 'programmes' as a phenomenon of the 1990's were initiated by the various donor agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF as part of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP). This was a concerted effort to drastically reduce what was regarded as a bloated public service in an attempt to craft 'a more efficient and effective public service' and to grow a more professional public service.

Rightsizing in the 1990's was a very contentious issue in South Africa. Although the South African Government had stated its intention to profoundly transform the country in the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, however, no legislation existed to compel departments and administrations to right-size. Rightsizing was carried out in terms of the prescriptions of the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service, Cabinet directives, the recommendations of various transformation committees in the public service and a moral obligation to do rightsizing as fairly and quickly as possible. White Papers such as the one on Human Resource Management (RSA, 1997) and on Affirmative Action (RSA, 1998) also relate indirectly to rightsizing and downsizing through their association with the broad theme of transforming the public service.

During the apartheid era the public service was regarded as 'job reservation' for the white citizens which resulted in an inflated number of staff being employed. In an attempt to understand the concept, the act of 'job reservation' was the apartheid regime's precursor to the current version of affirmative action which was used then to protect white supremacy. In an effort to transform the public service to meet the needs of the majority and provide a quality public service, the ANC government embarked on a downsizing programme as part of its public service reform activity on tasks that had become obsolete and to make provision for growth in high-priority areas.

There is a major dilemma in the continuing use of racial categories as a basis for redress. There are also cases of white people being denied the right to employment in jobs for which they are qualified even where there are no black candidates competing for the same positions. In most cases such insurances are found in the public health sector in some provinces where a 'racial quota' for certain specialist jobs is in place. These practices have led to the bizarre situation that South Africa continues to suffer skills shortages – while young white South Africans are forced to emigrate in droves in search of employment

opportunities. They make themselves available to the growing international labour market for skilled workers instead, to the benefit of the economies of countries where their talents are welcomed.

Ramphela (2008:73-90) believes that the post-apartheid transformation process has been interpreted in some quarters as one of replacing the white men who dominated the ranks of the public service with black people and it is this blinkered approach which neglected key considerations and which has compromised the capacity to deliver sorely lacking public services to poor people.

A. Voluntary Severance Programmes (VSP)

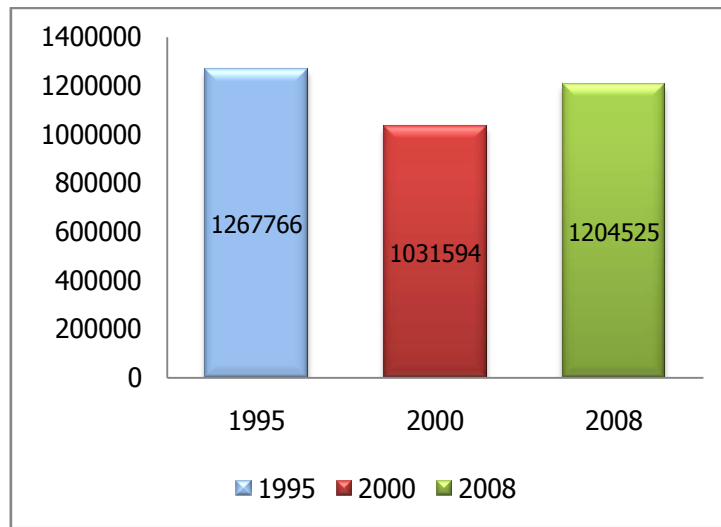
The Voluntary Severance Package (VSP) programme was one component of the downsizing initiative which was linked to the abolition of posts. Total employment in the public service declined from 1 267 766 in September 1995 to 1 031 594 in December 2000.

However, there were other challenges that were experienced:

- There was an exodus of a number of skilled and experienced staff
- There was 'reverse engineering' which led to the retention of non productive employees
- the VSP did not realise the anticipated or desired levels

In the latter half of the 1990s, many governments gradually began to move away from downsizing to more focused management of the human resources in the public sector; viz, a move towards rightsizing (United Nations: 2005: 75). In the late 1990s South Africa shifted from a minimalistic government towards targeted growth - 'rightsizing'.

Figure 4 - Impact of Voluntary Service Packages (VSP)



The desired effect was not realised as there was an increase in staff from 1,031,594 in December 2000 to 1,204,525 in March 2008. In particular the government has focused on the introduction of measures to create a sustainable pool of middle managers to compete for senior management positions.

2.3.4.10 REMOVAL OF DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES:

One of the themes and recurring threads in public service reform has been the ability to reflect on; and review past policies and practices. One of the goals of the ANC was to transform the public service into an instrument that was representative of the composition of the population of the country. The development of a broadly representative public service and the introduction of affirmative action policies were designed to restore the credibility and legitimacy of the service. However, affirmative action in South Africa is not new. The National Party introduced its policy of affirmative action of selective employment or 'job reservation' for white Afrikaners at the expense of English-speaking Whites and Blacks after it assumed power in 1948.

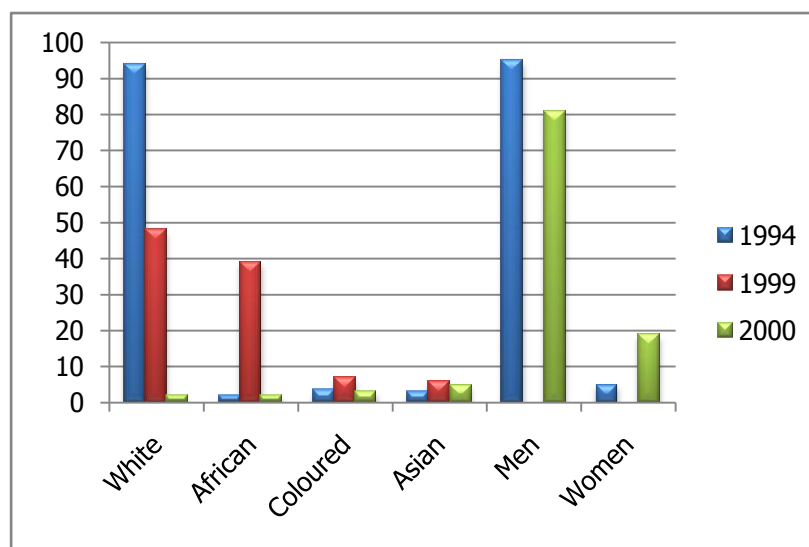
The White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service (RSA, 1995) emphasized the need to reverse the systematic exclusion of Black people and women from positions of influence within the public service that had characterised the apartheid system of the past. This situation could not be allowed to continue and it became absolutely imperative that the public service drew upon the skills and talents of all South Africans.

Despite the enactment of enabling legislation such as the Constitution, Labour Relations Act (LRA), Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA), Employment Equity Act (EEA) and Skills

Development Act (SDA); it is constantly averred that implementation has not kept pace with policy.

In 1994, management positions in the former RSA were predominantly occupied by Whites 94%, followed by Asians 3%, Africans 2% and Coloureds 1%. 95% of these were men and 5% women. This situation has since changed with Whites occupying 48% of the management positions, Asians 6%, Africans 39% and Coloureds 7% as at 31 December 1999. In relation to gender, women comprised approximately 19% of the management echelon in February 2000 (Hohls & Peroff, 2000, p. 14).

Figure 5 - Management Positions 1994-2000



Africans represent 70% of personnel in the public service, yet they only occupy 39% of the positions in management. Within four years all departmental establishments were to be at least 50 percent Black, and at least 30 percent of new recruits to the middle and senior management echelons should be women.

Since the introduction of affirmative action policies in 1995, the public service overall has begun to demonstrate some changes in its composition. Given the employment injustices of the past and its resultant effect on female emancipation and lack of upward mobility for people with disabilities in the workplace had not been achieved; one of the major priorities of the ANC government was to shatter the "glass ceiling" and promote a more representative workforce (DPSA, 2010).

A. Shattering the Glass Ceiling - Piercing the Corporate Veil

In terms of the Employment Equity Act (55 of 1998), Chapter 2, Paragraph 6(2) 'It is not unfair discrimination to – (a) take affirmative action measures consistent with the purpose of this Act'. In keeping with the provisions of the Act, the ANC government introduced a policy of affirmative action which fairly discriminated in favour of blacks, women and other gender inequities. In order to comply with the provisions of an Employment Equity Plan and to address such historically disadvantaged individuals (HDI), there was need to "pierce the corporate veil" in terms of gender representativeness of women in management as well as people with disabilities as a main arena of concern.

B. Past Pension and Medical Provisioning

During the apartheid era, public service pensions were structured on an inequitable racial bias with the major share of benefits given to the minority white ruling class. In terms of the broader monetisation policy, constant attention is applied to ensure that future public service pensioners are financially secure and will not become a burden to the state. To ensure the restoration of equality and human dignity, ongoing analysis of historical pension data is being analysed and preliminary costing results based on the Government Employees' Pension Fund (GEPF) captive data of previous results has been presented and undergoing the necessary analysis. The rest of the project is at full momentum and the roll-out has been successful.

A report was developed with regard to the implementation of a Revised Policy on Post Retirement Medical Assistance in the public service (Alignment of the PRMA in the Public Service).

2.3.4.11 IMPLEMENTATION OF REMUNERATION POLICY FRAMEWORK

A. Occupation Specification Dispensation (OSD)

The Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) was set up by government to speed up skills development as the lack of skills and the low skill levels within the public service makes the achievement of goals in a developmental state unrealistic. In an attempt to address this scarcity of critical and scarce skills and in order to recruit and retain scarce/critical skills, the public service introduced a compensation policy, its Occupational Specific Differentiation (OSD) for professions such as dentists, doctors, nurses, engineers

and teachers (in certain subjects) in order to deal with the skills problem and to stem the brain drain.

However, whilst the intention was genuine, it was seen by the affected categories of staff as being too slow and ineffective in the finalisation and implementation. This was also viewed as bad faith on the side of the employer and regarded as a stalling tactic to retain these categories of workers with empty promises. The medical doctors and other health professional categories were initially targeted for the Occupation Specification Dispensation (OSD) and the delay in the implementation had resulted in some of the most devastating and debilitating public service strikes in the history of the South African public service from 2007-2009. Medical doctors and other health related personnel in terms of section 71 of the Labour Relations Act (LRA) are designating as an "essential service" and are not permitted to embark on industrial action/strikes.

All OSDs have been finalised apart from the agreement on the OSD for Medical and Therapeutic Services which has not been signed. Employer's final offer for this OSD has been tabled in the PHSDSBC. Further negotiations will be held with regard to the doctors' category.

2.4 NIGERIA

2.4.1 COLONIALISM

On 13th March 1862, the British government declared its interest in both the Port and Island of Lagos and by 1906; the British Government had extended its authority over most of Nigeria. The origin of the Nigerian Civil Service can be traced to the administration of Lord Lugard, Governor-General of the amalgamated administration of Northern and Southern Nigeria from 1914. However, the current structure of the service is attributed to Sir Hugh Clifford who succeeded Lord Lugard and who was appointed Governor of Nigeria.

2.4.2 INDEPENDENCE

On 1 October 1960, Nigeria gained independence and became a sovereign constitutional state. In the half century prior to the achievement of independence, Nigerians experienced a profound break in the evolutionary development of their diverse cultures, western religious, economic, political, and educational forms deeply penetrated the country, and enormous transformations resulted which led to devaluation of many traditional forms, while many of

the transplanted western forms evolved into major institutions. The English system had become deeply entrenched to the extent that it became difficult to uproot it. Instead, it was adopted and the colonial institutions continued to be nurtured and in some cases even expanded.

After political independence in 1960, the lifestyle of those Nigerians who were socialized into the political culture of service and sacrifice during the struggle for national independence changed dramatically when they occupied positions of power and privilege. Most of the intellectuals that fought for the independent Nigerian nation-state ended up as politicians, public servants, or academics at the various tiers of the Nigerian federation. Once ensconced, these politicians erected barriers to prevent other groups from having access to both political and economic institutions. There was a conspicuous hiatus between what they had professed and what they were practising and dominant forces used the state and pillaged the country.

This situation was exacerbated by ruthless inter-ethnic rivalry and struggle for political dominance, which gradually snowballed into an internecine war (Lawal, 2007, pp. 92-93).

2.4.3 MILITARY RULE

While many factors led to military intervention, the loss of popular support and legitimacy clearly weakened these democratic regimes sufficiently to allow the armed forces to step in. Political transition in Nigeria had been based not only on the military ruler's conviction that public rule was desirable but also on the expectation of the people that, after the military performed its "rescue operation", it should return power back to publician rule. The Nigerian public experienced little or no protection by the imposed military conflict and were victims of many social, economic and political challenges and abuse by the armed forces/police. Most schools, hospitals, roads, electricity, water and other public infrastructure were destroyed. The military regime even publicly flogged public servants for arriving late at work.

2.4.4 CIVILIAN RULE /DEMILITARISATION

In accepting demilitarization as a necessary process, political transition had been on the agenda of every military government, with the probable exception of that of Buhari. The Muhammad/Obasanjo governments successfully executed a transition program and handed power over to publicians. Out of the 50 years of independence, Nigeria was under military dictatorship for 28 years and has had only 22 years of democracy as follows:

- 1960-1966 (6 years)
- 1979-1983 (4 years)
- 1999-2010 (10 years)

Two previous publician regimes – the First Republic (1966) and the Second Republic (1983) had both failed. Both were shadowed by widespread complaints of corruption, fraud, political domination, and poor governance. Each government had monopolized politics under a dominant party or regional group, which limited political choice and discouraged possibilities for reform.

However, post-independent developments showed the unsuitability of the political system under which Nigerian leaders operated; which later gave way to another system of democracy known as the Presidential System of Government (Yakubu, 2005, p. 218).

Nigeria's transition to publician government on 29 May 1999 ended a long, turbulent period of military rule and failed democratic experiments. At the time of the political handover, many Nigerians expressed hopes for democracy that would expand political liberties, improve the performance of government, encourage accountability among leaders, and revive the ailing economy.

Nigerians became more boisterous in their political opinions and actively participated in public society. After initial euphoria in the wake of the Abacha dictatorship, a greater sense of realism had set in among much of the public. Nigeria faced incredible challenges such as poverty, with nine out of ten Nigerians who lived on less than \$2 a day and high illiteracy levels. Nigeria is ranked 174 out of 191 countries in terms of quality of life and Nigerian life expectancy is currently 47 years and has dropped since independence in 1960, even falling behind Haiti and Somalia.

The present problems of national development are consequences of earlier social and structural transformations and consequently these problems have been inherited by the present generation of Nigerians. The anticipated benefits of democracy had been slow to emerge, and the new dispensation has failed to fulfil the expectations of many Nigerians which had resulted in Nigeria today experiencing a fundamental crisis in governance.

The Fourth Republic has turned out be Nigeria's longest ten year incursion into public rule. Although Nigeria is a secular nation; religion is fast becoming an adopted strategy for coping with the current economic decline in Nigeria (Fajana, 2005, p. 29). Therefore it is relevant to

ask where public sentiment stands under Nigeria's current Fourth Republic in relation to the democratic system.

2.4.5 PUBLIC SERVICE REFORMS

Reform is a global phenomenon and reforms have been necessary at different times in Nigeria's history. Like every other country, Nigeria is far from the perfect utopian model. Nigeria faced serious developmental challenges which required reforms and reconstruction as its transformatory process seemed to be continuous with Nigerians struggling to create a democratic system that was uniquely Nigerian. Notwithstanding Nigeria's enormous resource endowments and potential for sustainable growth and development, Nigeria faced challenges, issues, and problems as any other developing nation and is still ranked among the poorest countries of the world. As soon as it emerged from colonial rule in 1960, Nigeria was exposed to a distinct international power and ideological structure with its own internal dynamics and external pressure for reforms in a changing global context within which it had to operate.

Nigeria's economic inequality was related to a transformation process that had been accompanied by many profound political, social, demographic and economic reforms. The necessity for introducing reforms in the past had been mostly economic and a major pillar of the on-going economic reforms in Nigeria is Public Service Reforms.

2.4.5.1 *REFORM COMMISSIONS*

The changes from the Westminster Model to the Presidential System of Government impacted on efficiency, effectiveness and productivity of the public service and over time panels had been set up by the various Nigerian governments in power to study and make recommendations public service reform. Prominent amongst these were:

- Tudoe Davies Commission (1945)
- Harragin Commission 1946)
- Gorsuch Commission (1954)
- Mbanefo Commission 1959)
- Margan Commission (1963)
- Adebo Commission (1971)
- Udoji Commission ((1972-74)
- Dotun Philips Commission (1985)

The outcome of the reports of the various panels impacted on the structure of the service and the remuneration and productivity of the public servant.

2.4.5.2 STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME (SAP) – (1980s-1993)

In the 1970s, Nigeria was considered a promising economic and political regional power. The first major attempt at public service reform occurred with the introduction of a SAP. Subsequently, in the 1980s Nigeria implemented prominent Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) reforms. During the 1980s -1990s, Nigeria made remarkable efforts aimed at political, economic and social reforms that yielded mixed results. These reforms were introduced and implemented mainly by the military, and, in some cases, with the collaboration of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

The SAP consisted mainly of first-generation reforms supported with some limited measures aimed at promoting internal efficiency (Obadan & Edo, 2007, pp. 35-59).

The SAP package of the policies and measures included:

- Demand management policies
- Deregulation of exchange rate
- Trade liberalization
- Deregulation of the financial service
- Rationalization and privatization of public service enterprises
- Adoption of appropriate pricing (in particular, removal of subsidies)

Nigeria has had several reform programmes, each being prominent for different reasons with claims that it left the nation worse off than the period before it. There were a number of policy reversals in the implementation of the Nigerian reforms of the mid-1980s and Nigerians were disillusioned by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) adjustment policies the state had persistently implemented since 1982. Consequently, the reforms had limited impact.

2.4.5.3 1988 PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM

The twin-objective of the 1988 public service reforms were to enhance policy management and to ensure that the President was in a position to play a central role in the management of the economy. The reform was tenaciously implemented and aimed to promote productivity and efficiency in the public service. However the results were contrary to

expectations. One of the crucial highlights of the package included the professionalization of the public service in order to meet with the requirements of modern government.

A. Allison Ayida Review Panel

Following the general disenchantment that trailed the reforms, the Allison Ayida Review Panel constituted by government to re-assess the 1988 reforms recommended some modifications such as re-instituting the Office of Head of Service, re-introduction of the designation of permanent secretary, and re-instatement of the pooling system (Obadan & Edo, 2007, p. 37). The Allison Ayida Review Panel not only reversed some of the structural innovations but endeavoured to reinstate the “noble values” of the public service of the glorious past.

B. Transition from Military to Civilian Rule

The Babangida administration’s transition programme was characterized by uncertainties which plunged the country into political crisis and unrest from 1993. The autocratic government of General Abacha worked assiduously to transmute General Abacha into a president and in 1998 a liberal General Abudulsalami Abubakar, pursued the transition programme by handing over power to a democratically elected government in 1999 (Obadan & Edo, 2007, pp. 35-36). Rather than reforming, the government put in place some palliative measures in the name of the Economic Stabilization Act, with the crisis remained unresolved. Consequently, inefficiency became pervasive in the public service.

The lingering crisis called for a fundamental change. The morale of Nigerians was at the lowest ebb as a result of total decay of infrastructure, unemployment and dissatisfied citizenry. Nigeria had to reform in order not to be left economically behind. Although the reform agenda in Nigeria is home-grown, its neo-liberal character posed a major challenge for its implementation.

2.4.5.4 *NIGERIAN PROJECT (1999) - OBASANJO ADMINISTRATION*

The military regimes of Murtala Muhammad and Obasanjo benefited from a tremendous influx of oil revenue that increased 350 percent between 1973 and 1974, when oil prices increased dramatically. This created the obvious expectation that the fiscus had sufficient revenue to improve the overall quality of life for all Nigerians. With the return to democratic governance in 1999, the pressure for reforms in Nigeria had been enormous. Nigerians

expected democracy would lead to jobs, better social services; good governance and the reduction of the level of poverty (Kwanashie, 2007, pp. 15-31).

Consequently, by the time the Obasanjo government came to power in 1999, substantial reform issues remained outstanding. The Federal Government of Nigeria identified the failure of previous development efforts as being the features of the legacies of corruption and mismanagement, especially during the military administration. (FGN, 2004, p. 22).

The return of democratic rule ushered in reforms in various services of Nigerian national life. Obasanjo pledged to continue the program and to carry forward the reform program to improve the quality of public service. President Obasanjo referred to this as the Nigerian Project; one in which the country would be made to leap-frog into the 21st century if it was to realize its future as a major player on the continental and international stage. Again these reforms were undertaken with considerable external pressure from the leading creditor nations and international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

There was also a need to realign the public service with the new thinking of the Obasanjo government to make the public service less of a haven for corruption and competitive enough to be able to attract the right quality of manpower.

A. Reforms - 2003 Onwards

In 2003, President Obasanjo further announced several reforms and senior appointments to set the scene for transformation:

- A Nigerian Service Delivery Research Team visited the United Kingdom in 2003
- The Nigerian Federal Executive Council supported the design and implementation of a Public Service Delivery Programme (PSDP) for Nigeria, based on the British system of improving service delivery, which incorporated:
 - A review of service delivery
 - A draft roadmap of suggested key actions and institutional arrangements that would ensure effective service delivery
 - A service delivery office to achieve the objectives of the public service delivery programme

B. National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS)

The Federal Government introduced its National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) to undertake a major reformation of government and its institutions (FGN, 2004, pp. 36-38).

NEEDS was sub-divided into four domains:

1. Public service reforms, including public expenditure and budget reforms
2. Economic reforms through macroeconomic stability and accelerated privatization and liberalization of the economy
3. Institutional reforms and strengthening
4. Social reforms through transparency, accountability and anti-corruption stance

Previous reforms were out of tune with good living conditions as these reforms were not in the interests of the workers.

The Obasanjo government reactivated the reform agenda. The primary objective of the Obasanjo Administration's reform agenda was to re-invigorate the economy, and return it to the path of sustainable growth and development. Its various reforms focused on its people, employment, and the enabling environment for the private service to generate jobs. In pursuing these reforms, the administration claimed that it had consulted widely including labour, public society, and other stakeholders.

2.4.5.5 PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM PROGRAMME (PSRP)

The Civil Service Reform and Capacity Building in Nigeria under the Civil Service Renewal project of the World Bank (WB) was aimed at supporting reforms to modernize and strengthen capacity in line with the Government's Public Service Reform Program (PSRP). Nigeria's efforts to meet the challenges of the 21st century as well as repositioning the public service were manifested in the ongoing "Public Service Reform". Its overall Vision is - "A Nigerian Public Service that works efficiently and effectively for the people".

The mission of the Reform was to build:

"a public service that is performance and results-oriented, customer-driven, investor-friendly, professional, technologically sensitive, accountable, fostering partnerships with all stakeholders and committed to a continuous improvement in government business and the enhancement of overall national productivity".

The institutional arrangements for these reforms had been put in place with the establishment of the:

- National Council on Reform (NCR)
- Steering Committee on Reforms
- Bureau of Public Service Reform (BPSR)

The National Council on Reform had been established (chaired by the President), in order to achieve its objectives for the coordination of the reform agenda. This time around, the reform programme had been swift and comprehensive.

The major components of these reforms consisted of both first-generation and second-generation reform measures (Jimoh, 2007, pp. 3-12). The Federal Government identified and prioritized major areas requiring reforms which included:

- Privatization of Public Enterprises
- Liberalization of key services of the economy
- Restructuring of the Public Service
- Review of government Budgeting and Taxation law
- Governance and Institutional Strengthening
- Debt Management and Service Delivery

It was therefore compelling that for the public service reform to be successful; the reward structure in the public service had to be appropriate, adequate and equitable.

From 2003, the NEEDS strategy that was put in place began to yield measurable successes. The reform measures had targeted a myriad of the problems plaguing the country. .- It is against this backdrop that the government initiated a new Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP) aimed broadly at putting in place a well-structured, efficient, manageable, responsive and accountable public service (Obadan & Edo, 2007, pp. 45-59).

The structure for managing this process to ensure effective implementation and sustainability were:

A. National Council on Reform (NCR)

The NCR was chaired by the President with membership comprising the Vice-President, Senate President, Speaker of House of Representatives, Chief Justice of Nigeria, Attorney-General of the Federation, Minister of Finance, Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Head of the Public Service of the Federation

B. Steering Committee on Reforms

The Steering Committee was chaired by the Minister of Finance, with twenty two other members, including Chief Executives and Ministers of key institutions of Government. The functions of the committee include:

- Providing guidance and technical leadership in reform design and implementation
- Initiating action on reforms at the different fronts
- Ensuring monitoring and evaluation of reform implementation for impact and effectiveness

C. Servicom

Service Compact (SERVICOM) is defined as a symbiotic social contract (framework) between the Federal Government of Nigeria and its people where they demand accountability and a transparent administration of state resources (Nigeria Direct, 2008, p. nigeria.gov.ng).

The following were instituted in furtherance of the service contract:

- Establishment of SERVICOM office to coordinate quality service delivery by Parastatals etc.
- Production of Service Charters by Parastatals
- Awareness created on imperative of quality service by government organisations through SERVICOM
- Establishment of SERVICOM Institute to train Public Servants on Service delivery

2.4.5.6 BUREAU OF PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM (BPSR)

In February 2004 the Bureau for Public Service Reform (BPSR) was established as an agency of the Federal Government of Nigeria and is responsible for coordinating and managing the public service reform processes.

The uniqueness of the ongoing public service reform was the establishment of the BPSR which is unprecedented in Nigeria's history of reforms. This was to provide a sustainable mechanism for the integration of the culture of reform into the service. It created a new orientation of the service towards outcomes rather than the usual process of only carrying out routine functions and ignoring the outcomes.

The BPSR presently serves as the coordinating secretariat for all the service reforms of Government and is responsible for the following:

- Initiating Action Plan on reform at the different levels for the steering committee;
- Elucidating Government policy on reform;
- Coordinating, monitoring and evaluating reform implementation activities;
- Conducting research on implementation efforts and providing best practices models; as well as
- Providing advisory and technical support

Against this backdrop, the cost of public service reform can be viewed from three broad spectra:

Monetary (Financial) Cost

- This entails the financial implications of implementing the reforms, as well as the terminal benefits of those to be downsized, which are considered enormous. Analysts have therefore used these astronomical costs to argue against the reform process.

Social and Psychological Cost

- Employees who are retrenched are usually not paid their terminal benefits on time. Those who survive the years of waiting become liability on friends and relations, resulting in loss of self-confidence and ego, stealing, prostitution and other social vices.

Political Cost

- Given the underdeveloped nature of the socio-economic system, wherein government represents the largest single employer of labour, mass retrenchment of workers, becomes unpopular among the electorate. This may lead to loss of

popularity and patronage from the electorate. So far, the planned right-sizing in the Federal Public Service has not been implemented. But a few parastatals had announced retrenchments while a few have also merged.

A. Benefits of Public Service Reform

The benefits derivable from the new Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP) under the auspices of the BPSR included the following:

- Lean and more manageable public service
- Cost saving through reduction of financial allocation to the public service, thereby releasing resources for other developmental programmes/projects
- Emergence of a more result-oriented, flexible, customer focused and quality-oriented service
- A systemic and better capacity-building initiatives and efforts
- Ease of monitoring responsibilities and targets, and taking timely corrective actions when deviation occurs
- Instilling a culture of excellence
- A new public service capable of playing its facilitator role in governance as against the traditional dominant role
- Overall development in all services

The public service therefore needed to align to a long-term national vision as encapsulated in NEEDS, NEPAD and the MDGs.

The ongoing reform focused on five key areas:

Budget and Financial Management

- Procurement system review;
- Institutionalization of fiscal responsibility; and
- Accounting system review.

Accountability

- Installation of due process, transparency and accountability in government transactions
- Establishment of service charter
- Enforcement of the Due Process Compliance principle

Human Resources Management

- Personnel records and pay-roll cleansing

- Staff cadre review
- Re-modelling of recruitment and promotion procedures to inject competent professionals into the service;
- Installation of new performance management scheme;
- Transformation of present administrative human resources management department with competence for strategic functions such as attracting and retaining talents in the service; as well as
- Massive capacity development and training

Operations and System

- Organizational restructuring and right-sizing; as well as
- Information Technology (IT) applications.

Parastatals Reforms and Management:

This is a core component of the on-going public service reform in recognition of the need to curtail the waste in government parastatals and reposition them for greater effectiveness and service delivery.

B. Degrees of Implementation

The various elements of the Public Service Reform are in different degrees of implementation.

- Introduced in 2001, the Due Process Compliance (DPC) instrument acted as the institutional framework for the implementation of the Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit (BMPIU) of the Presidency.
- The DPC instrument helps to ensure that budgets, procurements and spending are not only based on authentic, reasonable and fair costing, but also appropriately geared towards the realization of set-priorities and targets that were generated from medium range strategic plans.
- The DPC approach is a commendable budget reform initiative to improve fiscal management.
- The features of the process are such that it can minimize corruption in public expenditure and procurement, and yield substantial value for money.
- The DPC has resulted in cost reductions with savings running into several billions of naira, while sanctions have been imposed on public officials who circumvent laid-down procedures.
- The reform of the parastatals has commenced with rationalization and retrenchment.

- The monetization policy was at various stages of implementation in both the public service and the parastatals.

C. Fiscal Strategy Paper (FSP)

Since 1982-1996 several major steps were taken to decentralise the administration with adequate powers and financial allocations at the basic management level. An Administrative Reform Committee was constituted to streamline the administration. Several reforms in fiscal and monetary management and investment companies in public and private services had also been implemented. Though, not much had been made public about the reform committee's work during the years since its inception, its reports and recommendations were reviewed (Arizona-Ogwu, 2010).

In order to give impetus, government had tried to integrate reforms in the budget process. However in order to combat its fiscal/budgetary problems, the Fiscal Strategy Paper (FSP) laid out government's priorities and direction for the budget.

D. Anti-Corruption Agencies

The House of Representatives' Committee on Public Accounts Committee reported on the litany of evils perpetuated by the public servants in fraudulent transactions against the state (The Comet, 2004, p. 17). Government's massive anti-corruption campaigns involved all government establishments. These also included the establishment of Independent Anti-Corruption Agency and an Economic and Financial Crimes Commission. Government's commitment to combat corruption at all costs and to enforce existing anti-corruption laws led it to establish the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Crimes Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). The ICPC and EFCC were established to improve the ethical standards of public servants and these were major reforms that have implications for the Public Service and should not be been glossed over.

Significant successes have been made by these two institutions, particularly the EFCC. Through campaigns, the EFCC has alerted the public through anti-fraud campaigns, and through arrests and prosecution, many offenders have been punished, and through critical information either from research or investigation as well as through Financial Intelligent Unit (FIU), the waves of activities involving financial crimes, money laundering and other economic crimes have been stemmed.

E. Public Procurement Reform

The Bureau of Public Procurement was established to monitor the implementation of Public Procurement Act of 2007. This resulted in the entrenchment of a due process in tendering and contract awards to curb corruption and ensure fairness, competition and cost saving in the contract processes.

F. Reforming State Owned Enterprises (SOE)

Historically, with political independence and a realization that the economy was dominated by foreigners, there were calls for the nationalisation of foreign interests in many enterprises. The law was used as an instrument to actualize this by the promulgation of Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Act in 1972 to 1995 respectively. The aim of these decrees/laws was the transfer of ownership and control of the affected enterprises to Nigerians.

Nigeria, unlike developed economies, relies on oil rather than taxation for the bulk of its revenue. As a result of the declining rate of economic growth, Nigeria increasingly reduced the size of the public service and State Owned Enterprises (SOE) by turning to market-oriented reforms.

The Nigerian Federal Government introduced the Privatization and Commercialization Programme in 1988, as part of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). Since independence, the size of the Nigerian government had grown through the creation of public service enterprises. The programme was implemented up to 1993 with 55 enterprises privatized and others prepared for commercialization, and then suspended and stopped by the military government of General Sani Abacha because of reservations about the implementation.

The privatization programme resumed in 1999 with privatization in three phases. With the return to democracy in 1999, the government of President Olusegun Obasanjo took bold steps in restructuring the economy, eliminated financial wastage, cut cost and trimmed down bloated budgets. Areas of waste, including airlines, government properties, and telecom companies were sold off or privatized while others were restructured to perform better and commercialized to become independent of the government in sourcing revenues. The economy was opened to more foreign participation. Empowerment programmes came into place to give the Nigerian business better edge in competing on the international scene.

G. Privatisation

The issue of low transparency in the process stressed allegations of nepotism including those in government that had bought the enterprises being privatized. Eventually, the poor and inefficient performance of the State Owned Enterprises (SOE) put pressure for reform.

The Bureau of Public Enterprises also realized that in order for the reform programme to succeed, there would be need for other service reforms in the economy. These include reforms of the Public Service, Judicial reforms, repeal of laws which restrain commerce and competition, Pension reforms and Anti-trust legislation, Electric power, Telecommunications, Oil and gas, Transportation, Agriculture and Minerals.

After several years of unsuccessful efforts to reform the public enterprise service in Nigeria, privatization heralded a new era of opportunity to attract huge investment and increase efficiency which would no doubt underpin growth in the Nigerian economy.

The subsequent privatization programmes that commenced from 1999 became more open, aimed at making it clear to Nigerian and foreign investors that Nigeria was now open for business.

H. Retrenchment in the Public Service

Previous attempts of reducing the public service by wide scale retrenchments placed the governments in a very poor light as the loss of jobs created major socio-economic problems with retrenched public servants not having planned for such an event. Further, poor salaries led to 'meagre' compensation packages. Subsequently, given the inefficiency of government institutions, wide-ranging reforms have become a necessity, and on-going reform in the public service is a broad and multi-coated process involving professionalization, downsizing, rightsizing, restructuring, capacity-building, and improved service delivery.

Despite all retrenched staff being paid their severance benefits, workers believed that the anti-labour administration deepened the plight of the Nigerian workers with its public service rationalisation, failed economic reform that led to huge job losses and infrastructural decay in public services with no hope of survival (Ukwuomono, Olawale, & Ugwoke, 2008, p. 28).

The Federal Public Service Commission revealed that statistically 60% of the officers are 40 years and above; and 70% of the Federal Public Service staff strength of the Public Service

consists of the unskilled labour on grade Levels 1-6 (i.e. workers under Level 7) made up of junior workers with an intense prevalence of 'ghost workers' (The Comet, 2004, p. 17).

Over 50,000 federal workers were retrenched under the present ongoing public service reform³. BPSR reported that about 41,000 inadequate and redundant Officers in Public Service and 38,000 in parastatals had already been retrenched. This was meant to totally reduce the number of diploma holders (National Diploma (ND) or Higher National Diploma (HND)) in the federal public service, and that government was planning to engage them in post service training that would get them integrated into private service business after service.

I. Downsizing/Rightsizing

However, in terms of NPM, neither downsizing nor rightsizing was the same as mass retrenchment. The processes of downsizing/rightsizing in the public service may be justified given the inefficiency of government institutions. The emphasis placed on downsizing might need moderating while more ingenious ways of ensuring efficiency such as retraining and professionalism need to be created.

Right-sizing also included re-training people to make them suitable for integration into areas of shortages and that there should also be a long-term planning for such "right-sizing", not just to sack people anyhow.

Against the backdrop of the mass retrenchments, a further 79,000 had been given pre-retirement training on the premise that the public service was creating space for a new set of young, bright personnel who were being recruited to rejuvenate the service and improved service delivery.

Real public service reform cannot be delivered against a background of cuts and retrenchment. This type of asymmetry is clearly inimical to the development of any country.

J. Public Service College

The success of an administrative system is very much a function of its enabling environment. In the initial years, Nigeria had set up a number of training institutes like the Public Officers Training Academy, National Institute of Public Administration, several staff training institutes with Nigeria Administrative Staff College for the training of the senior

³In terms of circular - reference number - HCSF/CMO/RCM/106 - dated 7 April 2010,

officers at the policy level. Later, policy dimensions on training were revised and consolidation, rather than proliferation, guided the amalgamation of the training institutions. An umbrella Public Administration Training Centre was established combining all these at a large complex and with all possible facilities. However, to emphasise the professional competence and specialisation, several other institutions were also set up (Arizona-Ogwu, 2010).

Since the last exercise took place more than a quarter century ago, the Federal Government commissioned a study with a view of identifying training needs. The upper echelons of the public service had to be re-focused with the overall objective of this reform was to create a public service that was pro-active, customer-friendly, competent and highly professional. The public service had to move beyond "loyalty to the nation" in order to gain the trust of the common people whose cooperation and understanding it needed to achieve promptness, responsiveness and effectiveness (Aderibigde, 2002, p. 1).

The Public Service College had been conceived to ensure quality training of public servants to evolve into a well-informed, skilled and efficient workforce and to enhance capacity building. This was informed by recognition of refocus and proper perspective of an improved and efficient public service that would cope with the challenges of the 21st century (Fagbemi, 2003, p. 3)

K. Public Service Reference Books

The Establishment and Industrial Relations Department participated in the review and publication of the Public Service Rules and Financial Regulations for greater operational efficiency and transparency. These were incorporated into the Public Service Reference Books:

- Public Service Rules,
- Financial Regulations,
- Schemes of Service,
- Federal Establishments Circulars from 1974 - 1999,
- Guidelines for Appointment, Promotion and Discipline in the Public Service,
- Public Service Hand Book,
- Guidelines to Administrative Procedure in the Federal Public Service,
- Administrative Guidelines Regulating the relationship between Parastatals / Government Owned Companies and the Government.

These reference books which are necessary for the education of public service officers and for the smooth running of Government machinery had been made available to all senior officials of Government.

L. Monetization of Fringe Benefits

A significant government decision in introducing public service reforms was the identification of monetization of the fringe benefits of workers in the Federal Public Service. Monetization of fringe benefits in the Nigerian public service is not an isolated phenomenon. It is one of the many elements of the process of the public service reforms. In order for any public service reform to be successful, it had to be compelling and the reward structure in the public service had to be appropriate, adequate and equitable.

The policy became operational with the passage of the Certain Political, Public and Judicial Office-Holders (Salaries and Allowances, etc.) Act, 2002, with effect from July 1, 2003 for political, public, and judicial officeholders, while that of the Federal public servants took effect from October 1, 2003, with some modification in rates of benefits (Babangida, 2007, p. 565).

These benefits in kind, mostly a carry-over from the colonial government, included highly subsidized facilities such as residential accommodation, transportation and highly subsidized utilities. Eighty (80) percent of government vehicles were sold to Public Servants. This was done to reduce the cost of purchasing and maintenance of such vehicles which was huge and took a large part of the budget. Further, about 60,000 units of government residential houses had been sold to Public Servants and the public which resulted in savings in the cost of owning and maintaining buildings.

It is quite apparent that the Monetization Policy is one of the successful policies so far implemented in the Public Service Reform, given its adoption and acceptance by the stakeholders. It seems the policy has come to stay (Babangida, 2007, p. 567).

M. Police Reform

The Police Reforms Committee was inaugurated by the federal government to:

- make a case for impoverished officers
- recommend reforms that allow policemen to exert their individual or collective rights and freedoms

N. National Council on Establishments (NCE)

Due to the lack of administrative and political will, the NCE retrospectively authorised the implementation of twenty six (26) decisions which had not been implemented from 1999 to 2002 (Annexure 1). The National Council on Establishments (NCE) acting under the jurisdiction of the Establishment and Industrial Relations Department implemented action in respect of the following decisions taken through issuance of letters, circulars and organizing meetings for the implementation of the decisions.

2.4.5.7 CURRENT REFORM INITIATIVES

A. Reform of Senior Management and Permanent Secretaries

In a major policy shift with effect from 1st January 2010, all permanent secretaries and directors of Northern extraction in the federal public service were to only serve a maximum of eight years in office, regardless of their ages and years in the service. This is a radical departure from the public service rule which prescribes 60 years mandatory age of retirement or 35 years of service as the case may be.

B. Pay Reform /Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS)

All public service personnel records and payroll have been fully computerised and the first of the parastatals in the public service has been successfully implemented.

In January 2007, staff pay in the public service had been consolidated to become a single pay figure when staff received a fifteen (15) percent general pay increase. .

Under a new deal approved and signed by the National Salaries, Incomes and Wages Commission, federal public service workers received a 63.7 percent increase in the national minimum wage, effective from 1 August 2010. The lowest paid public servant will earn N17, 000 per month, up from N11, 000 whilst the highest paid public servant on the highest grade level (level 17, step 9) will earn N453, 444, 67 per month.

The Federal Government has made it compulsory for state governments to pay their junior workers the minimum wage. A bill seeking to make it compulsory for states and the private service to pay the new national minimum wage to their most junior employees is still being considered.

2.4.5.8 NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR PUBLIC SERVICE REFORMS (NSPSR)

The current administration of President Goodluck Jonathan re-affirmed its commitment to the reform process and in June 2010 collaborated with the United Kingdom (UK) based Department for International Development (DFID), to develop a new National Strategy for Public Service Reforms (NSPSR) (BPSR, 2010). The Federal Government's NSPSR reform agenda took into account lessons learnt from the public service reforms initiated and undertaken by President Obasanjo's return to public rule in 1999 and other earlier Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAP).

This is a new reform initiative that has been launched and more research is required in this regard.

2.5 SUMMARY

The public service is regarded as the administrative arm of the government of the day and owes no allegiance to any political party. However, the public service has historically been abused and much maligned by governments to do its bidding and had become convoluted to the extent of being perverted and needed reform. The introduction of Public Service Reforms (PSR) is to strengthen the public service, re-professionalise it to a merit-based system with the PSR objective to deliver services better.

PSR is not a new phenomenon and the impact of PSR has been felt in Africa from as far back as the 1950s. PSR has undergone the baptism of fire in all African countries wherever it had been introduced. In some instances PSR had been introduced by the departing colonialists such as the British and the French as a conceptual bridge in retaining the 'hand that rocked the cradle' from afar and in other countries it has been used as the mechanism to transform society. The initial character of such public service reforms was a standard and a 'straight-jacketed' affair; dictated to by conditionalities imposed by the erstwhile colonial benefactors.

The initial public service colonial footprint had been retained but it did not suit the liberated indigenous leaders who attempted to create their own political and sovereign identity and to redress the political, social and economic inequities posed by centuries of slavery, colonialism, exploitation and apartheid. The socio-economic challenges necessitated that medium to long term strategic programmes be implemented. However, despite having

abundant natural resources, donor aid from agencies such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Paris Club was required.

The introduction of the New Public Administration, New Public Management (NPM) and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) were part of the PSR initiatives imposed by donors. This was a 'one size fits all' concept imposed on all countries, irrespective of the circumstances. The SAP and NPM programmes adopted a thematic framework comprising financial, management, administration, tax and governance reforms, with the direct impact being felt on the curbing of the public expenditure, viz. salaries. PSR are regarded as evolutionary and are at the third generational stage.

However, with the liberation, emancipation and renaissance of Africa, many countries and their leaders adopted liberal and constitutional PSR programmes and also began to corporatize public service entities. Such a process of agencification posed many problems, not excluding large scale corruption and personal aggrandisement and which unfortunately to date is ongoing.

The purpose of PSR was to professionalise the public service and to introduce efficiency in the way public services was delivered to the citizens and in the case of 'liberated' countries such as South Africa, to transform society using the public service. PSR programmes are multi-focal to create efficiency, deliver services, transform society, improve the quality of life of its citizens and generally regulate society through the imposition of governance such as anti-corruption mechanisms.

There are many views on why SAP and NPM did not have the desired effects in most African countries. The one explanation is often the mirror of the other. African governments became adept at 'playing' the SAPs card. To the World Bank, they would argue they were doing their best, but that the consequences of reduced state expenditure were dangerous. To their own constituencies, they would explain that the decline in standards of living was caused by the SAPs. The result was a slow but significant dilution of the SAP/NPM agenda (Chabal, 2009, p. 3). The other reason is that the generic challenges those public services face globally is that governments tend to change and modify its focus at any given time in the interests of their evolutionary political agendas of the day and not work in the interests of its citizens.

NIGERIA

Nigeria's had endured various military coups since independence which set the public service reform (PSR) program back. However, the transition to publician government from military rule through the publician rule and demilitarisation since 1999 introduced various reform initiatives. Several reform commissions had been established in the first to the fourth republic which set the country on the track to irrevocable PSR.

Strategically the military had attempted to introduce PSR during its military rule by introducing certain Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). However, these were not well received and fell short. In 1988 the Allison Ayida Review Panel attempted to review PSR initiatives. The Obasanjo Administration in transition from military to publician rule initiated the Nigerian Project in 1999 which continued in different forms. A fresh attempt at PSR was established from 2003 onwards with the introduction of the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) and the launch of the Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP). Various formal institutions were established with the appointment of National Council on Reform (NCR) which formalised the reform programme under the Steering Committee on Reforms which was overseen by the ministry and introduced a social contract in the form of Servicom with its citizens.

The Bureau of Public Service Reform (BPSR) was established as the official public service institution to 'control' the functioning of the public service and claim back 'reform ownership' in Nigeria through the neutrality of public service. Several reform programmes and initiatives such as the Fiscal Strategy Paper on reforming public sector finances; governance mechanisms such as the Anti-Corruption Agencies; Public Procurement Reform in terms of supply chain management; Reformation of State Owned Enterprises (SOE) in terms of Privatisation and agencification; Downsizing/Rightsizing through Retrenchment in the Public Service; Professionalising of the public service through the re-opening of the Public Service College and the review of all Public Service Reference Books including legislation, regulations, acts, ordinances etc.; improvement in terms of conditions of employment through the monetization of Fringe Benefits, and the Pay Reform through the Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS).

However, Nigeria still faces several Challenges and is still regarded as a failed state due to the low level of standard of living despite its vast natural resources. In order to thrust Nigeria into the 21st century the National Strategy for Public Service Reforms (NSPSR) was introduced in 2010 and the effects of these reforms are yet to be assessed.

SOUTH AFRICA

The Republic of South Africa (RSA) has since 1994 entered a new era of international credibility with the introduction of its first democratic political dispensation. As a constitutional state with arguably the most liberal constitution in the world, the RSA immediately set about transforming its public service to use as its administrative conduit to smooth the road to transformation. The provision for a public service is enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa and in accordance thereof, the Constitutional Court has interpreted these measures in a manner that placed pressure on the government to improve the performance of the public service in terms of its constitutional obligations.

Miller (2005:93, 135-136) in a major study of the South African public service concludes that there appears to be more legislation regulating the public service than before, not unusually so in any emerging developing state in transformation. The legislation introduced such as the Constitution, Labour Relations Act (LRA), Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA), Employment Equity Act (EEA) and the Skills Development Act (SDA) were integral to the transformatory process and these were enabled by the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (RDP), White Paper on Transformation of the Public Service; White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele) and the introduction of its Macro-Economic Strategy for Growth and Employment (GEAR).

The critical Presidential Review Commission (PRC) in 1996 and the continuation by the Maphai Commission introduced several reforms after its scathing criticism on the ANC for attempting to retain some structures from the apartheid era. The major dilemma that the ANC government faced in 1994 was the unification of its fragmented public services inherited from the erstwhile TBVC states.

The attempt by the government to introduce the Public Management Administration Bill (PAMB) otherwise referred to as the Single Public Service (SPS) is regarded as the single largest attempt at public service reform. The SPS is an attempt to collapse the three tiers of government into an integrated single service. However, this attempt has been stalled by the trade union as government had not complied with due process.

Another major attempt at public service reform has been the creation of Cabinet Clusters which adopted an integrated ministerial/corporate approach to the management of departments. Cabinet taking into account internal best practice, realised the futility of introducing PSR initiatives without quality assuring the process and to ensure compliance

the Ministry of Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) was established in the Office of the Presidency.

Whilst there was a divergence of thought between the two previous ministers which handled the portfolio of Minister of Public Service and Administration (MPSA) at the onset of transformation, both claiming that the New Public Management (NPM) Framework was not in the interests of South Africa as a developmental state, however, the NPM concept was merely borrowed and the reforms introduced were domestically engineered taking into account its developmental nature and social construct.

However, while it is cogent to know as to what aspects and to what extent the NPM concept was borrowed, suffice to state that several Financial Reforms were introduced, most notable being the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA) which held officers accountable for their actions. The PFMA was bolstered by the Integrity Management Framework which introduced the Public Service Charter enabling governance and anti-corruption mechanisms.

South Africa had embarked on a major Corporatisation and Agencification programme affecting thousands of public service personnel who were accorded the option of joining the new parastatals with remuneration packages which appeared more favourable but with no guarantee of long term tenure similar to the private sector.

The Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA) had transformed from the much despised Commission for Administration (CFA) which had been the arm of apartheid bureaucracy. At the outset the DPSA initiated an Assessment Project – A State of the Public Service - to look at the overall condition of the public service. In so doing it introduced several wide ranging reform initiatives. Cabinet had removed certain functions and concomitant authority from the Public Service Commission (PSC) and transferred it to the DPSA. The DPSA introduced institutional reform with the establishment of PALAMA (previously SAMDI) and CPSI. It Decentralised and devolved authority to provincial and institutional levels taking accountability lower down the management ladder, closer to the coal-face of service delivery.

The establishment of the Public Service Coordinating Bargaining Council (PSCBC) in terms of the LRA removed the arbitrary power of the minister and paved the way for collective bargaining and negotiation on matters of mutual interest. In the spirit of collective bargaining, several collective agreements were concluded with the trade unions which not only dealt with salary and conditions of employments but on matters which paved the way

for transformation of the public service and addressed all inequities of the past, corrected anomalies, and created career and growth paths for occupational classes which led to a more efficient and professional public service.

Several reform initiatives which had been initiated by the DPSA had been formalised in the PSCBC through collective agreements such as the new Senior Management Service (SMS); the introduction of the Open Employment System making the recruitment procedures transparent; the introduction of a Performance Management agreement to quality assure personnel efficiency; Rightsizing/downsizing not leading to retrenchment but with the option of Voluntary Severance Packages (VSP) which unfortunately proved a disaster as more skilled personnel left the service rather than the group it was destined to target; the removal of Discriminatory Practices of the past such as race, gender and disability discrimination; and the redressing of Past Pension and Medical inequalities which affected the exit packages of long serving black public servants.

Finally, the DPSA has also introduced the Implementation of Remuneration Policy Framework which it hopes will obviate any discord in future labour negotiations by negotiating on the elements of the public service budget before it is tabled in Parliament.

The year 2010 brought to an end the third five-year-term of the South African democratic Government set up in 1994. In building on past achievements, it stands poised to confront the new term of the fourth democratic Jacob Zuma Government which is ready to work differently in delivering services to the people through the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA).

CHAPTER 3

IMPACT OF TRADE UNION AND PUBLIC SERVICE REFORMS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

On 10 December 1948 the world's nations signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Paris, recognising that all human beings, regardless of race, colour, creed, age, class and gender, are "born free and equal in dignity and rights". Sixty two years later, Trade unions as social agents and recognising the importance of the universality of Human Rights, continue to play a pivotal role in pursuing reform policies and also more radical policies necessary to address underlying distributional and class inequalities. Public service reform has found what many would see as unlikely champions, as (Martin, 1997, pp. 14-33) argues public servants and their unions are caricatured solely as being there to defend their power and privileges.

Trade unionism took on the character of a broad social movement aspiring to the defence and promotion of class interests through a radical reconstruction of society – thus proving that transformation can occur. These struggles are essential to setting out a vision of an alternative social order. The conventional role of trade unions such as the right to organise and the right to collective bargaining for public service workers are not the only prerequisites of a trade union. Such policies also require a labour presence in the political arena.

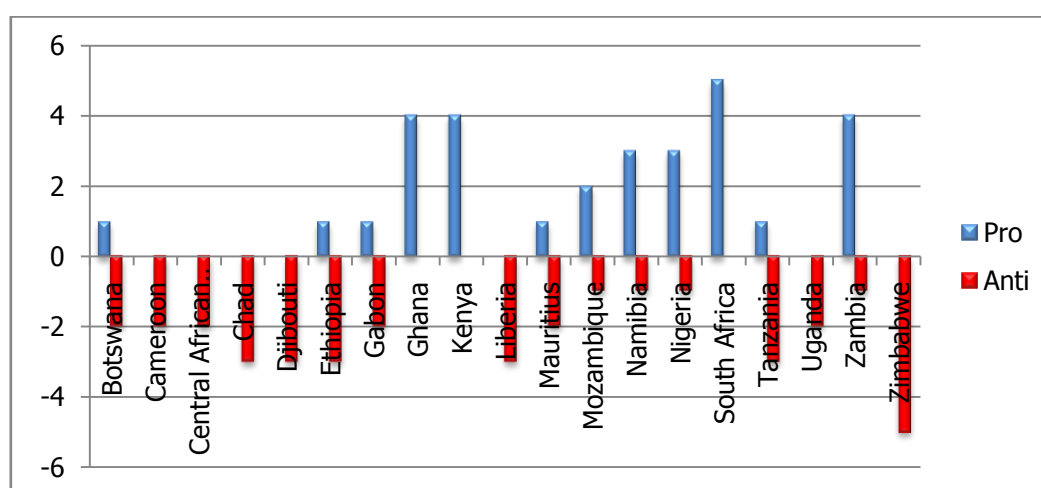
The extensive literature on the theory of labour organizations stresses the principle that a society controlled by organized workers is more desirable than the system of control by "owners".

The growing globalisation/internationalization of economic decision-making and high unemployment that accompanies the global trends is influencing governments to adopt novel ways to produce new cooperation with trade unions domestically. The relationship between the State as an employer (government) and the trade union movement in the management of the economy is gradually winning trade union cooperation. However; the

conduct of governments in Africa indicates that there does not appear to be a strong appreciation of the potential of public service trade unions to contribute to national development. The development of any nation depends to a large extent on the calibre, organization and motivation of its human resources. History records that successful nations had relied on trade and commerce; and did not develop by aid alone - Africa cannot be the exception. Mobilisation theorists argue grievances are necessary, but not sufficient for employees to become collectivised. What is essential is that workers blame the employer or management for their problems. (Kelly, 1998, pp. 38-45). At its heart is the fundamental question of how individuals are transformed into collective actors willing and able to create and sustain collective organisation and engage in collective action against their employers. However, there does not appear to be a strong appreciation of the potential of public service trade unions to contribute to national development.

Whilst most African countries have embarked on certain aspects of public service reform, the following figure indicates the relationship between governments and the status of the public service trade unions in their respective country in Africa, Nigeria and South Africa included) and the ability (or inability) to operate and fulfil their members' mandates in terms of International Labour Organisation (ILO) and domestic labour standards and labour codes.

Figure 6 - Pro/Anti Trade Union Countries in Africa



3.2 SOUTH AFRICA

Prior to obtaining its democratic dispensation, the South African labour movement and trade unions have always been politically active and have contributed to the reform process in a multitude of ways. The trade union movement was a major political force in the struggle for

liberation from apartheid and the early 1990s was a period of unprecedented political change, set in motion with the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC). Over the years, the trade unions have had close association with the other components of the democratic movement, including the civic organisations as invariably the activist and leadership base of the community movements overlapped with that of the trade unions.

In 1979, the Wiehahn Commission proposed a defining moment that trade union membership for Africans was legally possible. This allowed Africans representation on the Industrial Councils, centralized and industry-wide collective bargaining structures. This resulted in a dramatic and strong growth in trade union membership which rapidly approached three million members in 1992. The re-emergence of the trade unions in South Africa from the mid-1970s was one of the central features of the development of the democratic movement. The political transition set in motion in 1990 and culminating in the first democratic elections in 1994 resulted in a significant shift in state-labour relations. Reforms therefore need to be seen in the context of changes in the South African economy and the status of African workers. The gradual abandonment of the 'colour bar' and the skilling of the African labour force opened up "new" opportunities for African workers who were denied this right.

Another significant development was the spread of unionisation to the public service, coterminous with a dramatic increase in strike action in this area. Prior to 1993 and the introduction of the Public Service Labour Relations Act, unions had not been formally recognised within the public service. At that stage in the core public service itself, only staff associations had been recognised. In the early 1990s, the state began informal discussion with the newly emerging unions and also with the existing staff associations that had begun to transform themselves into trade unions. The state was prepared to engage in collective bargaining whilst the unions were prepared to use industrial action in defence of their interests.

The number of organisations within the public service increased from one to over 20 organisations, whilst union membership began increasing in the public service representing approximately 760, 000 employees. The relative prosperity of the unions reflected a favourable institutional context, especially in the public service as the wave of unionization had proved unstoppable.

Netshitenzhe in (Grawitzky, 2004, p. 1) says trade unions in South Africa are being forced to confront new realities which are partly a result of the democratisation process and partly a condition arising out of globalisation. The key question is; are unions dealing decisively with these challenges whatever the origins? The trade unions were committed to participating actively in debate over the macroeconomic policy and the future of the South African economy. Few individual affiliates of Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) had research capacity; and among those that did, the focus was, understandably, on the collective bargaining needs of their members.

Given the potential role of the trade unions, it was essential that resources be devoted to research and policy formulation. Initially at the inception of democracy, most public service trade unions were unable to develop policy positions, even though pressure on the unions to do so was often great as their officials had no formal education and the issues they were grappling with were becoming increasingly technical and complex and required a genuine need for capacity building.

The review on collective bargaining shows very starkly the lack of capacity and the urgent need for education within union ranks (Grawitzky, 2004, p. 1). However, a number of labour related groups, such as the South African Labour and Development Research Unit, the Labour Research Service (LRS), the Trade Unions Research Project (TURP), the Labour and Economic Research Centre (LERC), the Community Research Unit (CRU), and the Labour and Economic Research Project (LERP), served the immediate collective bargaining, training, and educational needs of the trade union movement and even coordinated their activities to avoid duplication (Van Ameringen, Marc , 1995, pp. 15-18).

The lack of capacity however has not hampered the trade unions from acting in the interest of the greater economy. This was demonstrated in proposals to close so-called light density lines run by Spoornet, some years ago. However, research undertaken by the National Labour and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI) showed that closing eight lines in rural KwaZulu-Natal would save Spoornet R30 million per annum, but would increase the cost of road maintenance by R130 million per annum. Moreover, it would provide significant cost escalations in transports cost for households, needing to access government services. Fortunately, in this case, the research was commissioned and supported by trade unions in the transport sector, thus ensuring that power and evidence based research combined was vital. Equally important, the Department of Transport did not adopt a dismissive attitude to evidence based proposals, but acted on the advice ensuring that many light density lines

would continue to be maintained and be operational. This had lessons for public society organisations that had proposals with the state playing a key role (Hassen E.-K. , 2009).

The on-going debate includes looking at objective facts as to whether South African workers would have achieved what they have achieved since the dawn of democracy if COSATU had decided not to engage with political issues. On its part, many advances had been as a result of the combination of use of mass militant struggles and existence of an alliance.

Ultimately the critical question is whether trade union activity and engagement has effectively influenced the outcome of public service reform.

3.2.1 LEGISLATION

Throughout the 20th century, various laws were passed, mainly to protect white workers from competition with black workers and to prevent black workers from organising trade unions.

The first democratic reforms saw the enactment of legislation to establish core worker rights, facilitate South Africa's reintegration into the world economy and reform the apartheid labour market, marked by inequality, unemployment, low skill and productivity (Benjamin, 2005, p. 34).

Unions still have legitimacy within the current system in South Africa and the laws put in place since 1994 are supposed to protect and advance worker rights. However, there are growing signs of attempts by employers (and in some instances government) to undermine unions.

A. Labour Legislation Amendments

In last quarter of the 2010 Parliamentary session, four new bills were proposed for public comment.

These are amendments to the:

- Labour Relations Amendment Bill
- Basic Conditions of Employment Bill
- Employment Equity Amendment Bill
- Employment Services Bill

The proposal is that Section 198 of the Labour Relations Act (LRA) should be repealed and replaced by the Employment Services Bill. According to a new, stricter definition of "employer" included in this proposed Bill, no temporary employment service will be able to be the employer of any workers that it places in work.

The Employment Services Bill in essence proposes the establishment of a state employment agency to which every private-sector job vacancy and every new hire will have to be reported. If businesses fail to notify the public employment services agency of any vacancy or new position they will be guilty of a violation and fined a minimum fine of R10, 000.

The Employment Equity Amendment Bill proposes 'an equal work, equal pay strategy' that employers be compelled to pay employees who do the same work, the same salary.

The Basic Conditions of Employment Bill proposes that the Minister be given the power to prescribe representative thresholds of a trade union to have the organisational rights of access to employers' premises. In other words, with backing from the Minister, unions will be able to enter private premises in order to recruit members.

3.2.1.1 TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE

The African National Congress (ANC) government has been astute in entering into a Tripartite Alliance with the 'largest and most disciplined labour movement in Africa' namely the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and its political ally, the South African Communist Party (SACP), both of which are pro-labour and worker controlled.

3.2.2 MAJOR TRADE UNIONS

A. Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is the biggest of the country's three main labour federations, with a combined membership of over 2 million workers grouped into 19 affiliated trade unions. Cosatu has aligned itself with the ANC's liberation politics and entered into an alliance with the ANC and the South African Communist Party, referred to as the tripartite alliance. Some analysts and affiliates argue that the federation is compromising its independence by aligning itself with the ruling political party, whilst the African National Congress (ANC) government views this as an astute and tactical move to combat any possibility of a future worker oriented labour party emerging as a challenge. The historical

alliance between the labour movement and the social democratic regime of industrial countries has however weakened over time.

The unions' antipathy towards relaxation of the labour laws invites comparisons with the white unions' and apartheid government's pre-1979, equally conservative labour policies, which placed its political alliances above building a dynamic, sustainable economic and social system. Any criticism of the union movement is regarded as heresy by officialdom, evoking a defensive, reactionary backlash. The unions are strangers to self-criticism, and cling to self-reverential notions of worker-struggle and power. Stuck in protest mode, specializing in blocking things, they seem unable to engage on a constructive level and make a difference.

Nearly a third of COSATU's members now have degrees (Gentle, 2010). Accordingly, COSATU appears to have changed in composition from a largely blue-collar working class formation in the 1980s and 1990s to the largely public sector, white collar federation it is today. Although the National Union of Mineworkers is still the biggest single union, the bulk of membership is now drawn from NEHAWU, SADTU, CWU, SAMWU and POPCRU. This changing composition of COSATU has seen the centre of gravity of mass struggle shift towards the township poor, who have been those waging service delivery struggles for the last five years. These have been struggles largely waged by the unemployed and the never-employed youth.

B. Federation of Unions of South Africa (FEDUSA)

The Federation of Unions of South Africa (FEDUSA) was formed in 1997 and is the country's second-largest federation, claiming 520 000 members organised into 27 affiliates. It regards itself as socially democratic and politically non-aligned but has joined the created Independent Labour Caucus as part of a negotiating bloc at the bargaining council.

C. National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU)

The National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) is South Africa's third-largest federation, comprising about 20 affiliate unions with a combined membership of nearly 400 000. It is politically aligned to the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and holds to Black Consciousness ideologies. NACTU was formed shortly after the establishment of Cosatu. NACTU's forerunner, the Council of Unions of South Africa, walked out of the talks to form a single federation following disagreements over the principle of non-racialism, espousing instead

the principle of black leadership. The council joined up with the pro-Black Consciousness Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions to form Nactu in 1986. NACTU's two public service unions jointly constitute under 10 000 public servants as members.

3.2.3 NEDLAC

The social partnership model between the state and organised labour was institutionalised with the formation of the National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlac) in 1995 and through this body, organised labour is ensured of a continued role in policy-making.

Prior to obtaining its democratic dispensation, the South African labour movement and trade unions had always been politically active and had contributed to the reform process in a multitude of ways, both overtly through direct negotiation and particularly through collective bargaining at tripartite structures such as Nedlac.

3.2.4 PUBLIC SERVICE COORDINATING BARGAINING COUNCIL (PSCBC)

The Public Service Coordinating Bargaining Council (PSCBC) had been established in terms of the Labour Relations Act (66 of 1995) and was launched in 1997. The aim of the PSCBC is to maintain sound labour relations in the public service. The PSCBC provides a platform for the parties to Council (the State as employer and the public service unions representing over 1.3 million employees) to engage constructively over matters of mutual interest.

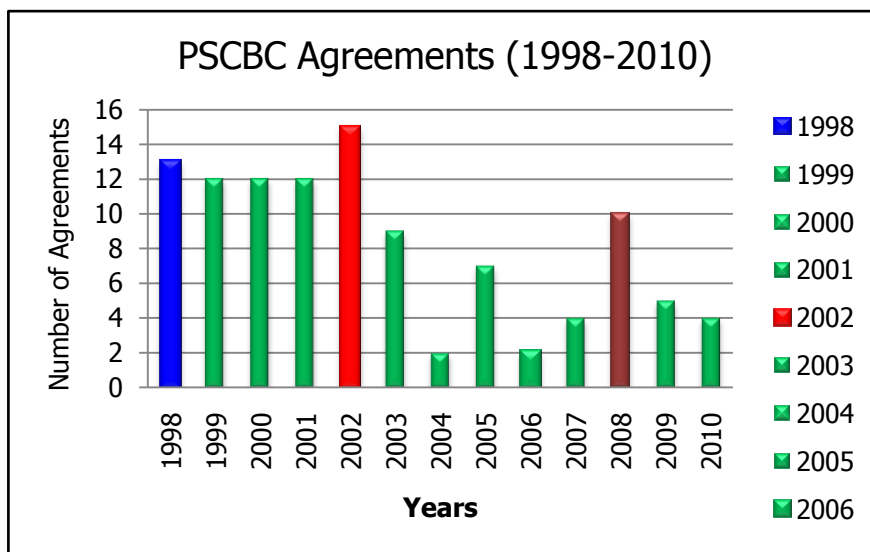
The PSCBC is an extremely cogent structure in public service reform, collective bargaining and dispute resolution process. As the public service is the machinery government uses to ensure the stabilisation and equitable distribution of service delivery, numerous historic and landmark collective agreements have been negotiated were concluded in the PSCBC with all the relevant stakeholders who laid the foundation for the transformation of the public service and which have "revolutionised" the face of the public service and South African politics.

Centralised bargaining has given organised labour more negotiating power. The equivalent status accorded to all stakeholders, that is the employer and the trade unions (collectively) allows for meaningful and good faith collective bargaining taking place. Whilst the DPSA represents government as a single employer, at both national and provincial levels, the trade unions are admitted in terms of the meeting the minimum admission threshold.

Concern therefore exists as to whether unions are playing sufficient attention to collective bargaining.

In the twelve year period (1998 – 2010) one hundred and twelve (112) collective agreements and annexure have been concluded in the PSCBC and this has had the effect of “smoothing” the way for transforming the face of the public service and has been instrumental in “revolutionising” South African politics due to the impact of the labour movement’s influence in the broader politic.

Figure 7 - PSCBC Agreements (1998-2010)



During the period 1998-2003, the maximum number of collective agreements had been negotiated within the PSCBC (covering a wide range of matters) as the South African public service was seeking transform itself from the apartheid structures and this could only be formalised through a collective bargaining process.

South African trade unions as members of the tripartite political alliance have played a major role in delivering a democratic dispensation. The workerism approach and community proximity to the grass-root community level ensured that they carried a moral mandate. The PSCBC has been both the catalyst and the conduit for transforming the public service (Balkaran, PSCBC - Collective Bargaining and Strikes in the Public Service [Masters Dissertation - Unpublished], 2005, p. 94).

The development and implementation compensation policies in terms of the Remuneration Policy Framework for the public service ensure co-ordinated collective bargaining and effective programme management for the establishment of the public service.

A. Strikes

There is a close relationship between the rise of strike action and union growth which coincide with changes in bargaining practices. There is little doubt that there are certain close correlations between strikes, union growth, changes in bargaining practices, and mergers, with regular upsurges in militancy and collective action taking place. Again, this underscores the point that industrial relations trends are evolutionary and wave-like.

During the first major public service strike since democracy, in 1999, trade unions suffered a significant defeat with government's unilateral implementation of wages. But in 2007, public service unions turned the tables on government conducting an unprecedented strike, and building an unlikely coalition with non-aligned trade unions and certain departments responsible for frontline service delivery.

In both 1999 and 2007, there was the promise that the crises occasioned by national strikes would create the opportunity for long-run reforms in the public service. There was great optimism that following the 2007 strike there would be a better deal both for transforming service delivery as well as increasing employment in the public service?

The 2010 public service strike and the appalling state of the public sector, conjoined, are regarded as a watershed in South African politics. The strike took on a wider political significance in that it revealed shifts within the social base of the ANC and its allies and indicating that since 1994, the ANC had largely abandoned the working class and poor, whilst implementing neoliberal policies such as the privatisation and commercialisation of public services.

The leaderships of the COSATU public sector unions were drawn into the 2010 strikes reluctantly. COSATU's leadership did not want the strike and were ill-prepared. The main reason for endorsing the idea of a strike was due to the fact that the Independent Labour Caucus (ILC) had opted for it. The ILC comprised all public service trade unions not affiliated to COSATU. Faced with the prospect of being outflanked and fearing the consequences of militant action conducted outside its ranks (resonant to what happened in the 2007 strikes when the doctors carried on striking despite the fact that their union had settled), COSATU unions had little choice but to come out (Gentle, 2010)

The State as the employer on the hand, due to the tripartite alliance, was proxy to the thinking of the trade union leaders and knew of the leaders' reluctance to strike. The states'

negotiators clearly knew that the agreement reached after the last public sector strike in 2007 included a compromise to have the Occupation Specific Dispensation (OSD) and that there would be negotiations only in three years' time (2010), which would be in the year of the World Cup. They therefore had three years of planning to avoid the showdown that transpired. The state and the trade union leadership were comfortable to allow the negotiations to amble along so that their climax would not be reached during the World Cup.

There have been many reasons why the State as the employer had adopted such an intransigent stance? The speculation ranges from:

- Government did not have the financial space to manoeuvre due to:
 - The global economic crisis
 - The astronomical expenditure associated with hosting the 2010 World Cup
- The close political partnership between COSATU and the Zuma government ensuring the union leaderships' unwillingness to consider a strike
- the state deliberately sought confrontation being aware of the political balance of forces within the tripartite alliance knowing that COSATU had become defensive within the ANC after the Polokwane victory and that COSATU would not go for a strike
- The initiative for the 2010 strike had been taken by the ILC unions and not that of the COSATU unions and this would have been an opportunity to adopt the 'divide and rule' strategy – separating the strong union coalition that had been forged during and after the 2007 strike. If this had succeeded then this would have resulted in a failed strike by the workers

The state as the employer and the trade unions conspiratorially underestimated the mood on the ground and the angst of the workers. Whilst service delivery demonstrations in South Africa are visible examples of its citizens protesting to government in favour of better services, there have been those seriously neglected citizens; who must provide the vital public services and who are also public servants and members of the same community such as teachers, nurses, state clerical workers. South Africa is regarded as having one of the highest real interest real estate rates in the world and it is significant that one of the areas of dispute in the public service strike was the issue of the housing subsidy. Public servants claimed that they were underpaid and disillusioned enough to revolt against the system and hold out for a protracted strike in order to get some improvement.

The anger of the strikers was patent in their response to newspaper adverts placed by the State's 'inflated' claims about their salaries and in an attempt to dissuade the public in the court of public opinion not to support the striking public servants. This was regarded by the strikers in poor taste and bad faith negotiating. The significance of the public sector strike was that the strikers were willing to continue the strike indefinitely indicated their refusal to back down. It is also significant that a number of the most recalcitrant strikers were teachers and nurses. It is also significant that the composition of the Independent Labour Caucus (ILC) unions were also white collar.

(Gentle, 2010) points out that public service expenditure overall actually declined after Macro-Economic Strategy for Growth and Employment (GEAR) in 1996 and only reached pre-1996 levels again in 2006. He therefore posits the view that the ANC government's refusal to invest in poorly resourced public services, particularly, with greater intensity of work on the human resources required to make public institutions (hospitals, schools etc.) function properly. It is argued that to date no one has yet found a way of improving services without having adequate teachers, nurses, doctors, policemen and clerks etc. There is currently a 40% vacancy rate in public hospitals and this goes to the heart of the problem because service delivery is first and foremost about having the people to deliver the services.

B. Occupational Specific Dispensations (OSD)

Government was reluctant to admit earlier that there was a dispute, keeping unions hopes alive by continuously asking for more time. Yet, when strike action was initiated, it moved quickly to finalise its offer. Government negotiators argued that they had tried to avert a strike; however, what they inadvertently did was to provide the impetus for worker militancy.

The South African public service had experienced the "mother of all strikes" in 2007 when the health related personnel; especially medical doctors spearheaded a tangential strike to that of the routine annual public service salary demonstrations.

This resulted in the introduction of occupational specific dispensations (OSDs) that put new occupational classifications, promotions and grading systems in place.

The combination of decisions at a sector level on Occupation Specification Dispensation (OSD) and those at the central bargaining level on salaries, were not coordinated. However,

the lack of a coherent message from government was demonstrated with the introduction of the OSD. Yet at a deeper level, it also indicated significant policy incoherence in government, between demands at a sector level with those at the central level.

The OSD provided for a much needed review of salary scales, career pathing that retained excellent public servants at the coal-face, and introduced internships as part of a major shake-up of public service employment. The process of the OSD was driven by service delivery departments, especially the health and education departments (Hassen E.-K. , 2010). The medical doctors and other health professional categories were initially targeted for the OSD and the delay in the implementation had resulted in some of the most devastating and debilitating public service strikes in the history of the South African public service from 2007-2009. The process led to a much-needed review of teachers' and nurses' salaries as well as other smaller sectors.

C. Essential Services

Medical doctors and other health related personnel are designating as an "essential service" in terms of section 71 of the Labour Relations Act (LRA) and are not permitted to embark on industrial action/strikes. The challenges facing public service trade unions in South Africa and globally include the increasing trend to widen the scope of essential services and thus limit trade union rights in the public service.

D. Public Service Summit

In 2010, public service trade unions were galvanised into strike action when government failed to implement, amongst other matters, the OSD for doctors. The Public Service Summit was held in March 2010 and resolutions signed by all parties. However, at the conclusion of the Public Service Summit, the parties announced the signing of a resolution which "cemented labour peace".

South African trade unions can no longer use the solutions of the 1980s by taking to the streets, as the environment is different and they do not have the same moral high ground. The question is whether they are part of a strategy to deliver class elite or is their approach to collective bargaining aimed at broadening social issues such as service delivery challenges?

3.3 NIGERIA

Trade Unionism was an important legacy of colonialism which was used by nationalists to fight for, and maintain the independence of West African countries and influence the development of democracy in the region. Therefore (Alalade, 2004, p. 201) believes that Trade Unionism today retains its currency as there is no group or organisation in Nigeria more patriotic than the Nigerian Trade Union movement as it represents the only organisation that is truly democratic with voluntarily membership that can make a difference.

Currently trade unions play significant roles to its members as they are the main power source of working people. Their roles include economic, social, welfare, political, psychological benefits to members and opportunity to participate in managerial function in the service.

The following comprise the major trade union movements in Nigeria:

- Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC)
- Academic Staff Union of Nigeria Universities (ASUU)
- Amalgamated Union of Public Corporations Civil Service Technical and Recreational Services Employees (AUPCTRE)
- Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) and Radio, Television and Theatre Arts Workers Union (RATTAWU)
- Senior Staff Association of Nigerian Universities (SSANU)
- Non Academic Staff Union (NASU)
- National Association of Academic Technologists (NAATS)
- Trade Union Congress (TUC)
- Joint Consultative Council (JCC) is an umbrella body for public societies that formed the Labour centre under the platform of Labour and Civil Society Coalition (LASCO)

(Fajana, 2004, p. 24) in describing the various dynamics of evolution, mission, environments and methods with which Nigerian unions have conducted labour relations, postulates that different theoretical orientations are picked up at different times, and dropped or continued at will as "trade unionism is philosophical whereas trade union is institutional.

It is the trade unions and its members that Government relies on for the implementation of the reform programme. Trade unions are central to the whole reform agenda, given its pivotal role as the power-house of government. There is a perverse sense in which trade

unions issues either benefit or suffer equally from the outcomes of any reform. It appears that reform processes seem to be characterized by dualities. The labour movement pointed to what might be described as a contradiction in terms: that of Government encouraging job losses while still speaking of creating jobs. The restructuring process has taken considerable toll on the entire trade union movement, in terms of job losses. This development could hinder the powers of labour unions to agitate and mobilize, as it could decimate their membership.

In general terms, reform appears to be seeking to appease investors who seem to be in favour of working with non-unionized labour. This attitude is again reflected in what appears to impose a 'nuisance' value on trade unions and strikes. In spite of the possibility of abuse, strikes are standard and legitimate means of expressing workers' displeasure, at least from an industrial relations standpoint.

By and large labour standards remain poor in Nigeria. Usman in (Olanrewaju, 2007, pp. 158-170) noted that the idea of voluntary membership of labour associations was uncomplimentary to labour. Trade unionists have accused the Nigerian government of ignoring several core labour standards as required by international law (Ukwuom, Olawale, & Ugwoke, 2008, p. 28). Although there is a tendency for labour legislation to dominate discussions on reform, there are many other salient reform issues that affect labour (Olanrewaju, 2007, p. 160).

Omole in (Momoh, 1999, p. 24) enjoined that there can be no productivity without the full participation and contributions of the trade unions. The extent to which this area remains unarticulated reveals itself in the tendency by Government to react only as industrial relations issues that emerge from the implementation of the reform agenda.

Trade Unionism and party politics mutually complement each other. Workers constitute the major moving force in the economy of Nigeria. (Adebajo, 2006, p. 206) asserts that there is hardly any government institution or parastatal in Nigeria without a workers' Trade Union. (Akhaine, 2004, p. 38) deems that it is in the interests of democracy, the government and the people of Nigeria to have a strong public society organisations and labour movements. These are the greatest insurance for democracy.

3.3.1 EVOLUTION OF NIGERIAN TRADE UNIONISM

The colonial administration enacted the first labour legislation in 1938, which recognised the existence of trade unions. The evolution of the Nigerian trade unionism may be traced back to the enactment of the Trade Unions Ordinance of 1938, which was effective from 1 April 1939. This law defined the principal purpose of a trade union which was the regulation of the relations between workmen and masters (Ifedi, 1998, p. 15).

The Nigeria Labour Organisation was set up in 1930 in response to growing unemployment in colonial Nigeria. In 1931 the African Workers Union and Nigeria Labour Party was set up. Between 1948 and 1956 several worker-oriented political groups were formed, including the United Front of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) (Madunagu, 2004, p. 63).

A. Trade Unionism under the Military Regime

A military coupist not afraid of the police, or any state agency, yet is said to be more afraid of the public society, labour and human rights and pro-democracy groups in the country. (Lukman, 2001, pp. 12-13) records that in 1975 the Nigerian military government introduced a twin policy of limited intervention and guided democracy in labour relations in order to control the unions and to further weaken the Nigeria Labour Congress's (NLC) efforts to oppose government's policy of structural adjustments. The purpose of this policy was to ensure government dominance over trade unions. In enforcing this policy, the military government enacted the following decrees:

- Trade Dispute Decree No.7 to prevent strikes
- Trade Union Decree No. 22 to regulate the formation, registration and organisation of unions
- Trade Union (Amendment) Decree No. 4 of 1996 which banned full-time union officials such as general-secretaries from holding elected positions in the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC).
- Trade Unions Amendment Decree No. 26 of 1996 made the holding of NLC leadership positions by full-time union officials a criminal offence.
- Trade Union Decree No. 29 of 1996 empowered the Minister to de-register any union that affiliated to any international trade union centre outside the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU).

After intensive mobilisation, lobbying and advocacy work by the Nigerian labour movement, these decrees were abolished in 1998.

B. Rebuilding Organisational Structure

A major challenge facing trade unions in Nigeria is that of rebuilding the organisational structures after years of military interference in union administration. Notwithstanding the above, Minister Alhaji Abba Gana described the Nigerian workers as “true democrats, advocates of freedom and champions against dictatorships” and gave the workers a special commendation “for the painful strikes they conducted during the military era because the fruit of those strikes is the democracy and liberty which we all are enjoying today” (New Nigerian, 2003, p. 22).

Currently Nigeria has ratified thirty (30) of the 182 International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions, including five of the seven core labour standards conventions. To date trade unions and civic groups are treated with disdain, and are often referred to as trouble makers and rabble rousers in the politics of development (Moru, 2005, p. 2).

C. Civilian Government’s Absolute Authority

Under the current publican democratic dispensation in Nigeria, government bases its relationship with Trade Unions on absolute authority. At the bargaining (or negotiating) table, notwithstanding the threat of strikes, government retains the power to accept, select or modify agreements between Trade Union representatives and government representatives. On the other hand, from the time full democracy was reinstalled, Trade Union leaders are hardly arrested as a result of strikes or industrial (Alalade, 2004, p. 201)

D. Trade Union and Politics

(Ejiofor, 2000, p. 10) argues that Nigerian labour should be encouraged to be political as political developments in Nigeria continuously highlights the on-going stages of change in the structures of government invoking debate among experts on comparative politics as to how democratic institutions such as Trade Unions and other public society organisations contribute to political stability or, on the contrary to political disorder.

Unions needed to build coalitions with progressive political organisations through networking and collaboration with other public organisations and labour could campaign against people who are not properly or democratically elected e.g. military coups must be resisted with all

resources and not behave like appendages of political parties and conduct campaigns on local and state level (Ering, 1999, p. 17).

A federal system of government (like Nigeria) often arises from the desire of its people, as reflected in the adage 'unity in diversity', to form a Trade Union without necessarily losing their identities. With over fifty years of Nigeria's politics, it is generally accepted that so far federalism as a conflict management system has failed to remove the "bogey" of ethnicity, sectionalism and religion from Nigeria's body politic (Sunday Herald, 2008, pp. 27-28).

Trade unions need to change at all levels to change the perception of society and demonstrate that its struggle is for justice and offer a vision of humane and just society where the economy is a means to a better life for the entire society and not an end in itself.

E. Trade Unionists and Personal Advancement

Gladstone in (Ifedi, 1998, p. 15) lamented that former trade unionists treated unionism in Nigeria as commercial ventures and as a springboard to political power and economic advancement and in some instances trade union leaders managed more than one trade union simultaneously. (Umoh, 1989, p. 7) therefore argues that Trade unions in Nigeria have not lived up to the expectations of workers because of poor leadership. During 1978 to 1989, more than 70% of workers' money had been invested in court cases and entertainment, salaries and allowances of elected and appointed union leaders.

F. Joint Action Forum (JAF)

On 19 June 2007 the Joint Action Forum (JAF) an umbrella body for public societies that formed the Labour centre under the platform of Labour and Public Society Coalition (LASCO) had called on Nigerians to fully participate in planned strikes to exert pressure and force government to immediately halt the retrenchment of workers, and to reform the Public Service. The JAF fully endorsed the positions of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and Trade Union Congress (TUC) on the ultimatum given to the Yar'Adua government that was still grappling with anti-labour and unconstitutional economic policies that were executed through various administrative fiats (Fahamu, 2007, p. pambazuka.org).

3.3.2 MAJOR TRADE UNIONS

A. Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC)

The Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) is largest, mass dues paying organisation in Nigeria and on the African continent. It is the umbrella Trade Union in Nigeria. With the birth of the modern NLC, Obasanjo government did its utmost to impose its leaders on the NLC. The Labour Rights Movement (LRM) condemned the unilateral decision by government appointed leadership of the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) to force legitimate staffers on indefinite and compulsory leave without pay since the dissolution of the national executive council by the military in August 1994 and condemned the anti-labour agents whose mission was to weaken labour and force leadership on them (Egede, 1998, p. 5).

Following the repealing of Trade Union Amendment Decrees 9 and 10 of 1994 which dissolved the executive leadership of the workers central organisation, the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), was handed back by the Federal Government to workers on 17 September 1998 after four years and one month of being under a sole administrator (Daodu, 1998, p. 3).

One of the greatest challenges facing the NLC is that of the unity within the Nigerian Labour Movement amongst the Trade Union Congress (TUC), Centre for Free Trade Unions (CFTU) and the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU). In this respect, trade unions should be democratically controlled by their members (workers).

Ejiofor in (Egede, 2001, p. 33) iterates that the NLC as part of the National Joint Public Service Negotiating Council (NJPC), "became relevant and perceived as such by the Nigerian society, while politically, congress assumed the role of countervailing force in the Nigerian polity without being partisan".

B. Academic Staff Trade Union of Nigeria Universities (ASUU)

This is an affiliate to the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC). ASUU's membership of the Nigerian Labour (NLC) has not been steady due to the extreme radicalism of the Trade Union which constituted an adversarial position against the military regime of the time (Moru, 2005, p. 202). The Academic Staff Trade Union of Universities (ASUU) as a Trade Union has not been in good terms with governments in Nigeria for a long time now. It is also important to note that there are intellectuals who organised under the Academic Staff Trade Union of Nigeria

Universities (ASUU) that struggled against military authoritarianism, and stoutly defended academic freedom in the universities.

At the convocation ceremony at the University of Calabar, President Obasanjo had been very critical of ASUU, by not only projecting his worst lashing out on members of ASUU, but also declared that his administration “declare war” on the ASUU Trade Union (Sunday Herald, 2008).

C. AUPCTRE

The Amalgamated Union of Public Corporations, Civil Service Technical and Recreational Services Employees (AUPCTRE) are a public service union which is involved in the maintenance of roads and public works.

Historically, the leadership of the AUPCTRE provided the principled leadership during the military regime of Abacha and Uba Ahmed periods at a time when the NLC was placed under military administration (control).

The AUPCTRE has accused the office of the Ministry of Labour of being bias. The complaint of the union is that out of the eight unions in the public service, only two are allowed to organise workers beyond Level 06, while the remaining unions in the service are can do so up to Level 17. According to the union, it is a total breach of the Trade Union Act of 2005, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and African Charter on Human/Peoples’ Right for workers to be coerced under any guise to belong to any union against their wish, despite workers’ and a legal position on the issue.

D. Women’s Participation in Trade Union Activism

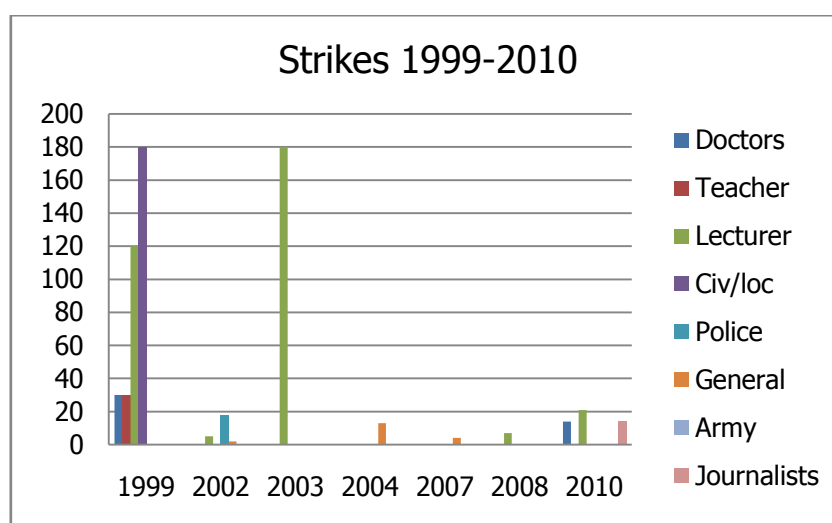
It is already widely known and accepted that women constitute a powerful force for democratic change in Nigeria; moreover, the purpose of democracy is to entrench the benefits of citizenship without gender consideration. Woman’s participation in Trade Union activism enhances labour influence in the new Nigerian democratic process as economic empowerment leads naturally to political empowerment (Adebajo, 2006, pp. 203-204).

More women and the number of female Advisers to the President have been appointed to the cabinet than previously. It is claimed that there is better and quicker success when women are included in negotiation and inevitable showdown with male dominated government. One special example is women’s request for the extension of maternity leave from three months to six months (Adebajo, 2006, p. 205).

E. Strikes

Generally, strikes are rather suspended than called off. The reason is to permit implementation of agreements reached. Again, full satisfaction is hardly ever obtained but negotiation continues ad infinitum. In all, strike, as a weapon, is the only part of collective bargaining with government that workers brandish. In the present democratic dispensation, it appears to work effectively.

Figure 8 - Nigerian Strikes (1999-2008)



In July 2010, all state universities in the Southeast geopolitical zone were shut down. The hope of reopening them dimmed as the Joint Consultative Council (JCC) trade unions comprising Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), Senior Staff Association of Nigerian Universities (SSANU), Non Academic Staff Union (NASU) and National Association of Academic Technologists (NAATS) in the universities continued with their indefinite strike. The JCC of the unions said the failure of the state governors in the Southeast to implement the Consolidated University Academic Salary Structure (CONUASS) had led to the strike. Education is regarded as the main industry of the zone (This Day, 2010).

The public health service had been paralysed since the doctors in the employment of the Lagos State government embarked on strike action on 14 August 2010, to force their employer to implement the new salary scale granted the Nigerian Medical Association by the Federal Government. However, the Lagos State government has refused to accede to the demands of the doctors, despite the Lagos State doctors demanding that this has been long overdue as some other states had implemented the new salary scales. (Otegbeye, 2010, p. nigerianbestforum.com) Doctors have threatened that Nigeria may witness a drastic brain-

drain because doctors feel that they are not being appreciated and are working on leaving the country.

Nigerian public service journalists and radio and television workers embarked on a nationwide strike on 15 November 2010 to protest against the non-implementation of special salaries and discriminatory salary structure against them. The union was not comfortable with the delay in the implementation of the special salary for media workers. The Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) and Radio, Television and Theatre Arts Workers Union (RATTAWU) told newsmen in Abuja on Tuesday that they would also join the three-day nationwide warning strike of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) beginning Wednesday to press for a national minimum wage. The union had on 25 October given the Federal Government a 14-day ultimatum to implement the new media salary structure. He said an additional seven days have been given to the Federal Government ((Sunday-Jethro, 2010)

F. Health Strike

Doctors and other health workers embarked on industrial action across the country in August 2010 and are demanding for Consolidated Medical Salary Structure (CONMESS), which will significantly improve their welfare and take-home pay (Shokunbi, Abegunrin, Lgbekoyi, Opeseitan, & Okoro, 2010).

A sustainable Education Service Reform (ESR) is imperative. This is because development issues are more complex than ever and it appears there are no straightforward answers to these problems. Therefore, there may be the need for enhanced human capabilities and organizational structures through a functioning educational system to provide answers to the myriad complex development issues.

Universities and other tertiary institutions are not training people with appropriate skills required for a 21st century competitive global economy dominated by Information Technology (IT) (Ukwuomo, Olawale, & Ugwoke, 2008, p. 28).

3.3.3 BARGAINING / NEGOTIATING COUNCILS

Trade unions exist essentially to protect and advance the interest of its members within its sphere of operation. As a legitimate organisation, the employer recognises and interacts with the trade union through a recognised platform, often referred to as 'negotiating machinery', used for redressing grievances of employment and to establish new conditions of service.

A. National Public Service Negotiating Council (NPSNC)

In the Nigeria public service, this platform was known as the Whitley Councils I, II, III later changed in 1975 by Udoji Civil Service Reform Commission to National Public Service Negotiating Council (NPSNC) I, II and III (Edeh, 2004, p. 44).

In 1991 the military dismantled the NPSNC which was only reinstated on 9 August 2001 when the head of service of the federation re-inaugurated the NPSNC. The salient issue here is to determine whether government create unions or recognise them by providing some administrative guidelines.

The NPSNC is the body statutorily charged with the responsibility for the negotiation of matters affecting the general conditions of service and wages of Public Servants, deal with grievances and guide Government in formulating policies in respect of Industrial Relations.

- The NPSNC categorisation reflects the three broad job grading structures and the jurisdictional scope of the federation
- The job of undertaking the issue of collective bargaining in the public service rests squarely on the doorstep of the National Public Service Negotiating Councils I - II - III and Joint National Public Service Negotiating Council 1 (JNPSNC).
- The head of service reconfirmed the Federal Government's resolve to encourage independence of trade union and the right of the worker on union membership.

Since the resuscitation of the NPSNC in August 2001, subsequent meetings have been held which included the meeting between the Office of the Head of Public Service of the Federation, Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and the Public Service Industrial Unions in which NLC was mandated by the Unions to continue and complete negotiations in respect of the 25% salary increase which they had started with the Government? This development whereby the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) is physically involved in issues of collective bargaining in the public service contrasts to the provision of the Trade Union Act and is unacceptable as it is federation and not a union per se (Job, 2004, p. 20).

(Edeh, 2004, p. 44) believes that there was no doubt that the Decree 4 of 1996 achieved its main objective of restoring industrial peace and harmony in the Nigeria labour system by totally eradicating unnecessary industrial dispute or litigation.

Subsequently, the Department ensured that regular meetings of the NPSNC and the JNPSNC were held at least, twice a year as provided in the respective Constitutions of the Councils.

These regular meetings have gone a long way to ensure industrial peace in the Service as the meetings were able to dialogue fruitfully on all areas of discord.

Arising from the decisions of the NPSNC and JNPSNC the Department resolved:

- delays of payment of staff salaries and issue of delays in payment of Staff Salaries especially in respect of the staff working in outstation Offices;
- The problem arising from the payment of rent by staff required to occupy Government quarters because of the nature of their job. An appropriate circular had been issued in this regard;
- The problem of jurisdictional scope of Trade Unions.
- Meanwhile, both the Industrial Arbitration Panel (IAP) and the National Industrial Court (NIC) have given judgement to the effect that the Association of Senior Public Servants of Nigeria has jurisdiction to unionise officers on GL. 07 and above while the Nigeria Public Service Union is empowered to unionise officers on GL.01 -06
- The Department has taken steps to ensure that Industrial Relations Units are established in each Ministry at both the Federal and State levels in order to promote industrial peace.

The Reform Programme still suffers from the problem of legitimacy in the eyes of the stakeholders. Many stakeholders see it as essentially a government agenda that is domineering over other stakeholders. There is the need for Government to collaborate more with the stakeholders. Consultation among the stakeholders, especially the tripartite, will be vital for the success of the reforms. Instances of unilateral action by one stakeholder have not been an uncommon feature of the reform experience. Social legitimacy is an important element that every social engineering process must strive to attain.

3.4 SUMMARY

Trade unionism took on the character of a broad social movement aspiring to the defence and promotion of class interests through a radical reconstruction of society – thus proving that transformation can occur. However, the trade union movement is regarded as formidable social agents who recognize the importance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which the world's nations signed in Paris.

Public Service Reform has found an unlikely champion in the trade union movement as trade unions continue to play a pivotal role in pursuing reform policies necessary to address distributional and class inequalities. The conventional role of trade unions such as the right to organize and the right to collective bargaining for public service workers are not the only prerequisites of a trade union. Such policies also require a labour presence in the political arena.

Trade unions are central to the whole reform agenda, given its pivotal role as the powerhouse of government and it's therefore the trade unions that Government relies on for the implementation of the reform programme. It appears that reform processes seem to be characterized by dualities. There is a perverse sense in which trade unions issues either benefit or suffer equally from the outcomes of any reform as any restructuring process could hinder the powers of labour unions to agitate and mobilize, as it could decimate their membership.

AFRICA

Trade union rights are regarded as basic human rights. In the 21st century, many African governments in countries such as Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mauritius, Mauritius, Mozambique, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, still flagrantly flout and violate basic trade union rights in terms of the ILO principle of Freedom of Association. They are deprived of the right to form a union; their members are still persecuted, arrested, imprisoned and even accused of high treason for attempting to organize workers. Such countries openly adopt an anti-union position. This entire deprivation of rights negates any attempt to recognize public service reform.

However, some African countries have embarked on certain initiatives of public service reform such as Kenya, Burundi, Rwanda, Gabon and Ghana.

NIGERIA

Trade unionism is viewed as an important legacy of colonialism which was used by nationalists to fight for, and maintain the independence of West African countries and influence the development of democracy in the region. Workers constitute the major force in the economy of Nigeria and there is hardly any government institution or parastatal in Nigeria without a workers' trade union.

The major Nigerian trade unions are the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), The Academic Staff Trade Union of Universities (ASUU) and the Amalgamated Union of Public Corporations, Civil Service Technical and Recreational Services Employees (AUPCTRE). In 1975 the Nigerian military government had introduced a twin policy of limited intervention and guided democracy in labour relations in order to control the unions and to further weaken the Nigeria Labour Congress's (NLC) – the largest labour federation - efforts to oppose government's policy of structural adjustments. The purpose of this policy was to ensure government dominance over trade unions.

Under the current publican democratic dispensation in Nigeria and since the restoration of 'full democracy', the Nigerian government bases its relationship with trade unions on absolute authority, retaining the power to accept, select or modify agreements between trade union representatives and government representatives. To date trade unions and civic groups are treated with disdain, and are often referred to as trouble makers and rabble rousers in the politics of development. Government's attitude is reflected in what it attaches as an imposition of a 'nuisance' value on trade unions and strikes. Despite the possibility of strikes; government and its investors appear to favour non-unionized labour.

The NLC is part of the National Joint Public Service Negotiating Council (NJIC) and was perceived by the Nigerian society as politically assuming the role of countervailing force in the Nigerian polity without being partisan. It is accepted that women constitute a powerful force for democratic change in Nigeria and to entrench the benefits of citizenship without gender consideration. As economic empowerment leads naturally to political empowerment, woman's participation in Trade Union activism has enhanced labour influence in the new Nigerian democratic process. More women and the number of female Advisers to the President have been appointed to the cabinet than previously. It is claimed that there is better and quicker success when women are included in negotiation and inevitable showdown with male dominated government. One special example is women's request for the extension of maternity leave from three months to six months.

By and large labour standards remain poor in Nigeria. Trade unionists have accused the Nigerian government of ignoring several core labour standards as required by international law with Nigeria currently having ratified only thirty (30) of the 182 International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions, including five of the seven core labour standards conventions.

Reform appears to be seeking to appease investors. The Nigerian Government have reacted to industrial relations issues only that emerges from the implementation of the reform agenda. Although there is a tendency for labour legislation to dominate discussions on reform, there are many other salient reform issues that affect labour.

In the present democratic dispensation, strikes are permitted. However, strike as a weapon, is the only part of collective bargaining with government that workers brandish. Generally, strikes are indefinite and having running out of steam, are suspended rather than called off - the reason is to permit implementation of agreements reached. Again, full satisfaction is hardly ever obtained but negotiation continues ad infinitum.

Several coalitions have often been formed to exert pressure on the demands tabled. The Joint Action Forum (JAF) an umbrella body for public societies that formed the Labour centre under the platform of Labour and Public Society Coalition (LASCO) had called on Nigerians to fully participate in planned strikes to exert pressure and force government to immediately halt the retrenchment of workers, and to reform the Public Service. The JAF fully endorsed the positions of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and Trade Union Congress (TUC) on anti-labour and unconstitutional economic policies that were executed through various administrative fiat.

The state as the employer recognizes and interacts with the trade union through the NPSNC bargaining councils which is the body statutorily charged with the responsibility for the negotiation of matters affecting the general conditions of service and wages of Public Servants deal with grievances and guide Government in formulating policies in respect of Industrial Relations. There are regular meetings of the NPSNC and the JNPSNC at least, twice a year as provided in the respective Constitutions of the Councils. These regular meetings have gone a long way to ensure industrial peace and on all areas of discord.

Arising from the decisions of the NPSNC and JNPSNC the Department resolved delays of payment of staff salaries and issue of delays in payment of Staff Salaries especially in respect of the staff working in outstation Offices; the payment of rent by staff required to occupy Government quarters because of the nature of their job, the problem of jurisdictional scope of Trade Unions, to ensure that Industrial Relations Units are established in each Ministry at both the Federal and State levels in order to promote industrial peace.

The Reform Programme still suffers from the problem of legitimacy in the eyes of the many stakeholders as it is essentially a government agenda that is domineering over other

stakeholders. There is the need for Government to collaborate more with the stakeholders. Consultation among the stakeholders, especially the tripartite (business/labour/government), will be vital for the success of the reforms. Instances of unilateral action by one stakeholder have not been an uncommon feature of the reform experience. Social legitimacy is an important element that every social engineering process has to strive for.

In the Nigeria public service, the salient issue here is to determine whether government creates unions or recognise them by providing some administrative guidelines.

SOUTH AFRICA

The trade union movement was a major political force in the struggle for liberation from apartheid and unprecedented political change with the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC). The political transition set in motion in 1990 and culminating in the first democratic elections in 1994 resulted in a significant shift in state-labour relations. South African trade unions as members of the tripartite political alliance have played a major role in delivering a democratic dispensation.

This resulted in a dramatic and strong growth in trade union membership. A significant development was the spread of unionization to the public service, coterminous with a dramatic increase in strike action. At that stage in the core public service itself, only staff associations had been recognized. Prior to 1993 and the introduction of the Public Service Labour Relations Act, unions had not been formally recognized within the public service. The number of organizations within the public service increased from one to over 20 organizations, whilst union membership began increasing in the public service representing approximately 760, 000 employees.

The trade unions were committed to participating actively in debate over the macroeconomic policy and the future of the South African economy. The first democratic reforms saw the enactment of legislation to establish core worker rights, facilitate South Africa's reintegration into the world economy and reform the apartheid labour market, marked by inequality, unemployment, low skill and productivity. Reforms therefore need to be seen in the context of changes in the South African economy and the status of African workers.

The African National Congress (ANC) entered into a Tripartite Alliance with the 'largest and most disciplined labour movement in Africa' namely the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and its political ally, the South African Communist Party (SACP), both of

which are pro-labour and worker controlled. On its part, many advances had been as a result of the combination of use of mass militant struggles and existence of an alliance.

COSATU appears to have changed in composition from a largely blue-collar working class formation in the 1980s and 1990s to the largely public service, white collar federation it is today. Nearly a third of COSATU's members now have degrees. The Federation of Unions of South Africa (FEDUSA) is the country's second-largest federation with the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) being South Africa's third-largest federation.

The Public Service Coordinating Bargaining Council (PSCBC) was established with the aim to maintain sound labour relations in the public service, providing a platform to engage constructively over matters of mutual interest. The PSCBC is an extremely cogent structure in public service reform, collective bargaining and dispute resolution process. Numerous historic and landmark collective agreements had been negotiated and concluded. One hundred and twelve (112) collective agreements had been concluded in the twelve year period (1998 – 2010) and this has had the effect of "smoothing" the way for transforming the face of the public service which was instrumental in "revolutionizing" South African politics due to the impact of the labour movement's influence in the broader politic.

The development and implementation compensation policies in terms of the Remuneration Policy Framework for the public service ensure coordinated collective bargaining and effective programme management for the establishment of the public service.

There is a close relationship between the rise of strike action and union growth which coincide with changes in bargaining practices. During the first major public service strike since democracy, in 1999, trade unions had suffered a significant defeat with government's unilateral implementation of wages. But in 2007, public service unions turned the tables on government conducting an unprecedented strike, and building an unlikely coalition with non-aligned trade unions and certain departments responsible for frontline service delivery.

In both 1999 and 2007, there was the promise that the crises occasioned by national strikes would create the opportunity for long-run reforms in the public service. There was great optimism that following the 2007 strike there would be a better deal for both transforming service delivery as well as increasing employment in the public service?

The 2010 public service strike and the appalling state of the public service are regarded as a watershed in South African politics. Public service trade unions were galvanised into strike action when government failed to implement, amongst other matters, the OSD for doctors.

There is currently a 40% vacancy rate in public hospitals and this goes to the heart of the problem because service delivery is first and foremost about having the people to deliver the services. It is also significant that a number of the most recalcitrant strikers were teachers and nurses. It is also significant that the composition of the Independent Labour Caucus (ILC) unions were also white collar.

The strike took on a wider political significance in that it revealed shifts within the social base of the ANC and its allies and indicating that since 1994, the ANC had largely abandoned the working class and poor, whilst implementing neoliberal policies such as the privatization and commercialization of public services.

COSATU's leadership did not want the strike and were ill-prepared. The State as the employer on the other hand, due to the tripartite alliance, was proxy to the thinking of the trade union leaders and knew of the leaders' reluctance to strike. The leaderships of the COSATU public service unions were drawn into the 2010 strikes reluctantly. The main reason for endorsing the idea of a strike was due to the fact that the Independent Labour Caucus (ILC) had opted for it. The ILC comprised all public service trade unions not affiliated to COSATU. Faced with the prospect of being outflanked and fearing the consequences of militant action conducted outside its ranks (resonant to what happened in the 2007 strikes when the doctors carried on striking despite the fact that their union had settled), COSATU unions had little choice but to come out.

The states' negotiators clearly knew that the agreement reached after the last public service strike in 2007 included a compromise to have the Occupation Specific Dispensation (OSD) and that there would be negotiations only in three years' time (2010), which would be in the year of the World Cup. They therefore had three years of planning to avoid the showdown that transpired. The state and the trade union leadership were comfortable to allow the negotiations to amble along so that their climax would not to be reached during the World Cup.

The state as the employer and the trade unions conspiratorially underestimated the mood on the ground. Public servants claimed that they were disillusioned enough to revolt against the system and hold out for a protracted strike in order to get some improvement. The significance of the public service strike was that the strikers were willing to continue the strike indefinitely indicating their refusal to back down.

Government was reluctant to admit earlier that there was a dispute, keeping unions hopes alive by continuously asking for more time. Yet, when strike action was initiated, it moved quickly to finalize its offer.

The Public Service Summit was held in March 2010, concluded with the parties having signed a resolution which "cemented labour peace".

The challenges facing public service trade unions in South Africa and globally include the increasing trend to widen the scope of essential services and thus limit trade union rights in the public service. This is a significant aspect of labour discord in south Africa as both the state as employer and the public service unions have deliberately avoided the conclusion of a minimum service agreement as it works in the interests of both parties not to do so.

South African trade unions can no longer use the solutions of the 1980s by taking to the streets, as the environment is different and they do not have the same moral high ground. The question is whether they are part of a strategy to deliver class elite or is their approach to collective bargaining aimed at broadening social issues such as service delivery challenges?

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The public service has to take a stand against embedding mediocrity and low expectations. It needs to raise the bar in terms of the expectation of superior performance by public servants and this can be accomplished through its public service training systems.

Society is preoccupied with celebrating its past glory rather than focusing on investing in its future. It now has an opportunity to focus on promoting skills as securing democracy has never been more urgent. Government with its social partners have the means to turn these challenges into opportunities and become a more inclusive, prosperous democracy where all citizens assume their rights and responsibilities. This can only be accomplished through a reformed, efficient and professional Public Service.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

"Knowledge is an important component of the pedagogic endeavour. However, understanding is superior to knowing (knowledge), as it allows for interpretation, extrapolation, prediction, and thus for comparative analysis and critical thinking".

(Hastie, Tibshirani, & Friedman, 2001, pp. 75-111)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the research methods used in collecting data. The collection of data was done quantitatively and qualitatively with the intent to "triangulate" findings and to demonstrate convergence in results (Creswell, 1994, p. 189). The data was important in formulating suggestions in as far as improving the conditions of the ex-student militants is concerned. The research also focuses on ethnographic and phenomenological research methods also explained as the study of lived experiences (Merriam, 1998). Since qualitative research depends on the philosophy of phenomenology in its emphasis on experience and interpretation, this study also focuses on a phenomenological approach to draw on the experiences of the people interviewed.

Research originally stems from the objectivistic paradigm and is characterised by participant observation and description of the actions of a small number of participants and the meanings that attach to their actions. The most important criterion that research should meet is that of credibility. (Charmaz, 2007, pp. 112-134) premises that to understand what is happening in a setting "we need to know what things mean to participants. Grasping the meaning participants have of their innermost experiences and feelings, unlock our understanding of their actions and intentions".

The research design is driven by this strategy. (Schurink, 2009, pp. 794-811) believes that the research strategy applied by a researcher flows from the research approach taken. It is the logic of the approach or the reasoning process used to link the research question(s), methods and evidence.

The survey questionnaire in this empirically based research was designed to obtain qualitative data from the respondents initially obtaining bio data to contextualise the research, such as country of origin, age, gender, academic qualifications, status of employment, and their understanding of the public service reform processes. In this regard purposeful sampling was used to discover, gain insight and understand the respondents and this study also focused on the philosophy of phenomenology which drew on the experiences of the people interviewed. The collection of data for this research was done qualitatively and quantitatively with the intent to "triangulate" findings and to demonstrate convergence in results (Creswell, 1994, p. 189).

4.2 RESEARCH ETHICS

Research Ethics; when conducting qualitative research becomes a cogent, vital and a complex issue as a researcher faces many ethical dilemmas and must constantly decide on the proper conduct. Responsible research depends on the ethical integrity of the individual researcher and his/her values. Therefore qualitative researchers should be as concerned to construct an ethical research design as they are to conduct an intellectually coherent and compelling one (Mason, 1996, p. 26).

A. Personalising Research

As a former senior Trade Unionist and human rights activist with over twenty years public sector experience, I assumed that I automatically qualified to embark on this sensitive research because I had believed myself to be an "*insider*". However, it was disconcerting to find out that the majority of public servants had a different perception of anyone conducting research with regards to public service reforms as they considered me to be acting in the interests of the State - their employer. They could not grasp the concept that a Trade Unionist was studying for a doctoral degree as this was a very rare accomplishment for Trade Unionists as most trade union officials in South Africa, historically had only managed to complete their secondary (high) school education. This created an "*insider –outsider*" scenario. However, having interacted with leaders of the various public service Trade Unions

over the years; they were able to demystify and clarify the authenticity and value of my research, which thereafter eroded any suspicions regarding my *bona-fides* and the purpose of the research.

4.3 ETHNOGRAPHY

The most prominent feature of ethnographic studies is describing and interpreting cultural behaviour. (Punch, 2009, pp. 84-85) describes ethnography as "*...definitely not a soft option, but rather represents a demanding craft that involves both coping with multiple negotiations and continually dealing with ethical dilemmas*".

In *Question Four* of the surveys, respondents were requested to identify which '*Ethnic Group*' they belonged to. Each respondent was informed prior to completing the questionnaire that this was purely for statistical purposes and if any respondent had ethical, moral, cultural or ethnic problems she/he was not obliged to indicate any response or alternately they could choose the option "Other". It must however, be recorded that in the self-administered questionnaires and the face to face interviews, not a single respondent objected to or refused to fill complete the question.

4.4 STATISTICAL PACKAGE FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (SPSS)

The survey questionnaire was used as an instrument in collecting and gathering quantitative data. The data for this research was also captured on *Microsoft Excel* spreadsheets and exported to the *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Software [PASW Statistics 18]* which is compatible with various spreadsheets, and compliant in providing the formatting of the data which was done in accordance with the specified procedure. The important point, however, is that the variables in the research question had to be quantifiable as the fundamental assumption is that variables are logical sets of attributes. The analytical and comparative analysis of quantitative research relies on the researcher's understanding of the relevance and value of the various levels of measurement (of variables) in the construction of each questionnaire item.

This data was then computed on SPSS to turn knowledge as the basis of the research into an understanding of complex phenomena as large volumes of data were ordered and analyzed. The results emanating from both methods of research helped in the generation of themes that were important for data analysis.

SPSS was used to analytically cogitate and comparatively and simplify the complex codification of the statistics discipline. Data was summarised, tables and graphs were compiled, relationships were identified among variables, and significant tests were statistically performed. Comparative, integrative and predictive analysis was tested to ascertain whether the postulated causal or correlation relationship between two or more variables existed.

4.5 ANALYSIS OF SURVEY

The praxis of statistical analysis included self-administered questionnaires, as well as telephone and face-to-face interviews, which was complemented by observation and documental analysis. The questionnaire was conceptualised and designed into five sections. Overall the questionnaire is six pages in length, contains thirty four (34) closed questions with pre-determined responses enclosed in answer boxes. Respondents were advised to fill in their single option by marking the appropriate answer box with an X. Provision has also been made for two (2) additional open ended blank comments/questions which respondents were free to exercise their choice and answer as objectively as possible. Respondents were advised that the process of completing the questionnaire would take approximately 15-20 minutes.

- I. **Preamble** - This clearly outlined the purpose of the question, the instructions to the respondents, the ethical standards and their personal choices. Respondents were advised of the importance of such a survey, their altruistic contribution to the overall benefit to the public service as a whole.
- II. **Section A** - this section included thirteen (13) questions of a personal/bio-statistical nature. Each question was closed-ended in nature and respondents were required to choose a single option.
- III. **Section B** - this section has two (2) closed-ended questions which focussed only on the structures which they considered important in achieving public service reform.

- IV. **Section C** – this section comprises ten (10) closed-ended questions focussing on the engagement of Trade Unions in public service reform.
- V. **Section D** - this section comprises nine (9) closed-ended questions focussing on the involvement of Trade Unions in public service reform.
- VI. **Section E** - this section provided for any Concluding Remarks and comprised two (2) open-ended questions where respondents were free to add any related question or comment in the space provided and which in their opinion may have not been covered by the preceding sections/questions.

4.5.1 RESEARCH VISITS

The following is a statistical analysis of the survey undertaken in both South Africa and Nigeria.

4.5.1.1 *SOUTH AFRICA*

Visits were undertaken to the following major metropolitan centres viz. Durban, Empangeni Pietermaritzburg(provincial legislative capital of the Province of Kwazulu Natal),Port Elizabeth (province of Eastern Cape), Johannesburg (provincial legislative capital of the Province of Gauteng) and Pretoria (national political capital of the Republic of South Africa and where the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA) and the Public Service Commission are based) and Cape Town (the provincial legislative capital of the Province of Western Cape) and the seat of the national Parliament of the Republic of South Africa. Surveys were undertaken in the other smaller centres viz. Bisho, Nelspruit and Kimberly, by using volunteer trained research assistants.

4.5.1.2 *NIGERIA*

A fourteen day personal research visit was undertaken to Nigeria by the researcher from 28 Nov 2008 to 12 December 2008. A total of 110 respondents were interviewed in the following cities in Nigeria viz. Lagos, Ibadan, Abuja in order to ensure that the survey was widely inclusive. Research visits were arranged for the following cities - Lagos, Ibadan and Abuja. This involved visiting the National Public Service Negotiating Council (NPSNC), Nigerian Institute of International Affairs [NIIA],federal and state government offices, municipal offices and educational institutions University of Lagos (Unilag) University of Ibadan and the offices of Trade Unions: Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), Academic Staff Trade Union of Nigeria Universities (ASUU), Amalgamated Union of Public Corporations Civil

Service Technical And Recreational Services Employees (AUPCTRE), all being extensive repositories of archival documentation and public service expertise and which were very helpful in concretizing my research.

4.5.1.3 TUNISIA

The 11th *Public Service International (PSI) Regional Conference for Africa and Arab Countries (AFRECON)* was held in Hammamet, Tunisia from 21-27 March 2009. The theme of the conference was "Promoting quality public services for all in Africa and Arab Countries. The researcher attended the conference as a delegate and undertook the furtherance of his research as this was an opportune platform. Questionnaires were handed out at the workshop to delegates attending the workshop on Public Sector Reform – elaborate alternatives. Completed questionnaires were received from delegates representing the following countries Botswana, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Tunisia, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

4.5.2 ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

According to (Malik & Mullen, 1975, p. 1), "one of the cornerstones of modern theory is a free and adequate flow of information". Grounded theory methodology has as its basic tenet the view that theory must be inductively derived from data. Data collection, analysis and theory formulation are regarded as reciprocally related.

4.5.2.1 ANALYSING DATA

Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2003:387) believe that high quality analysis of qualitative data depends on the skill, vision, and integrity of the researcher as the analytical process begins during data collection as the data already gathered shape the ongoing data collection. Nevertheless, when analysing data produced by qualitative research some significant distinctions can be drawn from those that result from quantitative work.

A. Frequency Tables

In most research projects, a first "look" at the data usually includes frequency tables which reflect responses on labelled attitude measurement scales which can be summarized via the frequency table. Frequency tables also record the number of respondents who participated

in the survey in terms of gender, ethnic and racial backgrounds, and so on. One of the first steps in the data analysis is to tabulate and compute a frequency table for categorical data.

In interpreting the correlation or 'relationship studies' is a measure of the relation between two or more variables. The purpose of Correlation research is to study whether any relationship exists between variables and if such relationships exist then the strength of this relationship must be measured. Correlation coefficients can range from -1.00 to +1.00. The value of -1.00 represents a perfect negative correlation while a value of +1.00 represents a perfect positive correlation. A value of 0.00 represents a lack of correlation.

B. Shape of the Distribution

An important aspect of the "description" of a variable is the shape of its distribution, which tells the frequency of values from different ranges of the variable. Typically the distribution can be approximated by the normal distribution as simple descriptive statistics provide relevant information. If the skewness (which measures the deviation of the distribution from symmetry) is clearly different from 0, then that distribution is asymmetrical, while normal distributions are perfectly symmetrical. If the kurtosis (which measures "peakedness" of the distribution) is clearly different from 0, then the distribution is either flatter or more peaked than normal; the kurtosis of the normal distribution is 0 (StatSoft, 2011).

However, none of these tests can entirely substitute for a visual examination of the data using a histogram (i.e., a graph that shows the frequency distribution of a variable). The graph allows the evaluation of the normality of the empirical distribution because it also shows the normal curve superimposed over the histogram. It also allows to the examination of various aspects of the distribution qualitatively where the distribution may be bimodal (having two peaks). This might suggest that the sample is not homogeneous but possibly its elements came from two different populations, each more or less normally distributed. In such cases, in order to understand the nature of the variable in question, one should look for a way to quantitatively identify the two sub-samples.

4.5.2.2 *SECTION A*

A. Population Sampled

Nigeria and South Africa employ public service employees in excess of one (1) million in each country. (Sekaran, 1992, p. 253) and (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2003, p. 156) support a minimum sample size required from different sizes of population at the 95% level of certainty and recommend that in a population size of 1 million and above, the sample size should be 384. The larger the sample's size, the lower the likely error in generalising to the population. The smaller the sample and the smaller the proportion of the total population sampled, the greater the margin of error. Therefore researchers normally work to a 95% level of certainty. Using the sample size as benchmark, it was decided to distribute five hundred (500) questionnaires to allow for non-responses as well. Non-responses are different from rest of the population because they have refused to be involved in the research for whatever reason. The questionnaire was administered to officials who deal with Public Service policy development, administration and service delivery in South Africa, Nigeria and where available, other countries on the African continent.

B. Survey Response Rate

Five hundred (500) questionnaires were prepared and administered. These were distributed to respondents from the following fourteen (14) African countries - Botswana, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tunisia, and Zambia.

A total of four hundred and twenty seven (427) questionnaires were completed and returned for computing and analysis. This represented a response rate of 85.4%. The largest response rates were from South Africa and Nigeria; as expected. South Africa responded with 168 valid responses at 39.3% of total questionnaires issued. Nigeria response rate was 110 valid responses at 25.8% of total questionnaires issued. The full statistical breakdown of all responses received and the respective countries is indicated in Table 2 hereunder.

Table 2– Country

Country of Origin					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Botswana	11	2.6	2.6	2.6
	Egypt	14	3.3	3.3	5.9
	Ghana	13	3.0	3.0	8.9
	Kenya	13	3.0	3.0	11.9
	Lesotho	13	3.0	3.0	15.0
	Malawi	11	2.6	2.6	17.6
	Mauritius	12	2.8	2.8	20.4
	Mozambique	9	2.1	2.1	22.5
	Nigeria	110	25.8	25.8	48.2
	Namibia	11	2.6	2.6	50.8
	South Africa	168	39.3	39.3	90.2
	Swaziland	20	4.7	4.7	94.8
	Tunisia	14	3.3	3.3	98.1
	Zambia	8	1.9	1.9	100.0
	Total	427	100.0	100.0	

C. Personal Bio-data (Gender - Age– Ethnicity)

Gender

A total of n=427 respondents participated in the survey with a mean of 2.8 and a standard deviation of 0.912, comprising a case processing summary cross tabulation total of 100%:

Age Descriptive

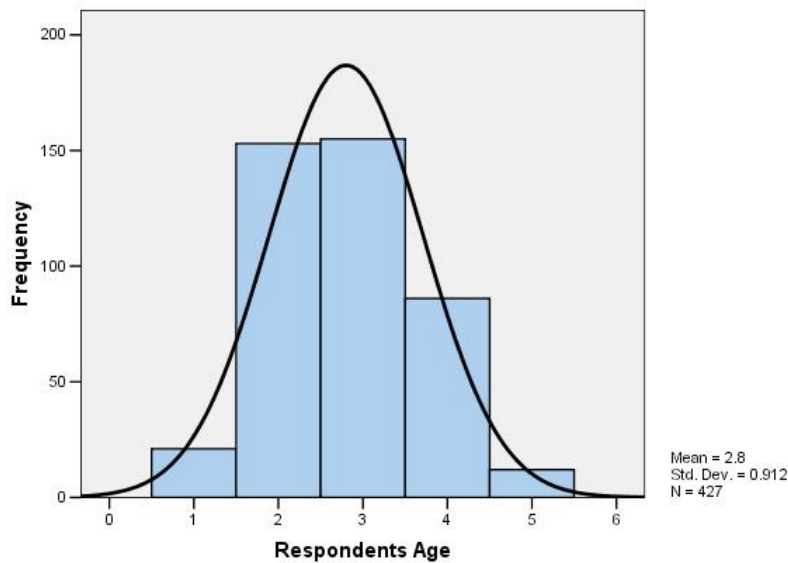
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
AGE	427	1	5	2.80	.912
Valid N (list wise)	427				

GENDER * AGE Cross Tabulation

		AGE					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
GENDER	Female	15	84	57	35	4	195
	Male	6	69	98	51	8	232
Total		21	153	155	86	12	427

Age

Figure 9 - Age of Respondents



The histogram graphically illustrates at first inspection in which age group the largest number of respondents fall. Five age ranges were presented to the respondents as tabulated hereunder in Table 3 with a mean of 2.8 and a standard deviation of 0.912.

Table 3 - Ages of Respondents

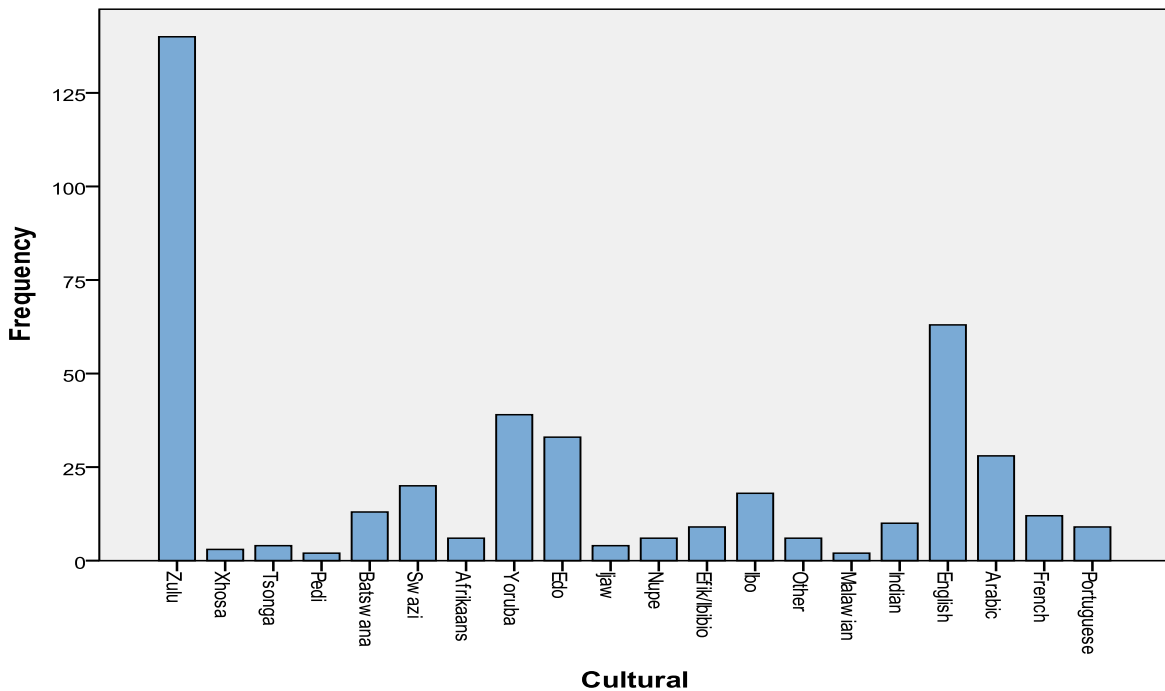
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0-20	21	4.9	4.9	4.9
	20-30	153	35.8	35.8	40.7
	30-40	155	36.3	36.3	77.0
	40-50	86	20.1	20.1	97.2
	50+	12	2.8	2.8	100.0
	Total	427	100.0	100.0	

The majority of the respondents fall within the 20-40 age group; comprising a total of 308 respondents or 72.1%; reflecting that the majority of public servants fall within this age bracket.

D. Ethnicity

In Question Four (4) the respondents were requested to indicate the Ethnic group to which they belonged. As this was purely for statistical and logistical reasons and not to be meaningfully used in the actual research, the respondents were offered a choice/option of choosing 'other'. This ethnic or cultural grouping is graphically illustrated in Figure 13 as follows:

Figure 10 - Ethnic Group



In describing the 'shape of distribution' in the previous paragraph, Figure 10 allows for the qualitative examination of the distribution where the distribution appears bimodal or multi-modal (having two or more peaks). This correlates with the sample not being homogeneous and that its elements come from two or more different populations, each more or less normally distributed. However, this result as analysed does not indicate a possible contamination of the data regarding ethnicity. In such cases, in order to understand the nature of the variable in question, one should look for a way to quantitatively identify the sub-samples.

However, on reflection the South African ethnic group Zulu, reflects a score of 32.8% compared to the next highest group namely English with a score of 15% and when viewed graphically in Figure 10, the large difference in recorded data is immediately observable. Although the issue of ethnicity is not being investigated, such a high deviation begs clarification. The standard deviation of 10.059 with a standard error of skewness of 0.118 indicates the large variance in the data. Zulu is an Nguni based language which has a cross platform with smaller ethnic groups in the southern African region. Secondly, due to the high level of labour migration post 1994, the dispersal of Zulu speaking people throughout the country has been scientifically recorded. Further, can one assume that that with the installation of President Jacob Zuma, who is ethnically a Zulu, there has been a profligation of ethnic Zulus into the public service? This adds credence to the previous belief that during

the Nelson Mandela/Thabo Mbeki, both ethnic Xhosas, that the public service, especially senior and executive management was dominated by ethnic Xhosa speaking appointees.

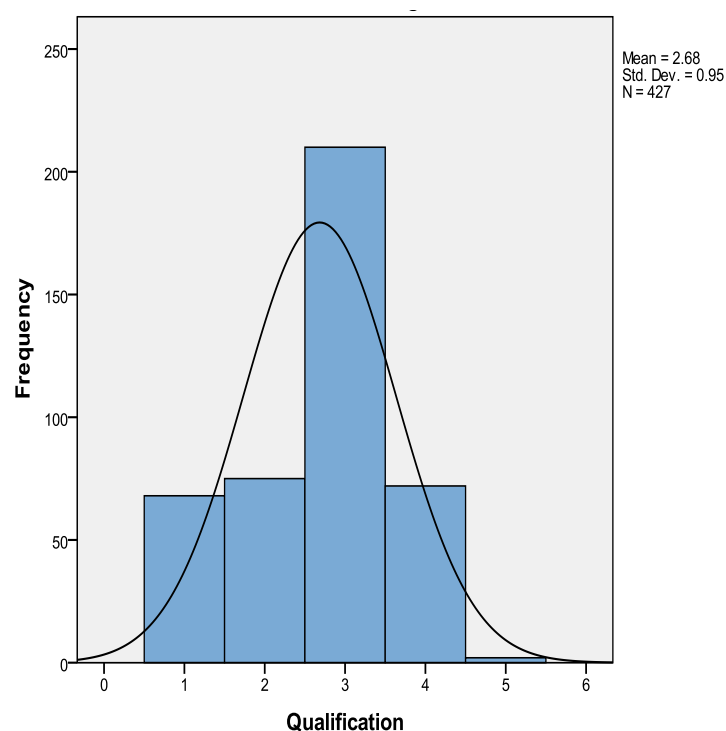
Having flagged this issue as an area of variance in terms of the analysis of data, and if any of the aforementioned assumptions do not appear credible, then it is an area of possible further research to be undertaken.

The Nigerian ethnic groupings do not indicate unexpected variances and are in line with the demographic expectations with the Yoruba indicating 9.1% and the Edo indicating 7.7%.

E. Academic Qualifications

The public service has moved from being an 'employer of last resort' to an employer of choice based on its recruitment policy of need and established operational staffing norms with the emphasis placed on ensuring professionalism and efficiency.

Figure 11 - Academic Qualification



The survey revealed that the majority of public servants are academically well qualified, with the minimum entry requirement being a matric (grade 12) school leaving certificate as the lowest denominator.

One of the most critical aspects of any reform process includes the professionalization of the public service in order to meet with the requirements of modern government. There was a concerted effort to craft 'a more efficient and effective public service' and to grow a more professional public service.

The data indicates that the public service has becoming professionalised due the number of public servants improving their qualifications. The requirement for appointment in the public service has shifted from the minimum school leaving certificate to that of a minimum of a National Qualification Framework (NQF) level 6 – Bachelors degree as employment is in the public domain with everyone competing equally. 49.2% of public servants have a minimum of a bachelor's degree; 17.6% have a College Diploma. It is notable that a large 16.9 % of public servants have a postgraduate (honours or masters) qualification. There are only 0.5% public servants that have a doctorate or a PhD qualification.

Table 3– Academic Qualification

Qualification					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	High School	68	15.9	15.9	15.9
	College/Diploma	75	17.6	17.6	33.5
	Degree	210	49.2	49.2	82.7
	Postgraduate/Honours/Masters	72	16.9	16.9	99.5
	Doctorate/PhD	2	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	427	100.0	100.0	

Academic qualification and gender profiling is important in any attempt to address the historically disadvantaged individuals (HDI) such as females and other affected groups. There is need to "pierce the corporate veil" in terms of gender representativeness of women in the workplace and especially at management level well as people with disabilities which remains an area of concern (DPSA, 2010).

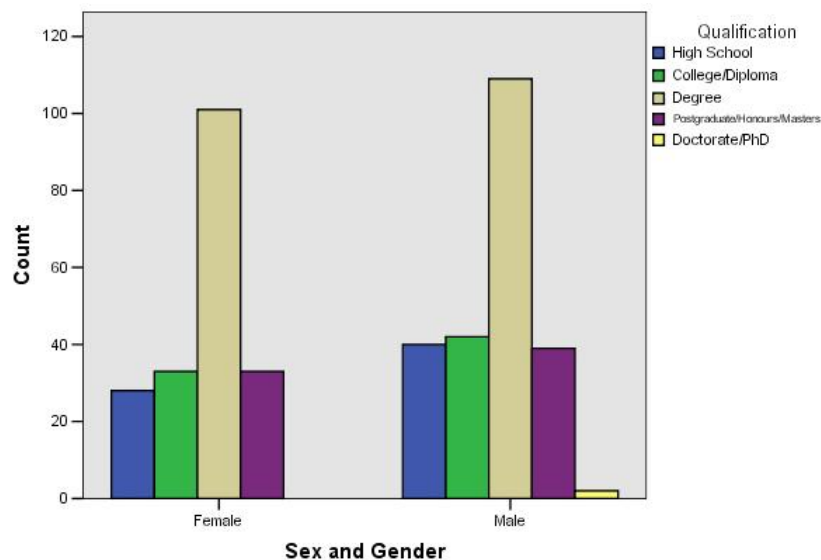
One of the ways to ensure that the HDI meet there equity targets is through academic empowerment. The correlation of data for academic qualifications with gender as recorded in Table 4: indicates that:

Table 4 - Cross-Tabulation on Gender/Academic

Count		ACADEMIC					Total
		High School	College/Diploma	Degree	Postgraduate Honours/Masters	Doctorate/PhD	
GENDER	Female	28	33 (7.7%)	101 (23.6%)	33 (7.7%)	0	195 (45.6%)
	Male	40	42 (9.8%)	109 (25.5%)	39 (9.1%)	2	232 (54.3%)
Total		68 (15.9%)	75 (17.5%)	210 (49.1%)	72 (16.8%)	2	427

Degrees and Postgraduate Qualifications: There is a significant indicator that 25.5% males and 23.6% females in the public service have attained undergraduate degrees. This is further enhanced by the fact that an additional 7.7% female and 9.1% males have completed their postgraduate studies. The combined total of 65.9% of both male and female graduates with either a degree and/or a postgraduate qualification confirms that there is a concerted effort to professionalise the public service.

Figure 12 - Gender/Academic Qualifications



In order to test the association, the Chi Square Test was applied to test the relationship between the two variables based on a comparison of the observed values. The likelihood ratio in this case reflects a value of 3.579 with a 2 sided Asymp: Significance of 0.466.

Therefore there is a significant relationship between gender and academic qualification which obtains at 53%.

Table 5 - Chi-Square Test: Cross-Tabulation - Gender/Acdemic

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.817(a)	4	.589
Likelihood Ratio	3.579	4	.466
N of Valid Cases	427		

In applying the Chi-Square Test, 2 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .91.

The public service had to be re-focused and reformed to create a public service that was pro-active, customer-friendly, competent and highly professional. The public service had to move beyond "loyalty to the nation" in order to gain the trust of the common people whose cooperation and understanding it needed to achieve promptness, responsiveness and effectiveness (Aderibigde, 2002, p. 1).

New trends to employ senior staff on contract affect the neutrality of the public service as officials are not at liberty to provide "frank and fearless" advice to ministers, fearing that they may be dismissed for insubordination. Additionally, having senior public servants on contract allows the minister to impose a network of patronage, possibly appointing new staff with allegiance and loyalty to the governing party, and hence forsaking the experience and expertise built up over the years by serving officials.

In South Africa, prior to 1994 the public service was highly centralised. Bureaucracy was institutionalised in the public service during the apartheid regime, functioning extremely well given the quasi-military nature of the public service. However, in stark contrast; the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA) and the Public Service Act (PSA), provides frontline managers to apply hands-on professional management, drive up standards, develop new solutions and exercise real authority over budgetary control that affected their specific departmental needs. Such authority ideally resides with those responsible for service delivery because of qualification and experience.

Nigeria is determined to reposition itself for the 21st century, transform its government and build a public service that is performance and results oriented, customer-centric and professionally driven. The mission of its reform is to build "a public service that is

performance and results-oriented, customer-driven, investor-friendly, professional, technologically sensitive, accountable, fostering partnerships with all stakeholders and committed to a continuous improvement in government business and the enhancement of overall national productivity". An umbrella Public Administration Training Centre was established combining all these at a large complex and with all possible facilities. However, to emphasise the professional competence and specialisation, several other institutions were also set up (Arizona-Ogwu, 2010).

The British system of a professional public service had been the yardstick by which most former British colonies had continued after independence. This has largely been replaced by a combination of political and contract based appointments which had resulted in several challenges being exposed:

- Retention of skills
- Brain drain from public service to the lucrative private sector
- An exodus of skills to foreign countries
- Rapid mobility (promotion) from one department to another within the public service
- Skills are not broadened

Erudite academics and scholars dispute whether the creation of a Professional Public Service can increase the efficacy of the public service as the concept of "Managerialism" has negative consequences for a professional public service. Government adopted a shift away from the hierarchical organizational structures to more flexible and professionally oriented structure.

F. Appointment within the Public Service/Trade Union

Public service reforms apply to all public service employees employed in terms of either the Public Service Act (PSA) or related legislation or the appropriate Bargaining Council which has jurisdiction in determining the terms and conditions of the sector. In order to ensure that a proper balanced perspective was obtained to prevent skewness, academics and the trade unionist were also surveyed and included in this research.

Table6– Institution of Service

Render Service					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Parliament	10	2.3	2.3	2.3
	Government	161	37.7	37.8	40.1
	Trade Union	139	32.6	32.6	72.8
	Civil Society	4	.9	.9	73.7
	Academic	88	20.6	20.7	94.4
	Other	24	5.6	5.6	100.0
	Total	426	99.8	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.2		
Total		427	100.0		

Parliament - 2.3% indicated that they served in Parliament. In correlating the data of Parliament as an institution in which the respondents worked with that of their functions and capacity, the following data was established:

- National Assembly : 2.6%
- National Portfolio : 0.2%
- Provincial Assembly : 3.3%
- Provincial Portfolio : 1.2%
- Committee Advisor : 0.5%
- Other : 12.2

Government - Most government structures exist at different levels. In Nigeria, the basic two tier system of Federal and State governments co-exist with the Municipal government existing at local government levels.

In South Africa, a three tier system of governments exists - National, Provincial and Local Government. However, in South Africa, Local Government does not fall under the purview of the public service and attaches to the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) and administered by another executive national Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA) to that of the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA).

The survey revealed the following levels of government in which the respondents are employed:

- National/Federal : 10.8%
- Provincial/State : 19.4%
- Local : 12.2%
- Institutional : 21.3%
- Other : 3.3%

The largest single public service employer was reflected as Institutional, followed by provincial/State government and National/Federal. Whilst institutional applies to both National and Provincial levels of government, individuals during the Pilot Study believed that working at institutions such as hospitals, correctional services, police stations etc. which were administered by their own decentralised management were independent units with their own budgets etc.

In order to ensure data integrity from micro to meso to executive management levels of the public service, it was imperative to statistically breakdown the levels in terms of the functions performed by the respondents which would eventually provide a sense of ownership of the reforms. The statistical breakdown reflects the following functions:

- Management : 16.4%
- Administration : 24.8%
- Negotiator : 31.6%
- Organiser : 0.9%
- Other : 25.3%

Management - The public service is stratified along various levels which indicate both the levels of management as well as the general work force. The South Africa public service management comprises the Senior Management service (SMS) which actually commences from level 13 (Manager/previously Director) to level 16(Director-General/Head of Department). The middle management structure ranges between levels 10-12. There was a 16.4% management response.

Administration - Comprises the bulk of the public servants in administration. The response rate from the administrators goes in tandem with the overall trend of 24.8%.

Other – the questionnaire design anticipated that it was not possible to include every category of public service and if it did not fall into either management or administration then it was suitable to include all other categories into 'other'. These would include general assistants, cleaners, drivers, messengers, auxiliary workers, certain categories of

professional workers such as therapists and technicians. The response rate from this category indicates the sheer size as there was a 25.3% response rate.

Trade Union: the survey revealed that 31.6% of the respondents were trade union Negotiators and a further 0.9% were Organisers. This is a combined total of 32.5%. Negotiators are generally full time union officials employed by the trade unions. Organisers are also trade union officials but may be a union member but still working for the state and organising internally such as shop-stewards.

G. Policy Formulation or Collective Bargaining/ Negotiations

In order to test the veracity and validate the data and lend credibility to the research as objective, it was necessary to narrow the functionality of the respondents, by asking a research question which specifically categorised respondents as either management or as the trade union!

- Policy Formulation : 44.0% indicated that they were involved in some form of Policy formulation
- Collective Bargaining/Negotiations: 53.4% confirmed that they were trade unionists.
- No Response : 2.6% indicates clearly that their roles are blurred due to the point that they cannot differentiate between policy formulation and collective bargaining/negotiator!

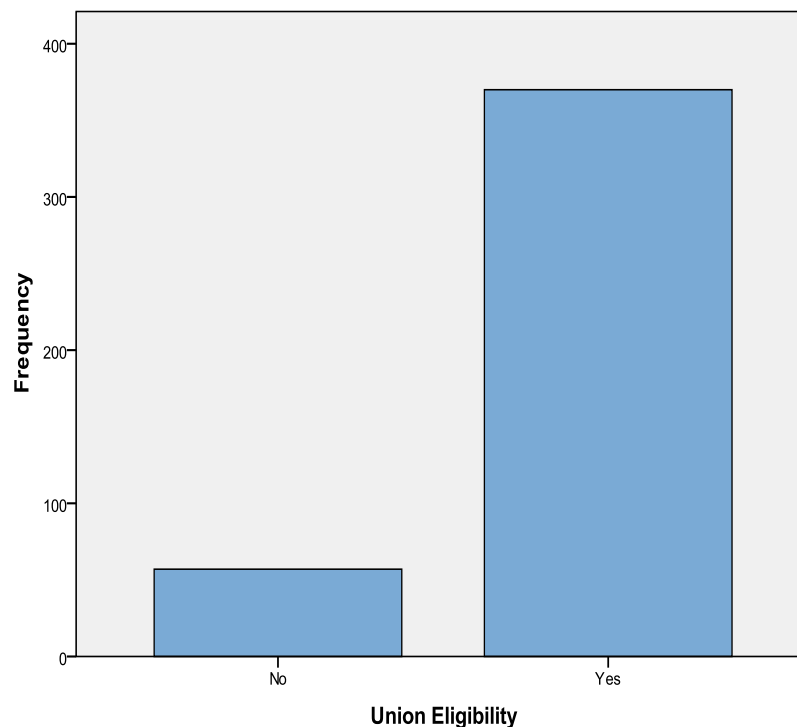
H. Eligibility to Join a Trade Union

The Constitution of both Nigeria and South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) and the Labour Relations Act (66 of 1995) both recognise the right for public servants workers to join a trade union of their choice as both countries are signatories to Convention 87 on Freedom of Association of the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

However, completed questionnaires were also received from respondents' from the following countries which included Botswana, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Namibia, Tunisia, Zambia and Zimbabwe as well.

In response to whether they were permitted to join a trade union, the data as reflected in Figure 13 graphically illustrates the overwhelming 86.7% positive response to joining a trade union as opposed to 13.3% indicating that they were not permitted to join a trade union:

Figure 13 - Eligible to Join Trade Union



I. Trade Union Membership

DEVELOPED COUNTRIES: Globalization has impacted on workers and their organizations in developing countries. In developed western countries, worker commitment to unions appears to be weakening due to the rise of individualism. At the higher end of the skill spectrum, workers seem indifferent to a collective identity and are less dependent on unions. Their personal identity is defined less in terms of class and more in terms of social functions, autonomy and mobility (Jose, 2000, p. 12).

According to the Bureau of Labour Statistics in the United States of America (USA), the number of unionised workers has been dwindling with only 35% of public sector workers belonging to the trade unions as compared to 61.5% in South Africa and 27.5 in Nigeria (Mtshali, 2011, p. 5).

UNITED STATES	SOUTH AFRICA	NIGERIA
35%	61.5%	27.5%

AFRICA: However in less developed countries such as those in Africa, the proportion of workers who belong to a union has been the most visible symbol of union strength. Research by the ILO reiterates that right through the period of industrialization in the developed countries, unions grew in strength, bringing nearly two-thirds of the labour force into their fold (Jose, 2000, pp. 8-10).

In response to union membership, 69.8% confirmed that they were members of a trade union as compared to 30.2% who indicated that they were not members of a trade union: as reflected in Table 8 below:

Table 8 - Trade Union Membership

Union Membership					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	129	30.2	30.2	30.2
	Yes	298	69.8	69.8	100.0
	Total	427	100.0	100.0	

J. Actual Union Membership

It is safe to conclude that since 370 or 86.7% of the total of 427 respondents who were eligible to join a trade union; there were only 298 members who were actually members of a trade union. In the valid membership computation this actually represents a true value of 80.5% of actual trade union members.

4.5.2.3 SECTION B

After gaining a democratic dispensation, what was the most important to achieve in the public service.

The public service had been used by various governments both in Nigeria and South Africa as their administrative wings during colonialism, military occupation, and apartheid, respectively. However, each of these periods was fraught with abuse, maladministration, plutocracy and other crimes, including those against humanity. The public service was used

as the machinery to implement government policy. After colonialism and apartheid, the public services in a democratic constitutional state needed to be re-aligned.

The following responses were received in response to ascertain what the most important to achieve post-independence:

- Policy Alignment : 32.9%
- Employment Equity : 27%
- Constitutional Alignment : 26%
- Legislative Alignment : 7.3%
- Institutional Alignment : 6.9%

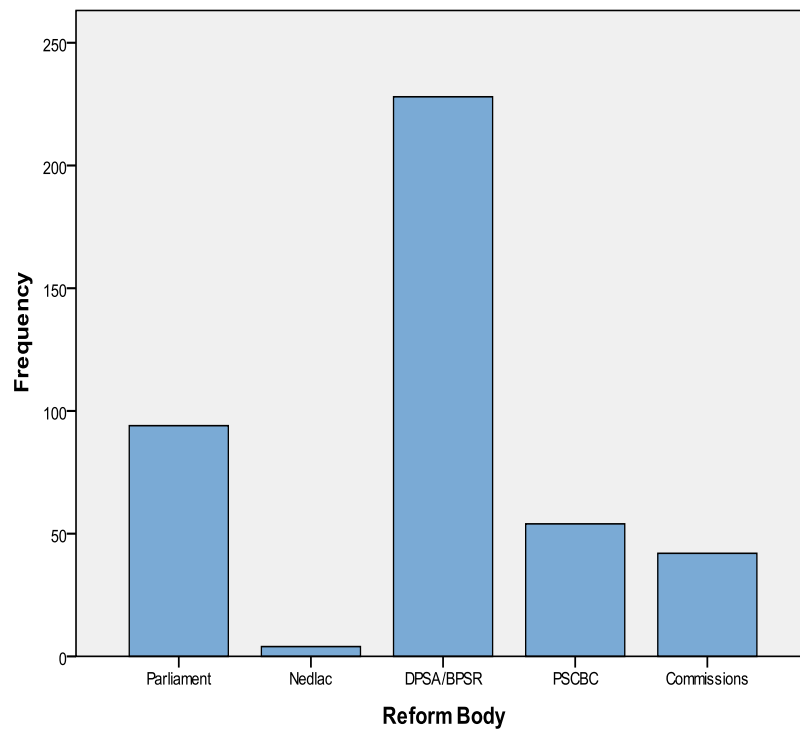
Table 2 - Democratic Dispensation

Democratic Dispensation					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Constitutional Alignment	110	25.8	26.0	26.0
	Legislative Alignment	31	7.3	7.3	33.3
	Policy Alignment	139	32.6	32.9	66.2
	Institutional Alignment	29	6.8	6.9	73.0
	Employment Equity	114	26.7	27.0	100.0
	Total	423	99.1	100.0	
Missing	No Response	4	.9		
Total		427	100.0		

Which structure do you consider the most important institution in PSR?

There were 422 responses received out of the total of n=427 respondents participating in the survey; with 5 No Responses being tabbed as missing with a mean of 2.87, a median of 3.00 with a standard deviation of 1.189.

Figure 14 - PSR Structures



The DPSA/BPSR is considered by the respondents as indicated in Figure 14 above as the most important structure in public service reform with a response rate of 54% indicated in Table 4 below:

Table 3 - PSR Structures

Reform Body					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Parliament	94	22.0	22.3	22.3
	Nedlac	4	.9	.9	23.2
	DPSA/BPSR	228	53.4	54.0	77.3
	PSCBC	54	12.6	12.8	90.0
	Commissions	42	9.8	10.0	100.0
	Total	422	98.8	100.0	
Missing	No Response	5	1.2		
Total		427	100.0		

In order to establish what structure was most important in PSR to implement the Policy Alignment described by 32.9% majority respondents in Table 3 above; a correlation analysis was conducted with the outcome result of the most important institution in PSR.

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
POLICYCOLLBARG	1.59	.543	427
STRUCTUREPSR	2.87	1.189	422

The DPSA/BPSR are institutions whose political mandates are 'to devise/formulate/develop and implement policy'. The question therefore is whether there is a correlation and is there a direct 'tie-in' with this rating.

Correlations

		DEMOCRATICDISPENSATION	STRUCTUREPSR
DEMOCRATICDISPENSATION	Pearson Correlation	1	.232(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	423	419
STRUCTUREPSR	Pearson Correlation	.232(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	419	422

The above Pearson Correlation indicates that (**) Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).. Whilst this is reflective of the role of policy, it is imperative to note that policy is developed through political interventions at Parliamentary level. The respondents have rated Parliament at 22.3% validating the rating. The respondents view the PSCBC at 12.8% as the formal negotiating forum where agreements are reached on various reform initiatives.

4.5.2.4 SECTION C

Trade unions are well organised in the public sector

Initially trade unions were viewed primarily, if not exclusively, as bargaining agents whose principal function was to secure improvements in their members' terms and conditions of employment through collective bargaining. However trade unions, as representatives of a

very organized and articulate group in society, have a historic mandate to defend and promote human rights. To achieve this, unions needed to move beyond their customary role of defending public and political rights as the basis of labour rights, and enter the broader terrain of defending economic and social rights.

The Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) and the Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu) are the two largest trade union federations on the continent of Africa, with membership in excess of one million members each. In order to establish and retain such a large fee paying membership, points out to the fact that the trades unions must be well organised.

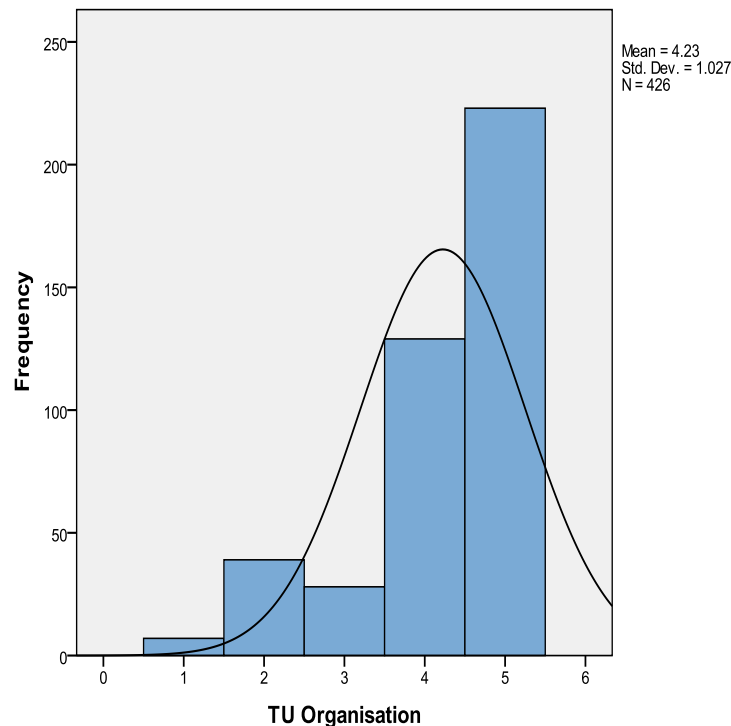
In using the 5 point Likert scale in Table 5, ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree', 52.3% 'strongly agree' that trade unions are well organised. A further 30.3% agree that trade unions are well organised. Collectively it is clear that respondents overwhelmingly 'agree' that trade unions are well organised in the public service.

Table 4 - Trade Unions are Well Organised

TU Organisation					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree(1)	7	1.6	1.6	1.6
	Disagree(2)	39	9.1	9.2	10.8
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree(3)	28	6.6	6.6	17.4
	Agree(4)	129	30.2	30.3	47.7
	Strongly Agree(5)	223	52.2	52.3	100.0
	Total	426	99.8	100.0	
Missing	No Response	1	.2		
Total		427	100.0		

This is further graphically illustrated in Figure 17 which indicates affirmation of the result and the cleavage between those that strongly disagree.

Figure 15 - Trade Unions are Well Organised



Do you consider Trade unions as an important stakeholder in PSR

The role of trade unions is prescribed by the narrow delineations of its constitution and is further proscribed by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions.

Trade Unions as political agents are catalysts for change in the pursuit of the broad public service reform objectives. Nelson R. Mandela, first president of the democratically elected South Africa, reiterated that his government was equally committed to bring fully into the decision-making processes organs of public society, including the trade union movement and civic organizations. Mandela's message spelt out that trade unions politically constitute as an institution; and are instrumental in representing the interests of the large popular strata in disseminating notions of collective rights and having to respond to local crises.

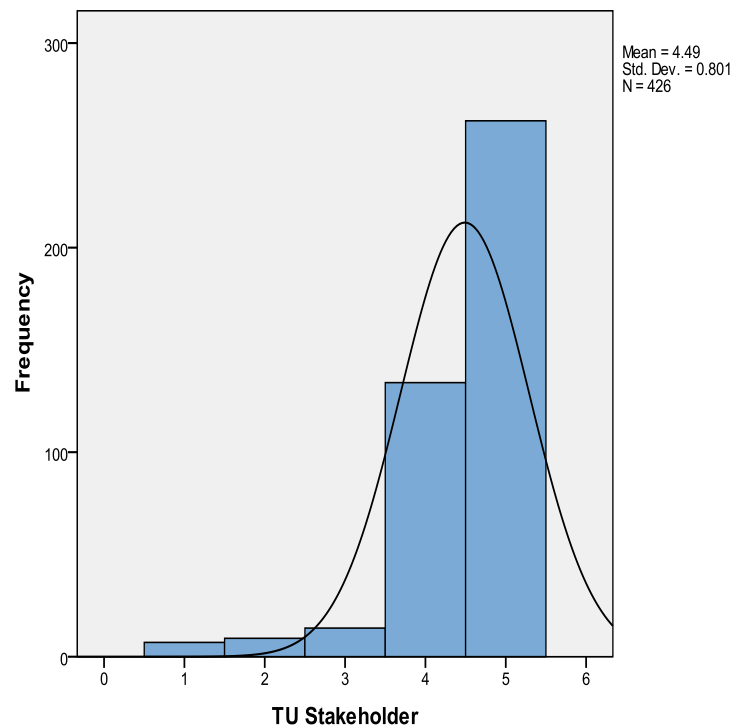
The data from respondents clearly confirms that there is no doubt that trade unions are considered critical and important stakeholders in reform initiatives in the public service. The combined percentage on the Likert scale of 'agree' and 'strongly agree' indicate 93% declaration.

Table 5 - Trade Unions as Stakeholders

TU Stakeholder					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree(1)	7	1.6	1.6	1.6
	Disagree(2)	9	2.1	2.1	3.8
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree(3)	14	3.3	3.3	7.0
	Agree(4)	134	31.4	31.5	38.5
	Strongly Agree(5)	262	61.4	61.5	100.0
	Total	426	99.8	100.0	
Missing	No Response	1	.2		
Total		427	100.0		

Figure 16(below) corroborates the data in Table 6 (above) which leaves no doubt in the analyst's mind of the importance of trade unions as stakeholders.

Figure 16 - Trade Unions as Stakeholders



Correlations

		TUORGANIS SATION	TUSTAKE HOLDER
TUORGANISSATION	Pearson Correlation	1	.601(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	426	426
TUSTAKEHOLDER	Pearson Correlation	.601(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	426	426

In order to ascertain the significance of a well organised trade union being a major stakeholder in PSR, a correlation analysis conducted indicates that (**)Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

TU have credibility as part of the coalition in delivering national democracy

One lesson emerging from the experience of unions in industrialized countries is that public and political liberties are essential preconditions for exercising labour rights, and that only a liberal democracy can provide the institutional environment for fulfilling these rights.

Many developing countries correspond to the rudimentary stages in the evolution of democratic institutions. In a number of these countries trade unions have been instrumental in accelerating the pace of transformation through their sustained support and solidarity with the struggle for liberal democracy.

There is an important element of taking the broader public on board and into their confidence when unions wish to emerge as a voice defending the rights and interests of their constituents. Trade unions cannot be seen to be counterproductive to the interests of the broader community.

Trade unions have adapted to the changing environment by creating new structures for organization and interest representation. The cumulative rating of 88.5% indicated in Table 7 corroborates that trade unions have credibility as part of the coalition which delivered national democracy.

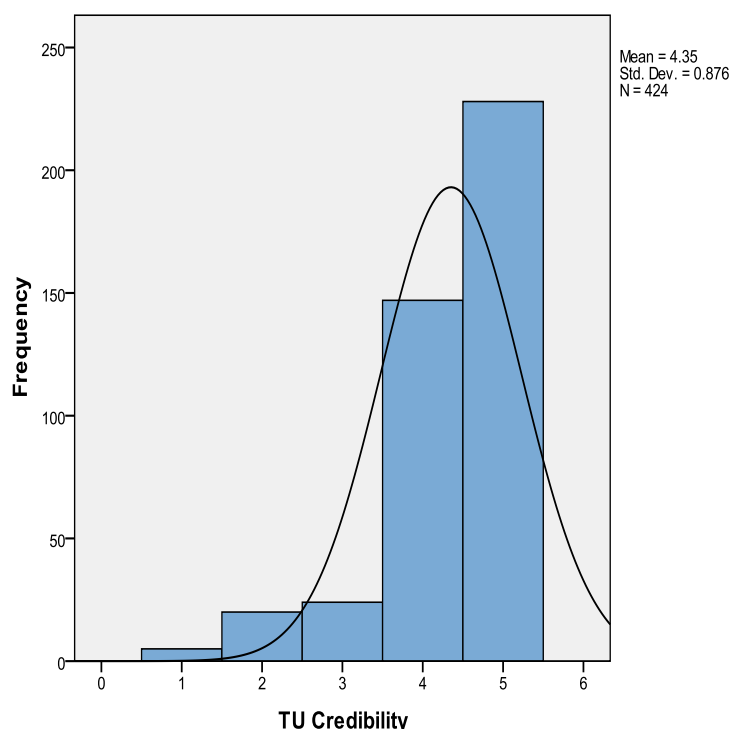
Table 6 - Trade Unions have Credibility

TU Credibility					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree(1)	5	1.2	1.2	1.2
	Disagree(2)	20	4.7	4.7	5.9
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3)	24	5.6	5.7	11.6
	Agree(4)	147	34.4	34.7	46.2
	Strongly Agree(5)	228	53.4	53.8	100.0
	Total	424	99.3	100.0	
Missing	No Response	3	.7		
Total		427	100.0		

Jean-Paul Sartre reflected that when liberation movements took power, their governments were often marked by military mindsets, categorising people as winners and losers and operating along the lines of command and obedience. The trade union movement was a major political alliance member to the liberation movements in the struggle for liberation in Africa. Therefore as part of the coalition which had delivered national democracy, the very same trade unions, pose a contradiction as to whether they can effectively influence or countenance the liberation movements which have become Government, in policy formulation.

Figure 17 clearly illustrates the respondents' affirmation that trade unions have credibility as part of the coalition that has delivered national democracy.

Figure 17-Trade Unions have Credibility



The re-emergence of the trade unions in Nigeria and South Africa from the mid-1970s was one of the central features of the development of the democratic movement. Over the years, the trade unions have had close association with the other components of the democratic movement, including the civics. The trade unions were committed to participating actively in debate over the macroeconomic policy and the future of the South African economy.

Trade unions are considered “drivers of change” in the public sector

In general, trade unions adapt their strategies to meet the requirements of constituents in a changing environment. Such adaptation means going beyond traditional demands centred on wages, working conditions, and non-wage benefits met mainly through organization and collective representation. (Jose, 2000, p. 13) observes that unions all over the world are surrounded by greater liberalization of economic and political regimes and that these two developments together hold out prospects for creating new rules of the game compelling key social actors - governments, organized labour, business and (in some cases) community organizations - to negotiate and conclude agreements on major economic and social policies. When social interests are mediated by democratic regimes there is an opportunity to resolve the tensions likely to arise in the course of economic liberalization and to

negotiate a compromise solution. The capacity of unions to influence the course of events, however, depends on their strength and support among the unionized and non-unionized sections of society. Sen and Onabanjo believe that the roles trade unions are not limited to the 'Bread and Butter' issues i.e. Negotiating for higher wages and better conditions of working lives but Trade Unions are concerned with the whole life-style of the community in which its members are employed. Trade Unions are concerned with the development of the society and as a political agency operating in an economic environment; it is involved in broad reforms (Onabanjo, 1999).

In Nigeria, post-colonial development plans were enthusiastically supported by labour yearning for change and development after more than a century of ruination of British Colonial rule. In contemporaneous social and political life, many changes were brought about by the NLC and other change agents from dictatorship to democracy, from indecent casual work to protected and secured jobs, from neo-colonial dominance to indigenisation, from discrimination to gender equality, from slave pay to minimum wage, from upward increase in petroleum prices to moderated adjustment, from gross human rights violation to respect for due process and human rights (Aremu, 2004). The Bureau for Public Service Reform (BPSR) as initiators and executors of public policies had become the focal point of government operations (Nwankwo, 2010).

In the South Africa public service, trade unions have since 1998 to 2010, concluded 112 collective agreements in the PSCBC with the State as the employer. This is an exceptional accomplishment which indicates that trade unions are indeed effective in public service reform initiatives.

Table 8 indicates that a combined 85% of respondents believe that trade unions are drivers of change in the public service.

Table 7 - Trade Unions are Drivers of Change

TU Drivers of Change					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree(1)	6	1.4	1.4	1.4
	Disagree(2)	32	7.5	7.5	8.9
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree(3)	26	6.1	6.1	15.0
	Agree(4)	130	30.4	30.5	45.5
	Strongly Agree(5)	232	54.3	54.5	100.0
	Total	426	99.8	100.0	
Missing	No Response	1	.2		
Total		427	100.0		

At first glance at the graphic representations, trade unions have credibility in the PSR process and are regarded as drivers of change. The means and standard deviation as indicated in the table below reflect the closeness thereof.

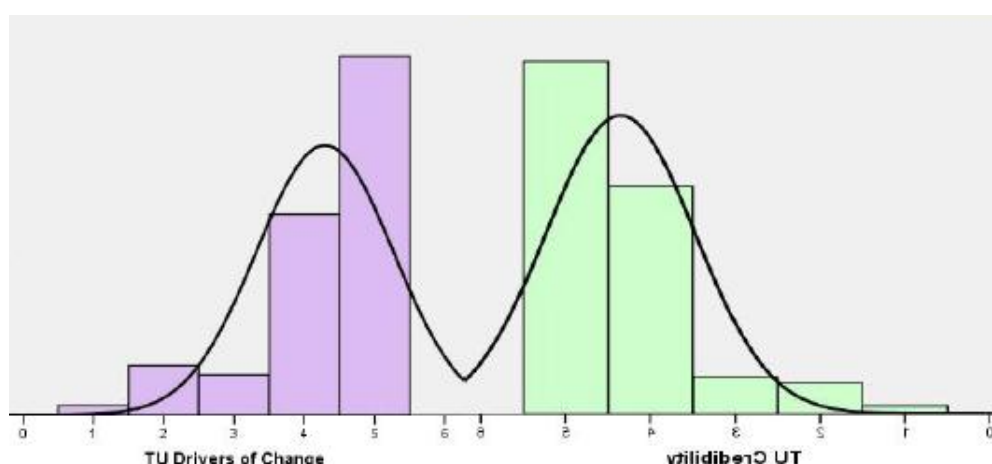
Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
TUCREDIBILITY	4.35	.876	424
TUDRIVERSOFCHANGE	4.29	.975	426

This is further illustrated by the cross comparative descriptive figures:

The **Mirror Image** contrast of the two graphs below indicates the similarities:

Figure 18- TU as Drivers of Change/Credibility - Mirror Image



There is Correlation which is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) (**) as indicated in the following table:

Correlations

		TUCREDI BILITY	TUDRIVERS OFCHANGE
TUCREDIBILITY	Pearson Correlation	1	.605(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	424	424
TUDRIVERSOFCHANGE	Pearson Correlation	.605(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	424	426

With such robust labour involvement in the reform process, it is a paradox that labour is often seen as an obstacle to current reform by the reformer's drivers (Aremu, 2004).

Trade unions lack dynamism in dealing with PSR

The ILO studies show that union's rose to the challenge of meeting the ever changing requirements of a highly industrialised society; helping to deliver significant outcomes in terms of improved living standards, equity and justice to its membership.

The dynamism of trade unions is confirmed through the fact that Africa according to the ILO has the largest growth in terms of union membership as compared to global union membership which is in decline.

Unions serve as a conduit for turning economic growth and prosperity into improved living standards for its workers. Public service trade unions were involved in the design of institutions which guaranteed a secure income and decent living standards in society as a whole.

In the aftermath of decolonization in Africa, many states initiated development and the trade unions became major players, occupying a vantage position; supported by state patronage as was evident in South Africa. However, in Nigeria, trade unions faced challenges in the workplace which at times appeared insurmountable, restive union membership, resistance from the state as the employer with constant threats to their leadership and increasing casualisation. etc. (Fakoya, 2002).

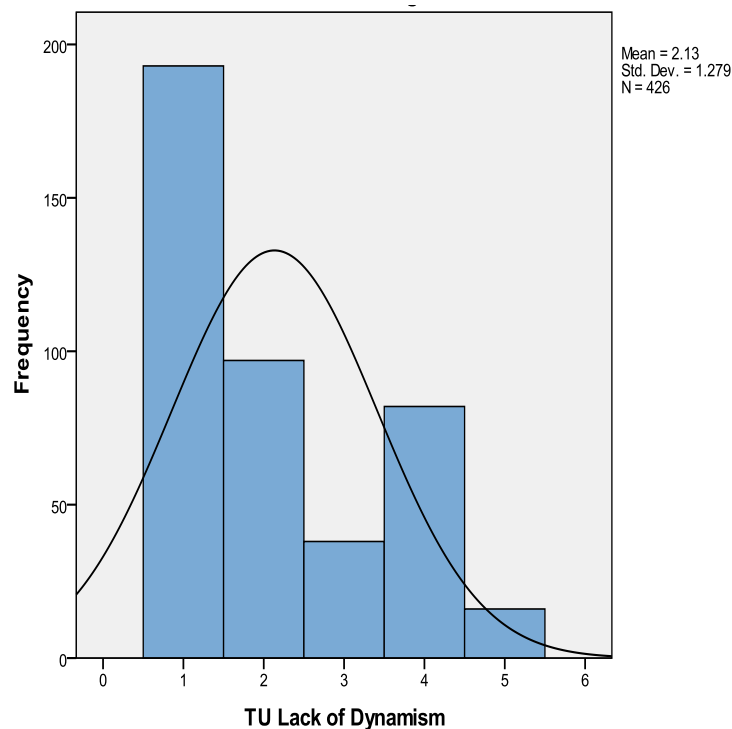
Nevertheless trade unions in public democracies are seen to perform their roles and functions independently of any institutions and the union leadership are responsive to its membership, which indicated that the leadership of a well meaning organisation such as the trade union is supposed to resolve membership problems in an integrative manner. The position of a trade union leader is even more peculiar in that he leads an organisation whose members' interests are often opposed to those of the employers, and whose members and employers are mutually interdependent (Onabanjo, 1999).

Table 8 - Trade Unions lack Dynamism

TU Lack of Dynamism					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	193	45.2	45.3	45.3
	Disagree	97	22.7	22.8	68.1
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	38	8.9	8.9	77.0
	Agree	82	19.2	19.2	96.2
	Strongly Agree	16	3.7	3.8	100.0
	Total	426	99.8	100.0	
Missing	No Response	1	.2		
Total		427	100.0		

The majority accumulative response from indicated in Table 9 above indicates that 68.1% strongly disagree/disagree that the trade unions lack dynamism in public service reform. Conversely, this implies that the trade unions are actually extremely dynamic in the reform process as opposed to an accumulative 23% who opposed this view.

Figure 19 - Trade Unions lack Dynamism



Are Trade Unions more influential in driving PSR than government

Trade unions play significant roles to its members. Their roles include economic, social, welfare, political, psychological benefits to members and opportunity to participate in managerial function in the industry. Even when workers are not permitted to organise legally, they could not be deterred from behaving like trade unions all the same since 'trade unionism is philosophical whereas a trade union is institutional'.

In response to the question whether trade unions are more influential in driving PSR than government, there is a clear cumulative majority response of 59.3% indicating that they believe that trade unions are more influential than government as compared to a cumulative 29% who disagree.

Table 9 - Trade Unions are Influential

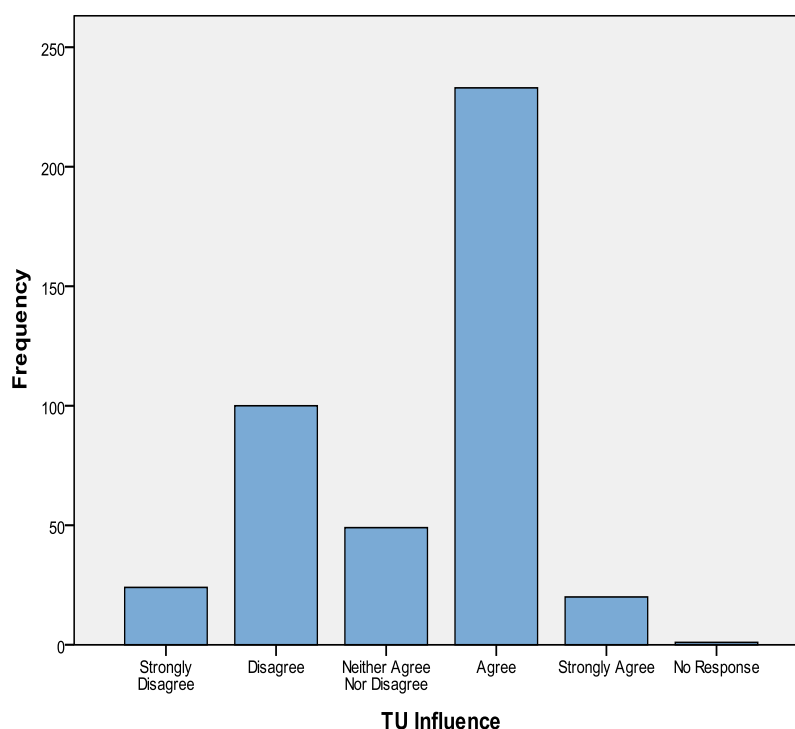
TU Influence					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	24	5.6	5.6	5.6
	Disagree	100	23.4	23.4	29.0
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	49	11.5	11.5	40.5
	Agree	233	54.6	54.6	95.1
	Strongly Agree	20	4.7	4.7	99.8
	No Response	1	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	427	100.0	100.0	

Recent decades have seen profound changes in the political and economic environment which have had a tremendous effect on the position and influence of trade unions. Apart from numerical strength and the capacity to mobilize, which brings significant results for workers, is a direct measure of the degree of political support which unions enjoy. Union capacity for mobilization has a synergistic effect on the development of democracy. Unions have consolidated their political space and in the process they have strengthened the democratic institutions of such societies. This is clearly reflected in Figure 19 below. As industrialization spread, unions emerged as major partners influencing the allocation, stabilization and redistribution functions of modern governments (Jose, 2000, pp. 9-11).

At the end of the day the government was perhaps not committed to right wing PSR reforms. Geraldine Fraser-Moloketi's admission that the government wanted to borrow NPM skills and techniques without buying into the ideological framework suggests only half-hearted commitment to NPM reforms. While there was some attempt to introduce NPM principles in the 1990s, there was certainly a shift away from this framework under Minister Fraser-Moleketi. It can be suggested that the ANC's traditional version to free-market principles prevented it from fully embracing NPM reforms. There was also resistance from public society in the form of unions which prevented these market-orientated reforms from being introduced.

It will remain part of a "longer-term and on-going process of administrative reform which will be required to ensure that the South African public service keeps in step with the changing needs and requirements.

Figure 20 - Trade Unions are more influential in PSR than Government



Trade union capacity to deliver successful outcomes for labour means that the benefits they have won have to be incorporated in statutes governing the labour market.

Recent decades have seen profound changes on the position and influence of Trade Unions. Trade Unions have adapted to the changing environment by creating new structures for organization and interest representation. The growth of Trade Unions from the collective bargaining function towards a role dominated by voice and representation of workers seems to have taken place against the background of high density unionism. Unions can also be seen, however as components of a social movement, whose aims and methods include, but not coterminous with, collective bargaining and some of whose actions are expressive of the movements core values and instrumental in reinforcing and winning support for those values (Kelly, 1998, p. 52).

Adams Oshiomhoh (NLC President) reiterated their support for government and respect the President, but would desist from respecting him if he has no respect for the contributions of Nigerian Workers and that "The only forces that can defend and sustain the president democratic agenda is the Nigerian Workers and their allies in the public society". The challenge of building a nation, rests not just on the shoulders of those who are privileged to operate the apparatus of the state, it rests on the ordinary people of Nigeria (Nigerian Tribune, 1999).

Trade Unions are only influential due to their alliance with the ruling party

The public service is about the service of the state and not about the service of political parties. However, Samuel Huntington traced the instability and political disorder afflicting most of the developing societies to "over politicisation" of society by the military, trade unions, churches, students unions and professional associations etc. In these societies there is no boundary between the political and non-political (New Nigerian, 2003).

The very history of unionism and its class base has made it both an economic, political and social organisation. Globally, trade unions cannot afford to avoid pursuing its objectives without being political. Nevertheless, trade unions build coalitions with progressive political organisations through networking and collaboration with other public organisations and progressive labour movements. However, trade unions must avoid being partisan in any prevailing circumstances but should be able to influence the policies of a labour or pro-worker party without being an organic part of the party and to campaign on local, provincial/state and national level against governments and institutions which are not properly or democratically elected e.g. Military coups, dictators and political appendages of political parties (Ering, 1999, p. 17). Unions engage in political action and lobbying to ensure that "what is won at the bargaining table is not lost in the Ministry or Presidency." (Asemokha, 2007)

In the survey, an accumulative 64.1% of n=426 respondents as reflected in Table 11; agree that trade unions are only influential due to their alliance with the ruling party as opposed to an accumulative 29.8% who believe that trade unions are influential without having to subscribe to an alliance with the ruling party.

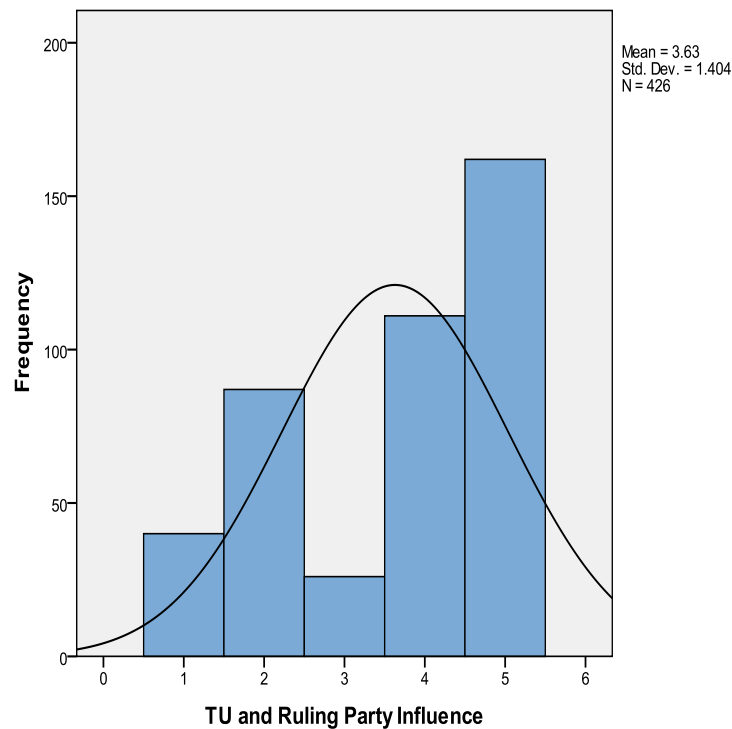
Table 10 - Trade Unions and Alliances

TU and Ruling Party Influence					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	40	9.4	9.4	9.4
	Disagree	87	20.4	20.4	29.8
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	26	6.1	6.1	35.9
	Agree	111	26.0	26.1	62.0
	Strongly Agree	162	37.9	38.0	100.0
	Total	426	99.8	100.0	
Missing	No Response	1	.2		
Total		427	100.0		

Trade unions, as representatives of a very organized and articulate group in society, have a historic mandate to defend and promote human rights. To achieve this, unions need to move beyond their customary role of defending public and political rights as the basis of labour rights, and enter the broader terrain of defending economic and social rights. Union priorities in this field include appropriate human rights programmes in collaboration with other actors in society, such as alliances with political parties.

The current political crisis in Nigeria from a labour perspective is anchored on absence of parties driven by issues and ideological content, noting that they are mere machines for election purpose and advancing personal interest. Nigerian political parties must therefore undergo transformation to ensure that the leadership has shared ideological interests, evolve organisational strength and mobilise the populace in defence of democracy. Put the polity right, other things will follow, including the economy (Nwachuku, 2005).

Figure 21- Trade Unions and Alliances



Samuel Gompers believed that union organization should be confined to the skilled trades, which could bring pressure upon employers to achieve their aims. Labour unions as a whole should not participate directly in political activity, nor should they become affiliated with any political party. Their policy could be described as "rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies."

(Caspell, 2008) is of the opinion that it is vacuous to repeat the same tired transitional demands and advocates the combining together in Trade Unions to exert collective pressure on employers is a way workers can prevent their wages falling below the value of their labour-power. There seems to be recognition of the collective pressure building within the union movement for new ideas, new tactics and new forms.

(Jose, 2000, p. 19) argues that only political democratization with a strong emphasis on mobilizing low-income groups is an important item on the union agenda i.e. strengthening democracy and human rights in developing countries exerting its influence on its political alliances.

There exists a big wall between the Trade Union movement and the labour movement. However, most Trade Unions are able to influence the policies of a labour or pro-worker

party without being an organic part of the party. It is only the labour movement and not Trade Unions that can transform into a political party (Ejiofor, 2000, p. 10)

Trade Unionism and Party Politics mutually complement each other. Workers constitute the major moving force in the economy of Nigeria. There is hardly any company, institution, or government parastatal in Nigeria without a workers' Trade Union (Adebajo, 2006, p. 206). (Ejiofor, 2000) believes that Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) cannot and should not be encouraged to be non-political. One of the cardinal objectives of the NLC is the defense of democracy. The Nigerian political terrain over the years was too important to be left on the hands of career politicians, therefore Nigerian workers could not shy away from politics as the dangers of trade liberalisation and globalisation as in the lifting of the ban on importation were realised as factories closed down with massive job losses. The NLC had demanded that government propose appropriate industrial policies to protect the indigenous industries within the context of trade liberalisation, but their protestations were in vain.

In Nigeria, the AUPCTRE had accused the office of the Ministry of Labour of being bias. The complaint of the union was that out of the eight unions in the public service, only two are allowed to organise workers beyond Level 06, while the remaining unions in the service are can do so up to Level 17. According to the union, it is a total breach of the Trade Union Act of 2005, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and African Charter on Human/Peoples' Right for workers to be coerced under any guise to belong to any union against their wish, despite workers' and a legal position on the issue. Further, during the height of the military crisis and during the banning of the NLC being placed under government administration and control the AUPCTRE led the defiance campaign again the government.

As it were in Nigeria, so it was in South Africa. COSATU's role in the struggle against apartheid was as significant as the ANC's such that COSATU remains an equal partner in post-apartheid Alliance administration (Aremu, 2004, p. 51).

The most important reason for this failure of accountability to taxpayers and citizens is the 'insurance policies' that the COSATU affiliated trade unions have such as NEHAWU and the South African Teachers' Union (Sadtu) have secured by being a member of the tripartite alliance together with the SACP and the ANC as the governing party. The desire by the ANC to secure its majority and stay in power seems to be much stronger than its commitment to ensure that the poorest have access to quality educational outcomes. The ANC's capacity to

enforce accountability is constrained by its fear of confronting Sadtu and risking losing the vast teacher support of close to 300 000 voters. Teachers know this and the unprofessional ones act with impunity (Ramphela, 2011, p. 5).

NEHAWU with nearly 213 000 members, had its accounts qualified in 2004, did not submit accounts in 2005 and has not yet submitted accounts for last year to the Registrar of the Trade Unions in the department of Labour (Bell, 2008, p. 13). This multi-year direct infringement of the LRA attracts an immediate suspension of activities as a trade union and non compliance thereafter leads to deregistration as trade union. However, as NEHAWU is COSATU's second largest public service trade union, its heavy-weight status at the electoral/ballot box is crucial for the political tripartite alliance and is also needed to counter the vote weights in the PSCBC when collective agreements are being negotiated and if there is any dissension, the removal of NEHAWU can affect the decision not being favour of the ANC government.

A 1996 COSATU resolution officially acknowledged the South African Communist Party (SACP) as "the workers" party". All COSATU unions were instructed to add and contribute SACP functionaries on their payrolls together with the payment of the SACP office monthly rental by NEHAWU.

The Ethiopian Teachers' Association (ETA) remained a prime target for the authorities. The leadership of the Ethiopian Association of Teachers were arrested, imprisoned and accused of high treason. A ruling by the Supreme Court refused the ETA the right to continue to use its name - the key to its identity despite several Federal Supreme Court decisions that had never been implemented. The ruling went in favour of another rival teachers' organisation that was supported by the government. The Supreme Court ordered the ETA to transfer all its assets to a rival teachers' association (Hall-Jones, 2008).

Trade unions aligned to the ruling party wield more influence than non-aligned trade unions in PSR

There exists a big wall between the trade union movement and the labour movement. It is only the labour movement and not trade unions that can transform into a political party (Ejiofor, 2000). In correlating trade union membership with whether trade unions aligned to the ruling party wield more influence than non aligned trade unions in the PSR process,

80.5% of respondents are members of a public service trade union. These members have responded with an accumulative 76.8% that they strongly agree/agree that trade unions aligned to the ruling party wield more influence than non aligned trade unions in the PSR process. This is contrasted with only 13.1% of those who strongly disagree/disagree.

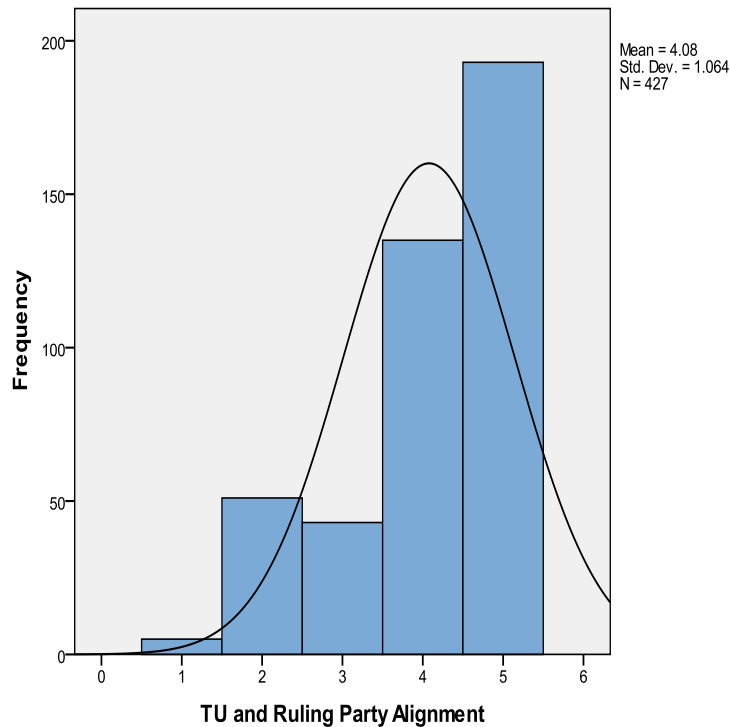
Table 11 - Trade Unions and the Ruling Party

TU and Ruling Party Alignment					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	5	1.2	1.2	1.2
	Disagree	51	11.9	11.9	13.1
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	43	10.1	10.1	23.2
	Agree	135	31.6	31.6	54.8
	Strongly Agree	193	45.2	45.2	100.0
	Total	427	100.0	100.0	

It is once again reiterated that the public service is about the service of the state and not about the service of political parties. The core question about the politics of Africa's labour movements: Are trade unions capable of enhancing their political influence through engaging with political parties while simultaneously protecting their autonomy?

This validity of the question is qualitatively illustrated clearly in Figure 21 where the majority respondents indicate their intent through engagement in a political alliance with the ruling party with the secure knowledge that this will be to their mutual benefit.

Figure 22- Trade Unions and the Ruling Party



There is strong tradition globally of close union-party relations and the way in which trade unions engage with political parties either by being part of them, taking a lead in their formation or refusing to join party politics all together. Unionists are often recruited into leading party positions and unions play a key role in funding “their” party. Labour movements are politically contested, both by those who identify themselves as labour and by those who are part of a different camp, either as employers or as governments that seek to ensure modes of control and regulation in line with strategies of their own. Labour movements are politically contested, both by those who identify themselves as labour and by those who are part of a different camp, either as employers or as governments that seek to ensure modes of control and regulation in line with strategies of their own (Beckman, Buhlungu, & Sachikonye, 2010, pp. 1-2)

As it were in Nigeria, so it was in South Africa. COSATU’s role in the struggle against apartheid was as significant as the ANC’s such that COSATU remains an equal partner in post-apartheid Alliance administration (Aremu, 2004).

There are other more influential stakeholders in PSR than trade unions

The Labour Reform Programme appears to be suffering from the problem of legitimacy in the eyes of the stakeholders. Many stakeholders perceive it as essentially a government agenda that is domineering over other stakeholders as social legitimacy is an important element that every social engineering process must strive to attain. Since the objectives of the reform agenda are common, there is room for cooperation between labour and government in the sense that the objectives represent shared values (Aremu, 2004).

The majority respondents n=426 have quantitatively indicated that an accumulated 63.6% believe that there are other more influential stakeholders in the PSR process than trade unions as opposed to an accumulated 19.2% who believe that trade unions are the more influential stakeholder.

Table 12 - Other Influential Stakeholders

Other Influential Stakeholders					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	10	2.3	2.3	2.3
	Disagree	72	16.9	16.9	19.2
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	73	17.1	17.1	36.4
	Agree	127	29.7	29.8	66.2
	Strongly Agree	144	33.7	33.8	100.0
	Total	426	99.8	100.0	
Missing	No Response	1	.2		
Total		427	100.0		

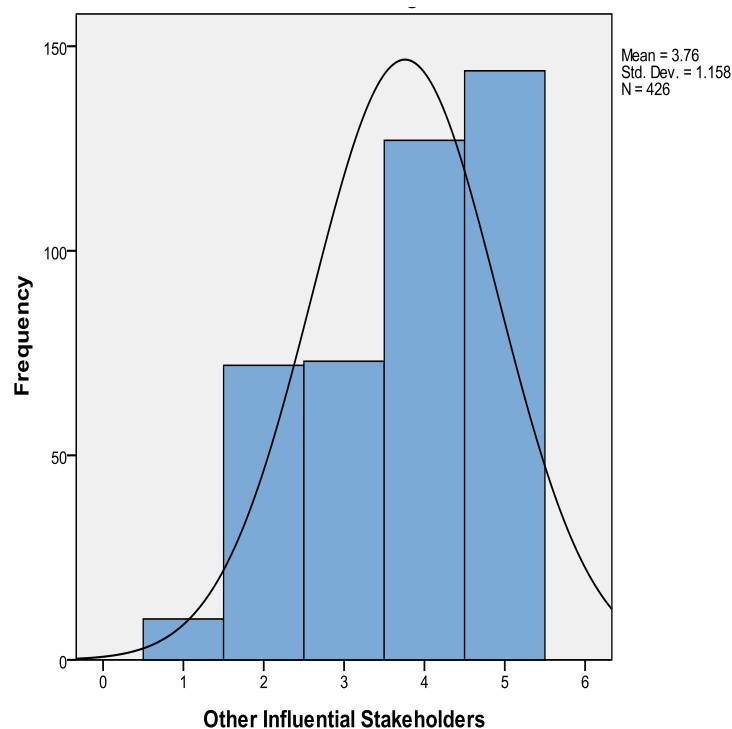
In testing the correlation analysis between trade union alliances with the ruling party and whether there are more influential stakeholders than trade unions ; the correlation analysis indicates there is significant Correlation at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) (**)

Correlations

		TUALLIANCE	INFLUENTIALSTAKEHOLDERS
TUALLIANCE	Pearson Correlation	1	.508(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	426	425
INFLUENTIALSTAKEHOLDERS	Pearson Correlation	.508(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	425	426

There is the need for Government to collaborate more with the stakeholders. Consultation among the stakeholders, especially the tripartite, will be vital for the success of the reforms. Instances of unilateral action by one stakeholder have not been an uncommon feature of the reform experience.

Figure 23 - Other Influential Stakeholders

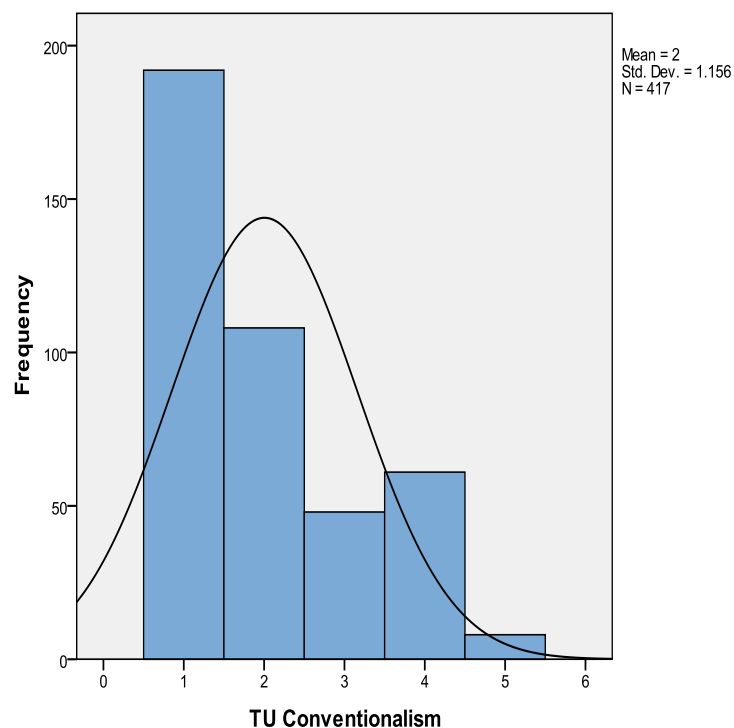


The public service reforms embarked upon by the Nigerian Federal Public Service required political commitment and unflinching support to succeed and had to be internally driven and owned by all major stakeholders.

Conventional trade unionism is regarded as “pretty much dead”

The strongest qualitative indicator whether conventional trade unionism is “pretty much dead” is illustratively refuted in Figure 23 indicating that trade unionism is not dead. This is substantiated with a cumulative 71.9% (as per Table 14) of respondents affirming this statement.

Figure 24 - Conventional Trade Unionism is dead



In developing its case for seeing Trade Unions as important institutions of popular representation (Beckman, 2002, p. 83) offers an alternative; that Trade Unions are in fact on the rise. The best available data, largely from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) suggested that union membership in the last five years was increasing throughout Africa (ILO, 2008).

Table 13 - Conventional Trade Unionism is dead

TU Conventionalism					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	192	45.0	46.0	46.0
	Disagree	108	25.3	25.9	71.9
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	48	11.2	11.5	83.5
	Agree	61	14.3	14.6	98.1
	Strongly Agree	8	1.9	1.9	100.0
	Total	417	97.7	100.0	
Missing	No Response	10	2.3		
Total		427	100.0		

Worker commitment to unions appears to be weakening due to the rise of individualism. At the higher end of the skill spectrum, workers seem indifferent to a collective identity and are less dependent on unions. Their personal identity is defined less in terms of class and more in terms of social functions, autonomy and mobility (Jose, 2000).

Comparatively, the shift from permanent to atypical employment over the past ten years in most African countries has led to a perceived decline in union membership as African unions tend to reflect the structure of capital.

Professor John Kelly from the London School of Economics has shown that it is conceivable for unions to wield more power as density falls, especially where the fall is generated by state and/or employer interference which forces numbers down but builds increasing sympathy for the goals of the movement. In this regard consider the 2007/2010 OSD related strikes.

The real challenge for the union movement is not to save itself from collapse; it is to find a strategy for growth and influence. The problem is not that unions are shrinking. It is that they are not growing as fast as they might. Unions need to spell a vision not simply of "nationalising" organisations and bringing them into "public ownership", but exemplifying what workers-control and co-operation looks like. This requires not only widespread local activism, but political education and encouraging the energy and enthusiasm of workers to participate, instead of pacifying them and seeking to win demands without workers taking part. It is the task of socialists to organise, educate and agitate the working class, not get elected and try and change the system from within, devoid of tangible real mass activism. The only way plans based on socialism and co-operation will be receptive to the needs of

people and their communities is if they are the driving force behind them and have control over them collectively, not a centralised bureaucracy

Labour needs to change at all levels to attract the activists it needed for the struggle ahead. It is the task of labour to change the perception of society and demonstrate that its struggle is for justice. It is up to the unions to offer a vision of humane and just society where the economy is a means to a better life for the entire society and not an end in itself. What is good for government must necessarily not be bad for labour and the converse must surely apply. Perhaps the challenge is to critically re-look at the process of change/reform rather than attributing blames to reactions of agents of reform. Questions begging for answers include; what approach to reform, immediate effect or gradual approach? Can we correct 40 years of rot in 4 weeks? What about sequencing of reform? How many changes can we initiate at the same time without leading to crowding and counter reaction (Aremu, 2004)?

Gladstone in (Ifedi, 1998) lamented that former Trade Unionists treated unionism in Nigeria as commercial ventures and as a springboard to political power and economic advancement and in some instances Trade Union leaders managed more than one Trade Union simultaneously.

4.5.2.5 SECTION D

The quality of collective agreements reflect significant PSR

Trade union capacity to deliver successful outcomes depends on whether workers' rights and interests have been incorporated into legislation or other regulatory instruments of the labour market.

Out of the total n= 425 surveyed a cumulative 83% either strongly agreed/agreed that the quality of collective agreements reflect significant public service reform as opposed to a cumulative 17%.

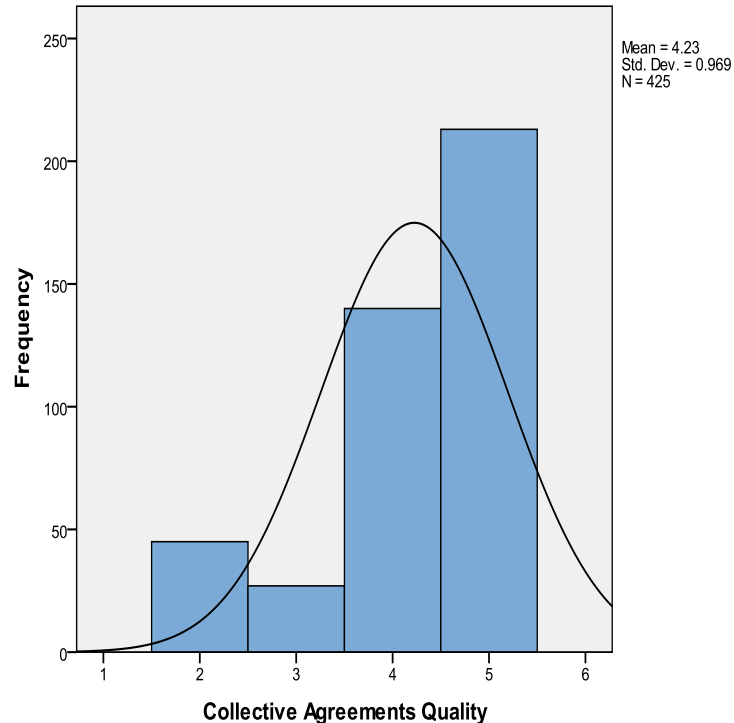
Labour legislation, collective agreements, social security and minimum wages already in place are clear indicators of the strength and influence of trade unions. They reflect the quality and a capacity to influence public opinion and mobilize action in support of the demands of their constituents. This corresponds to experiences in the industrialized countries and developing countries.

Table 14 - Quality of Collective Agreements

Collective Agreements Quality					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	45	10.5	10.6	10.6
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	27	6.3	6.4	16.9
	Agree	140	32.8	32.9	49.9
	Strongly Agree	213	49.9	50.1	100.0
	Total	425	99.5	100.0	
Missing	No Response	2	.5		
Total		427	100.0		

The economic environment constantly requires the reorganization of trade union structures to ensure representation of workers and the new structures and environments which are emerging offer efficient solutions; deliver better wages and fringe benefits, as compared to the previous structures which had catered to larger numbers in an environment of greater militancy.

Figure 25- Quality of Collective Agreements



The quantity of collective agreements reflect significant PSR

In the period 1998 to 2010 (twelve years), the PSCBC in South Africa concluded one hundred and seven (107) collective agreements as recorded in Figure 3(*vide supra*). This averaged 9 collective agreements per year. However, the quantity of collective agreements reached conformed to the quality assurance test which had the effect of “smoothing” the way for transforming the face of the public service and has been instrumental in “revolutionising” South African politics due to the impact of the labour movement’s influence in the broader politic.

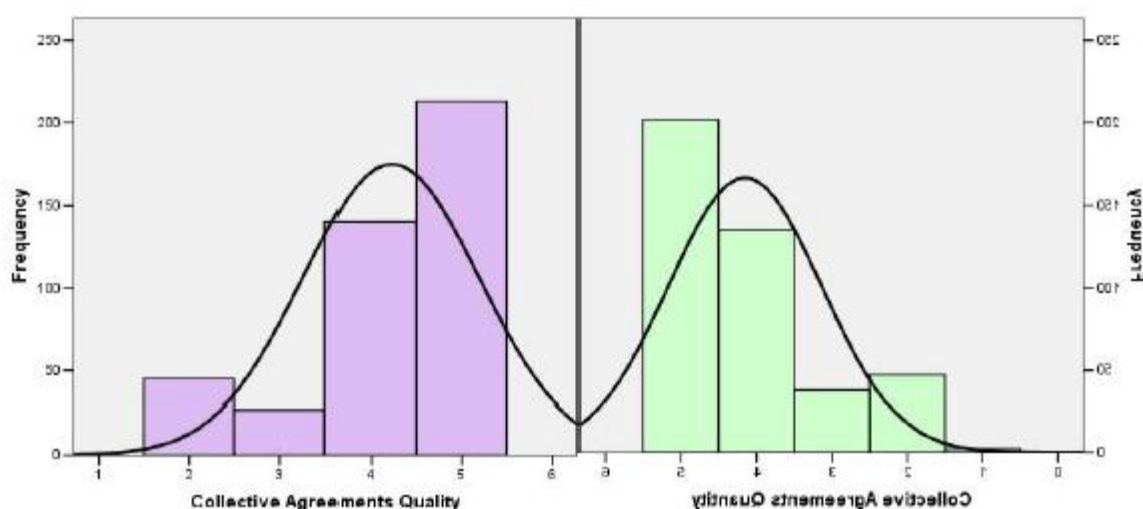
However, in Nigeria, collective agreements were more the exception than the norm due to the various decrees issued by the successive military and publician governments. Trade unions were tolerated and labour unrest generally lasted several months with empty agreements which invariably led to further strikes.

Table 15 - Quantity of Collective Agreements

Collective Agreements Quantity					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	2	.5	.5	.5
	Disagree	47	11.0	11.1	11.6
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	38	8.9	9.0	20.5
	Agree	135	31.6	31.8	52.4
	Strongly Agree	202	47.3	47.6	100.0
	Total	424	99.3	100.0	
Missing	No Response	3	.7		
Total		427	100.0		

The collective agreements are reflected in Figure 26 - **Mirror Image** graph indicates the corresponding correlation in both quality and the quantity:

Figure 26 - Quality and Quantity Collective Agreements (Mirror Image)



Trade unions have adequately negotiated and resolved all discriminatory practices of the past

Nigeria and South Africa are both constitutional sovereign states and their respective constitutions prohibit any form of discrimination. The causal-comparative technique (in identifying possible causes for human behaviour in the social sciences context) was used to study the comparable groups and establish the differences and reasons thereof and to uncover causal links among the variables.

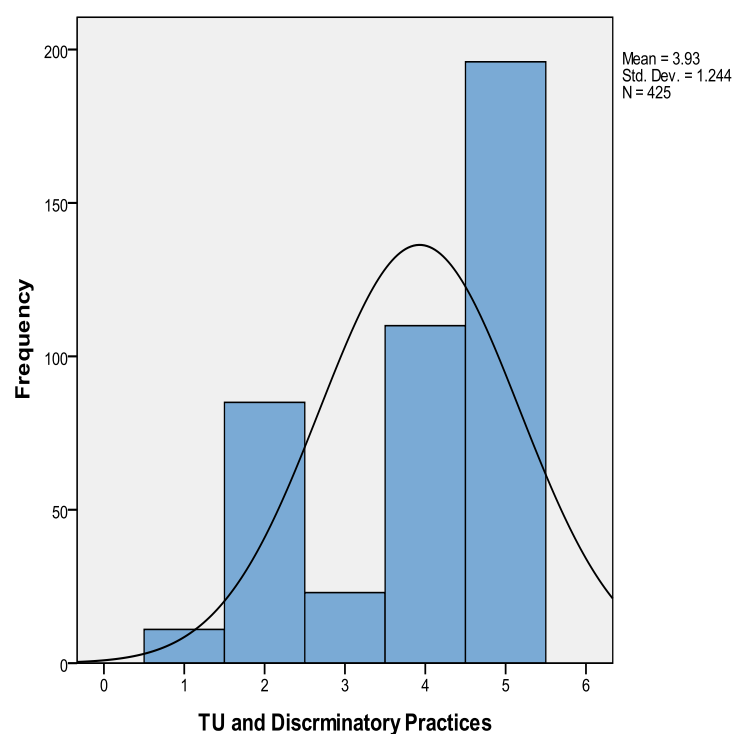
South Africa emerged from unprecedented inequality due to its apartheid history. This had been exacerbated by a proliferation of public services within a single country as a result of the central (white) and 'homeland and self-governing states; each with different terms and conditions of employment but still subservient and lower to that of the white public servants. In ensuring transformation and 'smoothing the path' to democracy, several collective agreements had been concluded in the PSCBC to address these disparities.

A cumulative 72% of the n=425 respondents strongly agree/agree that trade unions have adequately negotiated and removed all discriminatory practices of the past as opposed to a cumulative 22.6% who disagree.

Table 16 - Trade Unions and Removal of Discriminatory Practices

TU and Discriminatory Practices					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	11	2.6	2.6	2.6
	Disagree	85	19.9	20.0	22.6
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	23	5.4	5.4	28.0
	Agree	110	25.8	25.9	53.9
	Strongly Agree	196	45.9	46.1	100.0
	Total	425	99.5	100.0	
Missing	No Response	2	.5		
Total		427	100.0		

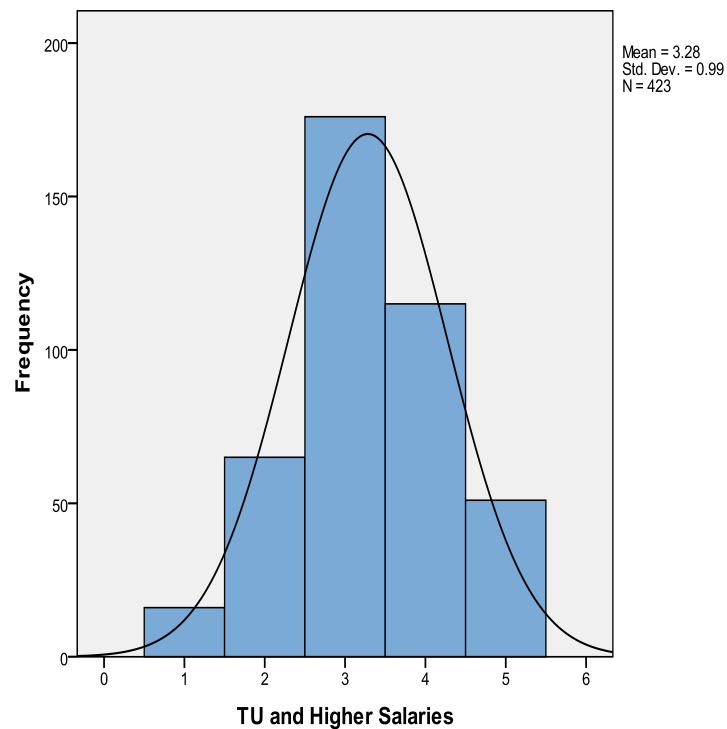
Figure 27- Trade Unions and Removal of Discriminatory Practices



Trade unions succeeded in negotiating significant PSR but failed their members in not achieving higher salary increases

Salary and wages are extremely subjective and personal subjects which generally cannot be rationalised in any debate as all human beings are driven by needs and in terms of Maslow's a theory of motivation categorising the process by which an individual progresses from basic needs to the highest needs of self-actualization—the fulfilment of one's greatest human potential.

Figure 28 - Trade Unions and Higher Salaries



In this particular question 41.6% adopted the 'middle of the road' approach and responded that they 'Neither agreed nor disagreed'. Using the Deductive Approach to qualitatively analysing the response it is clear that only 19.2% were in agreement that the trade unions did not fail them in securing higher salary increases. On the other hand 39.2% indicated that they strongly agree/agree that the trade unions did fail them in achieving higher salary increases.

Table 17 - Trade Unions and Higher Salaries

TU and Higher Salaries					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	16	3.7	3.8	3.8
	Disagree	65	15.2	15.4	19.1
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	176	41.2	41.6	60.8
	Agree	115	26.9	27.2	87.9
	Strongly Agree	51	11.9	12.1	100.0
	Total	423	99.1	100.0	
Missing	No Response	4	.9		
Total		427	100.0		

Overall it is clear that the respondents feel that the trade unions negotiated public sector reform but failed them in achieving higher salary increases.

(Hazelhurst, 2010)reported that the IMF called for "reforms to improve the efficiency of labour and product markets and proposed that government spending, particularly on wages, should be benchmarked as the average wage settlement between unions and businesses in 2009 reached 9.3 percent, led by the public service wage increase of 11.2 percent which significantly outstripped inflation and productivity gains."

Jane Barrett in (Ndungu, 2008, pp. 16-17) observes, "One mistake we did as the Trade Union movement in the last ten years or so is to negotiate percentage increases across the board year after year". She goes on to caution that this has "contributed to increasing divisions in society and it is a major contributing factor to social instability". But given South Africa's long history of worker super-exploitation, it is something that workers, the labour movement and government might want to reconsider (Ndungu, 2008).

Trade unions succeeded in negotiating significant PSR but failed their members in not achieving better conditions of employment

As with the previous question, 43.5%adopted the 'middle of the road' approach and responded that they 'Neither agreed nor disagreed'. Once again utilising the Deductive Approach to qualitatively analysing the response it is clear that only 20.5% were in agreement that the trade unions did not fail them in achieving better conditions of employment. Conversely 36% indicated that they strongly agree/agree that the trade unions did fail them in achieving better conditions of employment.

Table 18 - Trade Unions and Conditions of Employment

TU and Conditions of Employment					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	13	3.0	3.1	3.1
	Disagree	74	17.3	17.4	20.5
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	185	43.3	43.5	64.0
	Agree	118	27.6	27.8	91.8
	Strongly Agree	35	8.2	8.2	100.0
	Total	425	99.5	100.0	
Missing	No Response	2	.5		
Total		427	100.0		

Figure 29 - **Mirror Image** graph indicates the corresponding correlation in respondents adopting the 'middle of the road approach but a small majority indicating that the trade unions did not succeed in achieving higher salaried and improved conditions of employment.

Figure 29 - TU and Higher Salaries and CoE

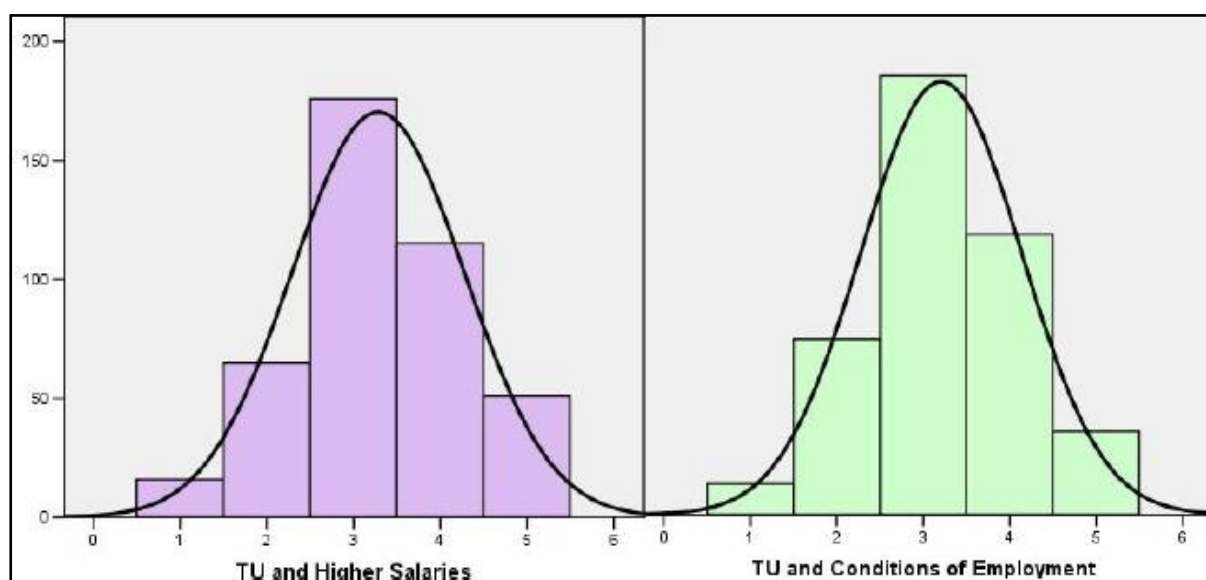


Figure 29 above depicts that Correlation is significant which is confirmed in the following table below at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) (**).

Correlations

		TUHIGERS ALARIES	TUCONEMP LOYMENT
TUHIGERSALARIES	Pearson Correlation	1	.587(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	423	423
TUCONEMPLOYMENT	Pearson Correlation	.587(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	423	425

Trade unions have adequately addressed all gender issues, permitting women to break the “glass ceiling”

Constitutional states prohibit any form of discrimination. However, in the labour market and at the coal-face work place, the existence of gender discrimination has been historic. Legislation has been enacted to address this form of discrimination and male chauvinism. A cumulative 74.4% agree that trade unions have adequately addressed all gender issues, permitting women to break the ‘glass ceiling’ as opposed to 17.7%.

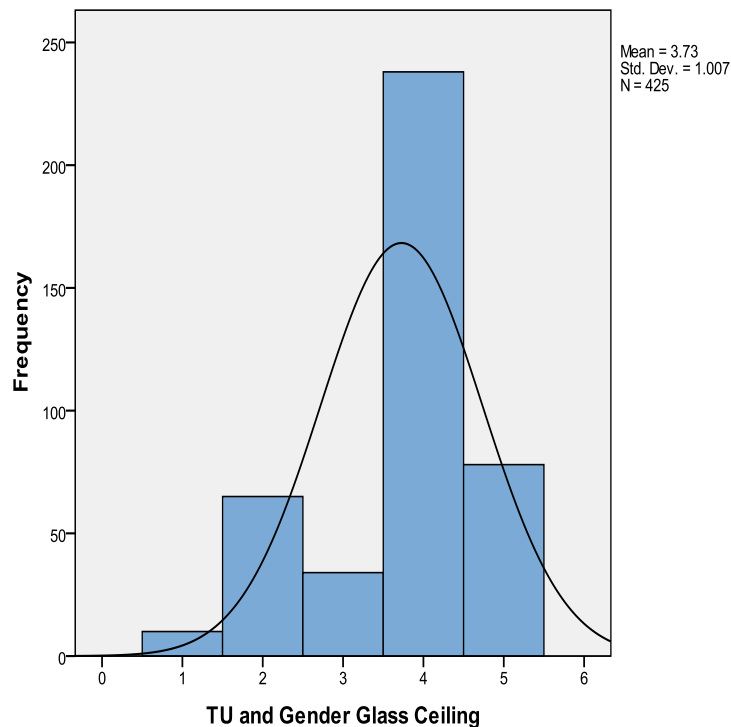
Table 19 - Trade Unions and Removal of Glass Ceiling

TU and Gender Glass Ceiling					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	10	2.3	2.4	2.4
	Disagree	65	15.2	15.3	17.6
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	34	8.0	8.0	25.6
	Agree	238	55.7	56.0	81.6
	Strongly Agree	78	18.3	18.4	100.0
	Total	425	99.5	100.0	
Missing	No Response	2	.5		
Total		427	100.0		

Out of 15 SADC countries, only Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and South Africa have attained the 30 percent target of women in management in government as set by the Protocol on Gender and Development by the countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Shattering the “Glass Ceiling” - Whilst South Africa’s constitution and enabling legislation prohibiting discrimination, policy in itself has not been fully effected in shattering the “glass ceiling”. Government has given credence to the shattering of the ‘glass ceiling’ but these have been more of political patronage and not on deserved meritocracy. This is patently obvious in most public enterprises. Competition for the executive position is not transparent and is mainly by Board appointment with the endorsement of the Minister controlling that enterprise. The need to “pierce the corporate veil” in terms of gender representativeness of women in management as well as people with disabilities remains an area of concern (DPSA, 2010).

Figure 30- Trade Unions and Removal of Glass Ceiling



The national targets to increase the representation for 50% women in senior management services (SMS) in public services across all salary levels have not been met since they were mandated by Cabinet in 2005. The deadline for the same targets has been shifted from 2010 and extended to 2014. The current situation stands at 34% for women at SMS level.

Trade unions have adequately addressed pension related anomalies

In the developed world, senior public servants look forward to retirement and problem free payment of their pension.

All public servants, irrespective of what cadre they belong to, be it professional, administration or auxiliary, all aspire to long term tenure of service. The ultimate purpose is to ensure that they accumulate financial security post retirement, amortised through their pension contributions. A significant aspect of the reform process has been the inclusion of workers in all processes of their pension funds. This has been facilitated through various collective bargaining agreements.

The 99.3% response rate of n=424 contrasts with the standard deviation of 1.259, which significantly indicates that the respondents are at variance in their responses. A cumulative 63% either agree or strongly agree that trade unions have significantly resolved all pension

related anomalies, contrasted to a variance of a cumulative 25.9% which indicated that they disagree that trade have resolved pension related anomalies.

Table 20 - Trade Unions and Pension Matters

TU and Pension Related Anomalies					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	9	2.1	2.1	2.1
	Disagree	101	23.7	23.8	25.9
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	47	11.0	11.1	37.0
	Agree	100	23.4	23.6	60.6
	Strongly Agree	167	39.1	39.4	100.0
	Total	424	99.3	100.0	
Missing	No Response	3	.7		
Total		427	100.0		

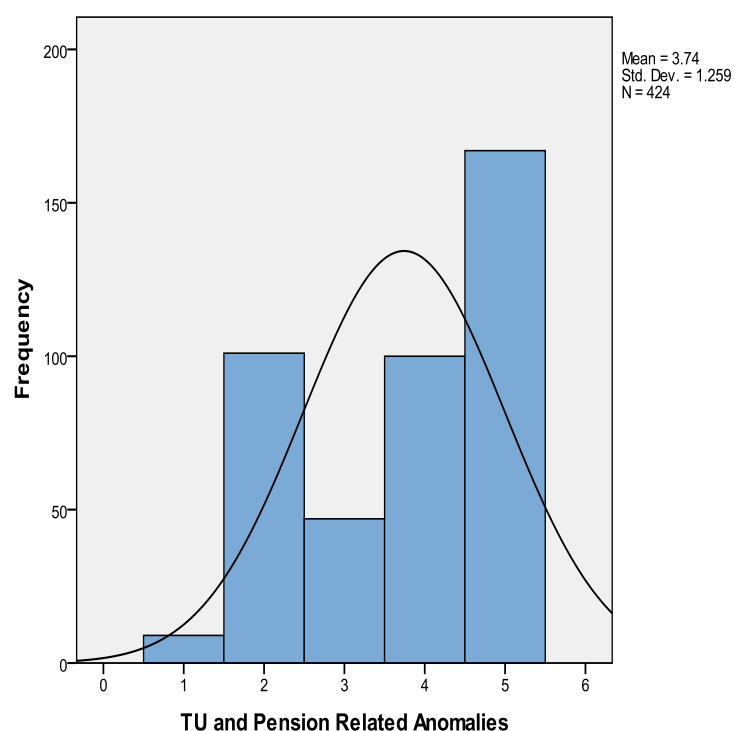
Although the responses in terms of the variables but the Correlational analysis is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)(**)

Correlations

		TUPENSION	TUDIS CRIMINATORY
TUPENSION	Pearson Correlation	1	.623(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	424	423
TUDISCRIMINATORY	Pearson Correlation	.623(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	423	425

The variance is amply reflected in Figure 32 below:

Figure 31- Trade Unions and Pension Related Anomalies



However, in order to regulate the independence of these processes, Pension Boards had been established in South Africa and Nigeria. In South Africa the Government Employees Pension Fund (GEPF) had been established, providing for all stakeholders space to directly contribute to the decision and investment processes on their money. The fund is constitutionally and legally protected from any direct government abuse, as was the case by the apartheid government which used the pension funds to fund the 'war' against opponents of apartheid which were based in the front-line states such as Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Government and the trade unions have equal representation on the Board of Directors, together with independent experts providing financial, actuarial and economic advice. All directors have equivalent and direct legal fiduciary responsibility. The GEPF is a major source of guaranteed funding for the Public Investment (PIC) to invest in projects with a guaranteed rate return. In essence this has ensured that all public servants going on retirement will receive their pension and not become a burden to the state.

Pension administration in Nigeria has been problematic. Even in countries within the West African sub-region such as Ghana, senior public servants are not known to go through stress

accessing their retirement benefits. Unfortunately in Nigeria, the prospect of transiting from work life to retirement had been a source of angst and trepidation for would-be retirees, due to shoddy arrangements for payment of gratuity and pensions.

Indeed, such was the phobia for exiting paid job, particularly in the public sector where the salary remains, meagre that public servants evaded retirement through falsification and doctoring of years of service, to keep them on the job, years after they had been due for retirement.

For those who reluctantly exit the job, having to queue endlessly on verification days is enough nightmares. In the process, some slumped and died out of exhaustion, while others were denied payment on the excuse of irregularities on their papers.

Trade unions have negotiated proper “career pathing” opportunities for all categories of staff

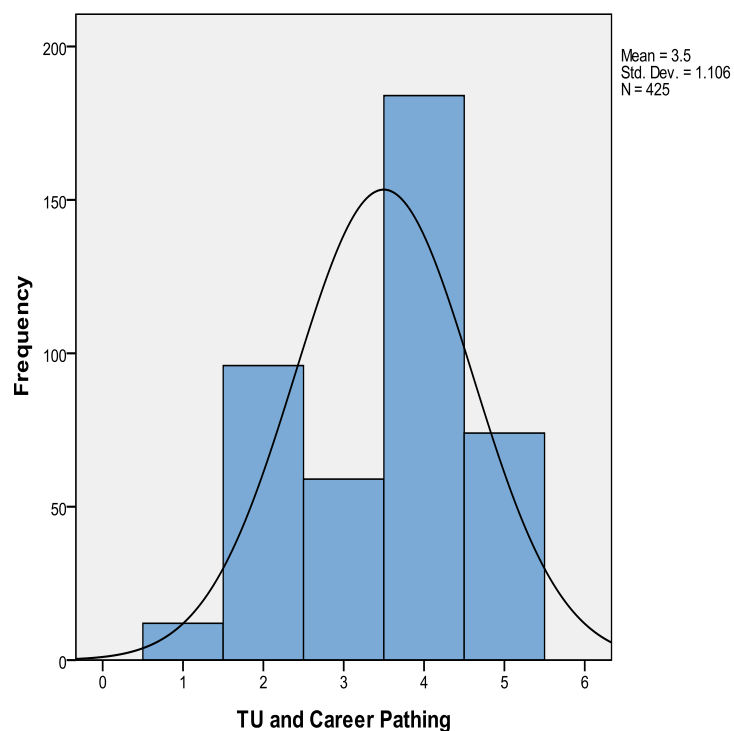
The public service has moved from being an ‘employer of last resort’ to an employer of choice based on its recruitment policy of need and established operational staffing norms with the emphasis placed on ensuring professionalism and efficiency.

It is notable that public servants as per Table 3 (vide supra) have the following qualification as per:

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|-------|
| • College Diploma | - | 17.6% |
| • Bachelor’s degree | - | 49.2% |
| • Postgraduate (honours or masters) | - | 16.9% |
| • Doctorate/PhD qualification | - | 0.5% |

In order to professionalise the public service, various career paths were streamlined to afford public servants to progress in their chosen fields. One important aspect was the differentiation of occupations into both practitioner and management. This created opportunity for those professionals desirous of pursuing a career in management were provided with this ‘fork’ in their chosen career with conditions of employment and job descriptions, responsibilities and remuneration being different.

Figure 32- Trade Unions and Career Pathing



Public servants benefitted from this occupational differentiation and the cumulative 60.7% affirm, as reflected in Table 22 below, that trade unions have negotiated proper 'career pathing 'opportunities for all categories of staff as opposed to 25.4% of n=425 respondents .

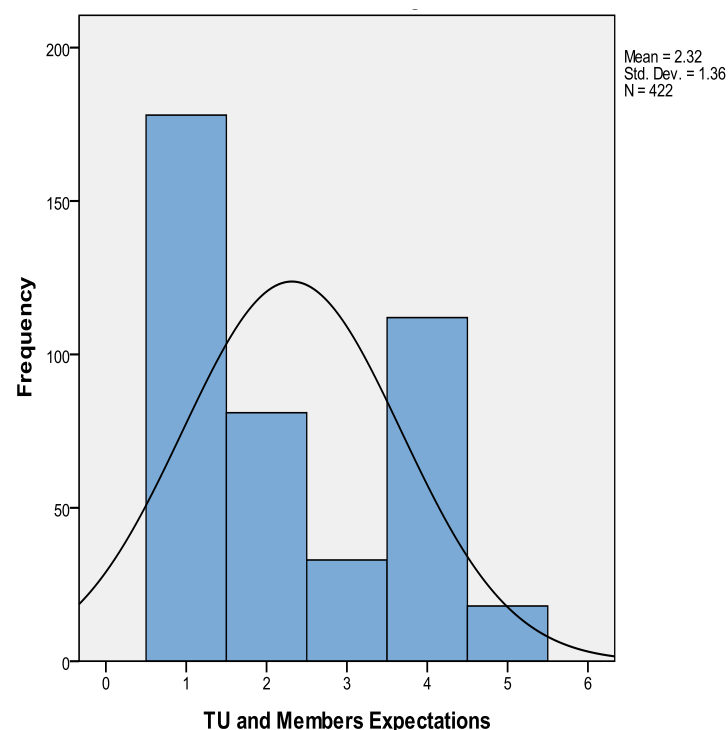
Table 21 - Trade Unions and Career Pathing

TU and Career Pathing					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	12	2.8	2.8	2.8
	Disagree	96	22.5	22.6	25.4
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	59	13.8	13.9	39.3
	Agree	184	43.1	43.3	82.6
	Strongly Agree	74	17.3	17.4	100.0
	Total	425	99.5	100.0	
Missing	No Response	2	.5		
Total		427	100.0		

Trade unions failed to realise their members' expectations in the new dispensation

Trade unions use its members to further their own endeavours and forget their true mandate. The qualitative assessment and the impact of the question/statement are illustrated in Figure 34 below. The majority of respondents strongly disagree/disagree that the trade unions have failed their members' expectations in the new dispensation. Conversely, by deduction it holds that trade unions have actually realised their members' expectations in the new dispensation.

Figure 33- Trade Unions and Members' Expectations



The cumulative 61.4% of n=422 respondents as reflected in Table 23 below; strongly disagree/agree with the statement that the trade unions have failed to realise their members' expectations in the new dispensation as opposed to 30.8% who strongly agree/agree .

Table 22 - Trade Unions and Members' Expectations

TU and Members Expectations					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	178	41.7	42.2	42.2
	Disagree	81	19.0	19.2	61.4
	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	33	7.7	7.8	69.2
	Agree	112	26.2	26.5	95.7
	Strongly Agree	18	4.2	4.3	100.0
	Total	422	98.8	100.0	
Missing	No Response	5	1.2		
Total		427	100.0		

There are more countries experiencing membership growth than membership decline.

There is a need to reclaim the unions. Yet many grassroots activists report that the reason for widespread apathy within Trade Unions is that members know that whatever they “threaten” with regards to collective action, it will be compromised by weak “leadership” and selling out at the earliest possible opportunity. Institutionally, the bureaucracy is a cancer of the workers movement rife with material and political privilege for those at the top, and must eventually be swept aside. Such compromises are subsequently sold to the membership as a “victory” when they are nothing of the sort. Any effort to win the union at the top will remain vacuous whilst the membership remains almost entirely disengaged at a grassroots level. It is indeed a vicious circle in terms of rebuilding strong fighting unions, but one which can only be broken by rebuilding the Trade Union movement from the bottom up.

Unions need to spell a vision not simply of “nationalising” organisations and bringing them into “public ownership”, but exemplifying what workers-control and co-operation looks like. This requires not only widespread local activism, but political education and encouraging the energy and enthusiasm of workers to participate, instead of pacifying them and seeking to win demands without workers taking part. It is the task of socialists to organise, educate and agitate the working class, not get elected and try and change the system from within, devoid of tangible real mass activism. The only way plans based on socialism and co-operation will be receptive to the needs of people and their communities is if they are the driving force behind them and have control over them collectively, not a centralised bureaucracy

Political manipulation and a drive for positions, power and patronage are threatening the stability of at least two of the country's major public sector Trade Unions, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) and the National Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU). It is not about the salary, it's about the perks such as cars, drivers, credit cards and expenses.

Fortunately, the number of those for whom fundamental values of democracy, liberty and human rights matter more than submissive loyalty to an organisation is growing (Melber, 2008).

A successful Trade Union organisation has one major attribute that sets it apart, dynamic and effective leadership at all levels of the union structure especially at the workplace – where members get first-hand experience of what Trade Unionism is all about (Fakoya, 2002).

Labour leaders were afraid of being attacked by aggrieved poorly paid workers as their confidence that the workers reposed in their union leaders had been lost (Garba, 1998).

However well-articulated and promoted, it is clear that every change comes with pains and gains. The challenge is to minimise the pains and maximise the gains of reforms.

Trade Unions in Nigeria have not lived up to the expectations of workers because of poor leadership. If the leadership is bad, ignorant, politically and ideologically motivated rather than worker orientated, workers' time and resources will be wasted on corresponding ideological and personal controversies. There have been allegations that former trade unionists treated unionism in Nigeria as commercial ventures and as a springboard to political power and economic advancement and in some instances trade union leaders managed more than one trade union simultaneously. The Nigerian Labour Congress for 10 years (1978-1988) did not submit a single acceptable audited financial statement to the Registrar of Trade Unions. This is similar to the scenario played out by NEHAWU in South Africa which had not submitted audited statements to both its membership and the Registrar of Trade Unions but owing to its political alliance with the ruling ANC government it was not regarded as a matter of importance. It is not surprising to find union leaders openly violating the laws which prohibit the involvement of union and workers funds on partisan politics. During 1978 to 1989, more than 70% of workers' money had been invested in court cases and entertainment, salaries and allowances of elected and appointed union leaders.

The quality of leadership of Trade Unions determines the kind of service provided to the workers who are members and owners of these unions. (Umoh, 1989, p. 7).

4.5.2.6 SECTION E

Open Ended Questions

Questions 35 and 36 were both open-ended for any comment/suggestion. A total of 15 comments/suggestions had been grouped for analysis and processed. This process of data analysis entailed sorting out responses from different participants. Their comments were coded for analysis and then sorted according to their priority. This is in line with (Creswell, 1994, p. 156) assertion that qualitative writers should always "saturate categories through constantly comparing incidents with incidents until categories emerge and through the sampling of informants that will lead to the development of categories.

It was observed that the majority of the comments/suggestions were duplicated in terms of being questions in the closed questions section of the questionnaire.

The information was then reduced to the following theme:

Table 23 - Tabulation of Open Ended Questions

	COMMENT/SUGGESTION
1.	Brain Drain - Affirmative Action and Employment Equity policies forced the movement of skilled people to seek employment in the private sector or to emigrate from their countries where their skills and expertise was required and their race was not a factor.

Brain drain is a serious global phenomenon and a challenge. The seriousness of the 'brain drain' phenomenon in a developing country has far reaching repercussions for the stability of the sector and specifically for the discipline.

The issue of the brain drain challenge has been dealt with earlier in this research and is regarded as a challenge for the public service in the retention especially of senior public servants in the executive positions such as Director-General level due to the fact that the remunerative packages were more attractive in the private sector and corporate world. Further, the level of political that affects this position is exacting; without the incumbent being able to exercise his/her managerial skills for which he/she has been reputed to have

been appointed for. Further, these high profile appointments were 'flexible' and lacked accountability and open to 'soft termination' of the contracts, on both the incumbent and the minister. Their departure creates a vacuum as departments are left leaderless and without direction. The filling of such senior posts can take up to one (1) year as these are subjected to political manoeuvring and ultimately it is the presidential prerogative to do.

Another aspect and far more serious challenge of the brain drain or 'chicken run' phenomenon is that of the flight of skilled professionals who, due to fact do not meet the racial demographic mix, are not being considered for appointment of being overlooked for promotion for an affirmed candidate who lacks the skill, experience, expertise and in some instances, even the appropriate qualification.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter attempted to present and discuss the findings of the study.

In this chapter the researcher undertook and completed the following:

- To initially introduce the chapter
- Outlined the personal dilemmas experienced
- The computing of data using a statistical package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Software for analysis.
- An attempt to construct the research environment and research visits undertaken to the various countries, provinces/states and institutions.
- The analysis and interpretation of the data collected.
- The discussion of the findings relevant and or commensurate with the literature review. The chapter showed public service reform is a multi-faceted approached but not with all stakeholders neither being equal partners or contributing on an equal basis. However public service trade unions do significantly impact on public service reform but at varied levels.

In the next chapter the researcher will draw the conclusions that emanated from the study and make recommendations accordingly.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This study sought to address five (5) specific problems related to the impact of trade unions on public service reform in Nigeria and South Africa. In Chapter One the five research assumptions were formulated as follows:

- Public Service Reform in South Africa and Nigeria mimic models in developed countries
- Trade Unions influence Public Service Reform policy formulation in South Africa and Nigeria
- Trade Unions in South Africa and Nigeria do not look at an Afro-centric context when dealing with policy formulation
- Trade Unions in South Africa and Nigeria are conduits for socio-economic change
- Trade Unions do not have an influence on public service delivery in South Africa and Nigeria

This chapter contains the summary of the findings and the conclusions which provide answers to the above questions, as well as recommendations based on the findings of this study and opportunities for future research.

5.2 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has been an attempt to achieve the above-mentioned aims regarding the impact of trade unions on public service reform. In order to achieve the foregoing objectives, literature on trade unionism and public service reform was reviewed in order to formulate a conceptual framework. Field work was also undertaken in order to give a sound base to the theoretical framework. Written questionnaires were administered and answered by respondents. Interviews were conducted with public servants in order to verify the questionnaire responses. This section, therefore, gives a summary of the findings and

conclusions. It covers both the theoretical and empirical findings which elucidate on the impact of trade unions on public service reform in general and particularly in Nigeria and South Africa.

5.2.1 ASSUMPTION 1

Public Service Reform in Nigeria and South Africa mimic models in developed countries

Reform never goes out of style in the public service because political, economic and social conditions are always changing. The extent and nature of public service reform has varied from country to country; however government agencies find important indicators to benchmark their policies against those of other countries and to evaluate their own performance over time.

In Africa a number of programmes have been adopted since the 1980s in an effort to establish the foundations for structural transformation and integration of African countries into the global economy. Moynihan's Theory of Social Convergence (Social Mimicry) had been developed to explain why public services in developing countries have attempted to adopt a Mirror Image of changes already implemented in the public sectors of developed countries (Moynihan, Social Mimicry; Character Convergence Versus Character Displacement, 1968, pp. 315-331). This theory viewed social mimicry as an indicator of social patterns and structures often emulated by developing states in Africa. It can therefore be postulated that the social mimicry of western ideals can be interpreted as a systemic pathology which contributed to past efforts to reform the Public Service of most African states.

The changing role of the state with the assumption that the government should be small, lean and should have a minimal role in development is an initiative implemented by the introduction of neo-liberal Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) in its efforts to transform the economies of bureaucracies into models based on corporate structures in the direction of the New Public Management (NPM) and related privatisation initiatives, are broadly the tools of the new Public Service Management Practices Reform (NMPPR).

In this regard Nigeria and South Africa are no exceptions.

Since the 1970s, Nigeria has unashamedly directly adopted various public service reform models from developed countries. Nigeria's first major attempt at public service reform was the introduction of prominent Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) reforms. These reforms were introduced and implemented mainly by the military, and, in some cases, with the collaboration of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The reform process was very much dependent on top-down direction and external stimuli. The absence of a collective approach in managing the reform left a vacuum in which the donor could effectively influence the pace and direction of the change process.

During the 1980s -1990s, Nigeria made remarkable efforts aimed at political, economic and social reforms that yielded mixed results.

The current administration of President Goodluck Jonathan re-affirmed its commitment to the reform process and in June 2010 collaborated with the United Kingdom (UK) based Department for International Development (DFID), to develop a new National Strategy for Public Service Reforms (NSPSR). The Federal Government's NSPSR reform agenda took into account lessons learnt from the previous public service reforms initiated and undertaken by President Obasanjo's return to public rule in 1999 and other earlier Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAP).

In the instance of South Africa, even though there were no comparable models to guide transformation from apartheid, South Africa has had the opportunity of learning from transitions in other parts of Africa about what has worked.

South Africa did not have the luxury of sequencing stages of the change process so as to tackle one element at a time. The urgency imposed by the political-settlement process in the early 1990s added to the pressure of managing such a multifaceted change.

Levin, Miller, Cameron and including the Presidential Review Commission have individually argued that the New Public Management (NPM) had been highly influential in shaping Public Service Reform in post-apartheid South Africa, and such reforms have even supplanted traditional public administration in practice. Geraldine Frasier-Moleketi, erstwhile Minister of Public Service and Administration, strongly argued that public service reforms were not influenced by NPM ideology but that the government wanted to borrow NPM skills and techniques to modernise the public service without buying into the ideological framework. This view was not supported by her predecessor, Zola Skweyiya, who affirmed the view that NPM was "perhaps inappropriate for South Africa as a developing country".

Another important observation is the fact that the independence of the Public Service Commission (PSC) has been curtailed by both governments. Such independence of the PSC has been undermined through various measures such as making it purely advisory instead of being executive. The result is that people are wrongly appointed or promoted/transferred and are highly misplaced even if they have appropriate qualifications; political interference in the appointment, promotion and discipline of civil service has been on the increase since gaining independence; corruption is also on the increase with the neutrality and objectivity of the civil service being compromised.

From the foregoing it is affirmed by both the literature review in Chapters two and three and the empirical data in Chapter four that Assumption One that the Public Service Reform in Nigeria and South Africa mimic models in developed countries is valid.

5.2.2 ASSUMPTION 2

Trade Unions in South Africa and Nigeria do not look at an Afro-centric context when dealing with policy formulation

Governments in Africa historically did not pay attention to the creation of an African style/brand of public service reform and were pre-occupied with the situations whereby all African nations had been consumed by western reform paradigms. Africans did not seek to develop their own reform style or reform identity. Most African countries had their reforms initiated from external sources, and or are sometimes imposed. This was a consequence of having to seek 'donor aid' to fund their internal domestic reforms which was provided subject to conditionalities imposed by the western donor agencies on 'a once size fits all' paradigm. Although every government is primarily concerned with the promotion and protection of its interests and the welfare of their citizens; national planning has to be complemented by continental planning whereby Africans must be in a position to control their own destinies as any nation seeking development must contemplate introspection, toward their own institutions and citizens, and then externally to other nations.

Despite African statesmen such Kenyatta, Kaunda and Mandela having proclaimed the Pan Africanist ideology, this was transitory in terms of the reform initiatives as the reforms were seen as benefitting the bureaucratic elite. Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance appeal did not resonate with his fellow Africans.

In seizing power after a military coup, it was somewhat paradoxical that the military rulers implemented reforms initiatives by introducing Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) adopted from the developed western countries. Subsequently all programmes after the SAP, such as the New Public Administration (NPA) and the New Public Management (NPM) were models developed in the developed western countries.

The current administration of President Goodluck Jonathan re-affirmed its commitment to the reform process and in June 2010 collaborated with the United Kingdom (UK) based Department for International Development (DFID), to develop a new National Strategy For Public Service Reforms (NSPSR). The Federal Government's NSPSR reform agenda took into account lessons learnt from the public service reforms initiated and undertaken by President Obasanjo's return to publician rule in 1999 and other earlier Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAP).

The transition to a democratic, non-racial government for South Africa began in the early 1990, stimulating the direction of reforms to redress the political, socio-economic disparities created by apartheid. South Africa did not have the luxury of sequencing stages of the change process so as to tackle one element at a time.

In the instance of South Africa, even though there were no comparable models to guide transformation from apartheid, South Africa has had the opportunity of learning from transitions in other parts of Africa about what has worked. The fact that there were no guidelines for reform to emerge from apartheid was an exceptionally unique situation and the urgency imposed by the political-settlement process in the early 1990s added to the pressure of managing such a multifaceted change.

From the foregoing it is affirmed by both the literature review in Chapters two and three and the empirical data in Chapter four and the validation in Assumption One that the Public Service Reform in Nigeria and South Africa mimicked models in developed countries and Trade Unions in South Africa and Nigeria do not look at an Afro-centric context when dealing with policy formulation.

5.2.3 ASSUMPTION 3

Trade Unions influence Public Service Reform policy formulation in Nigeria and South Africa

Profound changes in the political and economic environment have had a tremendous effect on the position and influence of trade unions. Since the objectives of the reform agenda are common, there is room for cooperation between trade unions (labour) and government in the sense that the objectives represent shared values. Apart from numerical strength and the capacity to mobilize, trade unions have consolidated their political space and trade unions enjoy a direct measure and degree of political support.

Trade unions have direct representation policy formulation institutions such as the National Economic, Development and Labour Council (Nedlac), constitutional institution comprising the tripartite grouping of government, business and labour (trade union). Trade unions have further consolidated their political space by honing and perfecting their ability to lobby Parliament through their own office situated within Parliament. Due to their political 'intimacy' with the ruling party and their capacity to influence the formulation of policy in respect of public service reform, however, depends on their strength and support.

Trade unions have directly exercised their sphere of influence in policy formulation at macro level. Trade union capacity to deliver successful outcomes for labour means that the gains/benefits they have won have been incorporated into the statutes governing labour market.

Since it is the labour movement and not the trade unions that can transform into a political party, trade unions have seen fit using its pro-worker mandate to exercise influence on pro-worker/labour political parties such as the Labour and Communist parties; without being an organic part of the party and to campaign on local, provincial/state and national level. Trade unions are cautious to avoid being partisan in any prevailing circumstances but are able to influence the policies of a labour or pro-worker party without being an organic part of the party.

However, the pro labour Public Service Reform (PSR) Programme policy appears to be suffering from a problem of legitimacy in the eyes of the stakeholders. This has been empirically validated in Chapter Four as many stakeholders perceive it as essentially a government agenda that is domineering over other stakeholders. In chapter four, the

DPSA/BPSR was considered by the respondents in the analysis of the empirical data as the most important structure in public service reform policy with a response rate of 54%. Whilst this is reflective of the role of policy, it is essential to note that policy is developed through political interventions at Parliamentary level and in relation thereto the respondents had rated Parliament at only 22.3%.

Both Nigeria and South Africa have the largest and most disciplined labour federations on the African continent namely the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) and Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) respectively. Each federation has affiliate public service trade unions which have large membership in excess of 100 000 and concomitantly are extremely politicised. Trade unions had been the forefront of defending society against the worst human rights atrocities and have earned credibility and unfettered trust to be the voice of the both unionised and non-unionised citizens.

The current political crisis in Nigeria from a labour perspective is anchored on absence of parties driven by issues and ideological content, noting that they are mere machines for election purpose and advancing personal interest. Nigerian political parties must therefore undergo transformation to ensure that the leadership has shared ideological interests, evolve organisational strength and mobilise the populace in defence of democracy. The level of comfort between the Nigerian government (current and previous) and the trade union is highly strained and not conducive to harmonious labour relations whereby the NLC and its affiliates cannot directly influence the formulation of public service reform policy.

Unlike Nigeria, the public service trade unions, both ANC aligned (COSATU) and non-aligned trade unions such as the Independent Labour Caucus (ILC) have direct influence in the praxis of public service reform policy. In the South African public service, trade unions have since 1998 to 2010, concluded 112 collective agreements in the PSCBC with the State as the employer. This is a precedent setting accomplishment on the African continent. Further, the largest public service reform initiative, the Public Administration Management Bill (PAMB) or the Single Public Service (SPS) which had been introduced in 2007 had been directly halted by the public service trade unions since 2009. The trade unions were committed to participating actively in debate over the macroeconomic policy and the future of the South African economy.

In concluding, it is evident that the literature review and empirical evidence validate the conclusion that trade unions do influence public service reform policy formulation to a greater extent in South Africa than in Nigeria.

5.2.4 ASSUMPTION 4

Trade Unions have a direct impact on Public Service Reform in Nigeria and South Africa

The literature review in Chapters two and three is further supported by the empirical evidence as computed and analysed in Chapter four validates the fact that trade unions have had a direct impact on public service reform in both Nigeria and south Africa, albeit in varying degrees of effectiveness.

Trade unions had been at the forefront of defending democracy against an authoritarian and military rule in Nigeria and it was the neutrality of the public service, under the direction of the NLC and the AUPCTRE when the NLC was placed under government administration. The Nigerian trade unions, although regarded as a scourge by both the military and publician governments has been the vanguard ensuring a non partisan public service which prevented anarchy. It was the trade unions that the Nigerian governments reverted to when it needed to consider public service reforms. The extent of consultation between the government and the trade unions is debateable due to the fact that the Nigerian government is regarded as the architect of the reform initiatives. However to obtain buy-in for the reform process, the Nigerian government realised that it required to convince the trade unions which would be directly affected by retrenchments, rightsizing/downsizing, privatisation and any other initiative which implied job losses.

Since the reintroduction of the NPSNC and the JNPSNC regular meetings are held at least, twice a year as provided in the respective Constitutions of the Councils. These regular meetings have gone a long way to ensure industrial peace in the Service as the meetings were able to dialogue fruitfully on all areas of discord.

Further, Nigeria as a country has been constantly wracked by inter-tribal conflict and in the absence of a formal political opposition force; it is the public service trade unions which are seen as a viable opposition which has the moral aptitude to challenge the government which had the effect to further divide the public service by introducing certain discriminatory practices. The trade unions used their direct influence to bridge the inter-tribal chasm by appealing to its trade union members who members of those communities.

In order to deliver a transformed South Africa, the fledgling ANC government lacked the skills, knowledge and the masses to do so successfully.. The tripartite alliance comprising ANC/SACP/COSATU ensured the fraternal bond would be extended by the trade unions at local and shop floor levels.

A successfully transformed South Africa is characterised by the antithesis of all that was bad about the apartheid system – non racialism, non sexism and social relationships, lack of respect for human rights and inequality. South Africa's post-apartheid ANC government had focused on macro and micro-economic reforms and had accomplished transformation in the public service which was regarded as unthinkable; merging multiple government departments serving sectional interests into a unified entity to serve all South Africans.

South Africa has one of the largest and most disciplined labour and trade union movements on the continent of Africa. Almost two-thirds of public service is unionised and the 2007 to 2010 public service strikes have left an indelible mark on the psyche of the government that the public service trade unions are a force to reckon with. The impact that was felt reverberated through the country culminating in the long overdue Public Service Summit which amongst signing a 'peace accord' also concluded a framework agreement outlining the consultative budgetary process for future negotiations.

The number of collective agreements concluded in the PSCBC bears testimony to the direct impact that the trade unions have had and continue to have on the reform process. The transformation of post-1994 South Africa was dependent not only on a political settlement but contingent on the cooperation and participation of the public service trade unions which would be able to deliver on the electorate mandate.

The trade unions not only sought to address direct 'bread and butter' issues for its members but continue to look at reform in a broader context of public society.

While, in the past, the formulation and management of public service reform has been the sole prerogative of the state, there is now a shift to a new paradigm which encapsulates the involvement of public service trade unions and civil society in order to promote good governance and sustain democracy. This trend contributes to peace, stability and development of a national agenda in consensus-building in policy development.

In concluding, the literature review and empirical supports the assumption that trade unions have had a direct impact on public service reform in Nigeria and South Africa.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

This study fills the gaps in knowledge which support the qualitative and quantitative research and evaluated the measures whether the impact of trade union on public service reform in Nigeria and South Africa has achieved.

In order to understand the impact of these public service reforms it was necessary to provide a theoretical perspective and context of the reforms initiated. The assumptions of the public service as 'machinery of the state to implement the will of the government in the recognition that "business as usual" no longer applied to the current labour sensitive environment and that the public service as an institution needed to be fundamentally altered in order to maintain credibility.

The implementation of these reforms exhibits peculiar features and characteristics that reflect on the nature of the state. In analysing these reforms it is possible to differentiate between those countries that show a heavy external influence such as Nigeria and those that determine their own policies such as the case of South Africa.

The need to utilize human resources who are proactive in improving performance have all made it necessary to think differently about the role of the public service in relation to service, standards and public service accountability and ethics.

Reforms have largely been driven by an ideological response to the needs of its citizens' demanding improved public service and accountability. Trade Unions in the public service have concluded many collective agreements with the state as the employer; however, to date there has been no collective agreement on the impact of trade unions' effectiveness or whether these reforms were "really" successful or not. It is probable that the same reform, depending on its benefits for different stakeholders, could be classified as both successful and unsuccessful.

This empirical research which is extensively grounded in the literature review has concluded that as a continuum, almost all reforms are somewhere between the extremes. An informed observation has been made which clearly shows that most of the reform strategies have not been subjected to rigorous scrutiny or theoretical examination as to their suitability to the region.

The impact of the NPA, NPM and SAP programmes and accompanying public service reform measures have so far helped more to aggravate these problems. This was the case with

respect to retrenchment and the inevitable loss of some of the most able civil servants, the competitiveness of public service salaries and conditions of service, and the erosion of public confidence in the public service and government in general. Therefore, public services are confronted with the problem of declining capacity and legitimacy.

This is the case in Nigeria where due to the strained labour relations between the trade unions and the government, reform is state initiated with the trade unions being coerced into the process. The reform strategy has not followed the usual format of policy formulation which normally involves all critical stakeholders. The process of consulting and co-ordinating before such reform is pronounced has not been followed in the Nigerian public service and administration.

The outcomes of some of these reforms are being experienced much later after implementation which persuades one to question their validity.

The converse applies in South Africa. Few countries have had the privilege to see their dreams take shape in real life over as short a period as South Africa have witnessed over the last decade.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS - TRADE UNION AND PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM: WAY FORWARD (A SYNERGISTIC APPROACH)

5.4.1 RECOMMENDATION 1

Diagnostic Studies

Prior to the formulation of the public service reforms and the implementation of NPA, NPM and SAP, there was no consultation with the relevant stakeholders for whom the policy was designed, namely public servants and the citizens. Government does not draw upon the knowledge and experience of the stakeholders. Diagnostic studies which are participative in process are necessary if agreement is to be achieved. Such an approach would contribute to

the development of an action plan to which stakeholders such as the trade unions and the public service can show their commitment and support.

5.4.2 RECOMMENDATION 2

Capacity Building

The weakness and strength of public service reforms introduced and implemented are generally implemented hastily and without the need to involve critical stakeholders in neither the policy formulation nor in the evaluation of the reform implementation. In most instances governments have introduced reforms and policies on the 'advisory services' of its own bureaucrats who are situated in their own departments or in the office of the Head of State and such reforms are expected to objectively implemented by a public service whose organisational culture is bureaucratic and rigid. Such an institution cannot sustain any changes with which it is not familiar and which possibly threatens its very existence.

In developing public service reform interventions many governments did not take necessary measures to strengthen their core functions and the effectiveness of the public service as the machinery of the state. The strengthening of these processes speaks to the training of these public servants and improving their morale. Strengthening of core functions should take place across the entire public service. It is recommended that the relevant stakeholders implement Recommendation 1 above and utilise the knowledge and expertise of highly trained and skilled academics at institutions such as universities have the resources to objectively provide policy formulation and developmental capacity by way of policy studies.

5.4.3 RECOMMENDATION 3

Information and Technology Management

The problem lies with governments' inability to adapt to the changing realities and deny paradigm shifts which have taken place and which has now gained tremendous momentum in the 21st century. Governments are not yet able to make the paradigm shift required of them and their apparent inability to adapt successfully to the requirements of Information Age citizens is mainly due to out-dated archaic governance structures and methods.

Government needs to initiate a review of IT in the public service and identify opportunities for better management and governance; improved effectiveness and the opportunities for reducing cost while enabling good public administration and accelerated service delivery to citizens and stakeholders.

5.5 POSSIBLE AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.5.1 NIGERIA

National Strategy for Public Service Reforms (NSPSR)

The current administration of President Goodluck Jonathan re-affirmed its commitment to the reform process and in June 2010 collaborated with the United Kingdom (UK) based Department for International Development (DFID), to develop a new National Strategy For Public Service Reforms (NSPSR). The Federal Government's NSPSR reform agenda took into account lessons learnt from the public service reforms initiated and undertaken by President Obasanjo's return to public rule in 1999 and other earlier Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAP).

In the 21st century, one of the key development challenges facing Nigeria is to adapt to a changing regional and global economy and due to its hegemonic status in West Africa, its rapid geo-political reconfiguration. The Nigerian government is attempting to rely on its colonial pathology by introducing expatriates who may not be familiar with peculiarities of the development process of a particular country. Their contribution is purely technical and not institutional resulting in a conflict the values of Nigerian civil society.

Against this background, it will be interesting to contrast the impact of a 21st century British influenced reform model against the emergence of the African Renaissance philosophy.

5.5.2 SOUTH AFRICA

Position Paper on the Architecture of the Public Service

The Minister of Public Service and Administration (MPSA) has committed the Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA) and the Public Administration Learning and Management Academy (PALAMA) to the development of a position paper on the architecture of the Public Service. In keeping with the Pan Africanist theme, African professionals with

skills and experience in the public services throughout the continent of Africa have been invited to join forces in this development to consider an alternative public service paradigm as opposed to the previous and current situations whereby all African nations are consumed by western reform paradigms.

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ANNEXURE 1 - DPSA 2009/2010

Programmes	Voted For 2009/10	Roll-overs and adjustments	Virement	Total voted	Actual expenditure	Variance
	R'000	R'000	R'000	R'000	R'000	R'000
1. Administration	108,793	6,512	9,347	124,652	124,585	67
2. Human Resource Management and Development in Government	68,746	1,167	2,795	67,118	63,460	3,658
3. Management of Compensation in Government	51,230	66,124	2,639	114,715	110,435	4,280
4. Information and Technology Management in Government	41,531	1,384	2,885	37,262	36,920	342
5. Service Delivery Improvement throughout Government	32,725	1,650	-244	34,131	34,085	46
6. Governance for Public Service and Administration	41,023	-2,531	- 3,004	35,488	32,316	3,172
7. Centre for Public Service Innovation	11,753	2,494	2,220	16,467	16,079	388
Total	355,801	74,032	0	429,833	417,880	11,953

ANNEXURE 2 –FACTORS AFFECTING NPM IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NIGERIA (ASSUMPTION 1)

	NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT (NPM)	SOUTH AFRICA	NIGERIA
1	The Rise of New Public Management	✓	✓
2	Reform Review Commissions	✓	✓
3	New Public Management: Framework	✓	✓
4	Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)/GEAR	✓	
5	Strengthening the Core centre of government: Cabinet Clusters	✓	✓
6	Decentralisation	✓	✓
7	Financial Public Service Reforms	✓	✓
8	Single Public Service	✓	
9	DPSA/BPSR	✓	✓
10	White Papers	✓	✓
11	Transformation of the Public Service	✓	✓
12	Batho Pele/Servicom	✓	✓
13	Shattering The Glass Ceiling - Piercing The Corporate Veil	✓	✓
14	Implementation of the PSCBC/NPS	✓	✓
15	Discriminatory Practices in Past Pension Provisioning	✓	✓
16	Downsizing/Rightsizing	✓	✓
17	Privatisation/Corporatisation	✓	✓
18	Senior Management Service (SMS)	✓	✓
19	Implementation of Remuneration Policy Framework for the Public Service	✓	✓
20	Review of Pension and Medical Provisioning in the Public Service	✓	✓
21	Discriminatory Practices in Past Pension Provisioning	✓	✓
22	Monitor and Evaluate the Wage Bill Trends in the Public Service	✓	✓
23	Public Service Monitoring and Evaluation	✓	✓
24	Centre for Public Service Innovation (CPSI)	✓	✓
25	Service Delivery	✓	✓
26	Contract Employment System	✓	✓
27	Open Employment System	✓	✓
28	Performance Measurement	✓	✓
29	Public Sector Integrity Management Framework	✓	✓
30	Public Sector Charter	✓	✓
31	Occupation Specification Dispensation (OSD)	✓	
32	Public Administration Leadership and Management Academy (PALAMA)	✓	✓

ANNEXURE 3 - NATIONAL COUNCIL ON ESTABLISHMENTS (NCE)

1. Approval of a total of 70 (Seventy) new Schemes of Service;
2. Approval for the inclusion of ANAN Certificate in the scheme of service as one of the entry qualifications into the Accountant Cadre;
3. Approval for the granting of Public Servants status with effect from 1st April 1974, to teachers who taught in voluntary Agency schools;
4. Approval that the previous service of Medical and Para-medical Staff of all voluntary Agency Hospitals taken over by the Government should be regarded as pensionable service.
5. Approval that holders of the Associate Certificate of the Chartered Institute of Taxation of Nigeria should be placed on entry point of GL.10 in the Public Service of the Federation;
6. Approval that all circulars which have service wide implication, especially those dealing with conditions of services emanating from Federal Ministries and Agencies should be cleared with the Office of Head of Service of the Federation before issuance, in order to maintain uniformity;
7. Approval that officers who succeed in passing the qualifying examination of their regulatory/professional bodies should be allowed to convert to the professional cadre and get to the peak of their career;
8. Approval that repatriation allowance should be raised to 20% of terminal annual basic salary of the retiree. The allowances have been graduated as enhanced rate per kilometre of travel with effect from 1st January 2002 and appropriate circular issued to that effect;
9. Approval that all States should comply with the provisions of Decree I of 1999 and the IAP Award on jurisdictional scope of trade unions in the service in order to maintain industrial peace and stability;
10. Approval that Clerical Officers should not progress beyond GL.07 until they have acquired additional qualifications prescribed in the scheme of service for conversion to higher grades;

11. Approval that all governments should make adequate budgetary provisions for staff training which should be released and as when due.
12. Approval for enhanced responsibility allowances for Secretaries and Typists attached to Permanent Secretaries and Directors in order to motivate them for higher output;
13. Approval that conversion of officers from other cadres to the Administrative Cadre on possession of requisite qualifications should not be allowed beyond GL. 10;
14. Approval for career progression of Teachers teaching in Primary Schools;
15. Approval that COREN should limit its membership registration to professional engineers only.
16. Approval that responsibility for payment of salaries/retirement benefits of judicial officers employed by state government should revert to States;
17. Approval that payment of Primary School Teachers terminal benefits should be the responsibility of Local Government Pension Board and that Pension fund should be made a first charge on the consolidated revenue fund;
18. Approval that only candidates who possess the required qualification as stated in the scheme of service would be eligible for appointment/promotion to the grade of Assistant Executive Officer (GD);
19. Approval that Administrative Officers should be appointed on GL. 08 and be advanced automatically to GL. 09 on passing the compulsory public service examination;
20. Approval that the extant scheme of service for Public/Mechanical Engineers should also be applicable to Chemical Engineers;
21. Approval that States should apply the provisions of Circular No. B. 63165/Volume IV/1467 of 19th September 1997 to condone or merge the break-in-service which occurred within the respective Public Service from 1st April 1976;
22. Approval of Ten Thousand Naira (N10,000.00) per annum as Hazard Allowance for fire officers/firemen in line with the prevailing rates in the existing circular in order to enhance their performance;
23. Approval that cheques in respect of deceased pensioners who died two months before the harmonization exercise should be returned to the Headquarters in Abuja for recalculation and subsequent payment to the beneficiaries of the deceased pensioner, in order to prevent fraud/overpayment;

24. Approval that agreement on salary increases signed with workers by the Federal Government should always be taken to the Federal Executive Council and the National Council of States for ratification in order to engender smooth implementation;
25. Approval that NCE holders should not be employed in any capacity other than teaching;
26. Approval that all Circulars on Confirmation/Promotion Test for Clerical Officers Grade II and Technical Assistants Grade I on Salary Grade Level 04 should be harmonized.

ANNEXURE 4- RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

All participants are kindly requested to fill in this questionnaire. The results will be used to evaluate the role of Trade Unions and Public Sector Reform in two African countries viz. South Africa and Nigeria. This questionnaire is for academic research purposes. You are under absolutely no coercion whatsoever to complete the questionnaire if you are of the opinion that your personal integrity is undermined and/or this questionnaire does not meet the requisite ethical standards. However, in terms of your vested interest in the public sector, your co-operation in the completion of this questionnaire will be greatly appreciated. There are 34 questions which require your response. Provision has been made for 2 additional blank questions/comments of your choice which may not have been covered. Please provide your input by answering the questions as objectively as possible. This should take you approximately 15-20 minutes.

Section A

Please complete the following by appropriately marking with an X

1. In which country do you reside? (if other please state country in the block)

South Africa	Nigeria	Other
--------------	---------	-------

2. Please state your gender

Male	Female
------	--------

3. How old are you?

0-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50+
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4. What ethnic group do you belong to? (*this is just for statistical purposes*)

Zulu	Xhosa	Venda	Sotho	Ndebele	Tsonga	Pedi	Batswana	Swazi
Afrikaans	Chamba	Yoruba	Gwari	Edo	Ijaw	Nupe	Efik/Ibibio	Kanuri
Tiv	Hausa/Fulani	Ibo	Other					

5. Highest level of academic qualification?

High School	College/ Diploma	Degree	Postgraduate/Honours/Masters	Doctorate/PhD
-------------	---------------------	--------	------------------------------	---------------

6. In which institution/organisation do you serve?

Parliament	Government	Trade Union	Civil Society	Academic	Other
------------	------------	-------------	---------------	----------	-------

7. If Parliament, state which level.

National Assembly	National Portfolio Committee	Provincial Assembly	Provincial Portfolio Committee	Advisor	Other
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8. If not Parliament, at which level do you perform your function?

National/Federal	Provincial/State	Local	Institutional	Other
------------------	------------------	-------	---------------	-------

9. At what level do you serve?

Management	Administration	Negotiator	Organiser	Other
------------	----------------	------------	-----------	-------

10. Are you involved in policy formulation or collective bargaining/negotiations?

Policy formulation	Collective bargaining/negotiations
--------------------	------------------------------------

11. At what level are you involved?

National/Federal	Provincial/State	Local	Institutional	Other
------------------	------------------	-------	---------------	-------

12. Are you permitted to join a Trade Union?

Yes	No
-----	----

13. Are you a member of a trade union?

Yes	No
-----	----

Section B

Please complete the following by appropriately marking with an X

14. After gaining a democratic dispensation, what was most important to achieve in the public service?

Constitutional Alignment	Legislative Alignment	Policy Alignment	Institutional Alignment	Employment Equity
-----------------------------	--------------------------	------------------	----------------------------	-------------------

15. Which structure do you consider the most important in public sector reform?

Parliament	Nedlac	Dept-Public Service & Admin(DPSA)	PSCBC/BPSR	Commissions
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Section C

Please complete the following by appropriately marking with an X

16. Trade Unions are well organised in the public sector.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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17. Do you consider Trade Unions as an important stakeholder in Public Sector Reform

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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18. Trade Unions have credibility as part of the coalition which delivered national democracy

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

19. Trade Unions are considered “drivers of change” in the public sector.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

20. Trade Unions lack dynamism in dealing with public sector reform

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

21. Are Trade Unions more influential in driving public sector reform than government

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

22. Trade Unions are only influential due to their alliance with the ruling party

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

23. Trade Unions aligned to the ruling party wield more influence than non aligned trade unions in public sector reform

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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24. There are other more influential stakeholders in public sector reform than Trade Unions

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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25. Conventional Trade Unionism is regarded as “*pretty much dead*”

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

Section D

Please complete the following by appropriately marking with an X

26. The quality of collective agreements reflect significant public sector reform

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

27. The quantity of collective agreements reflect significant public sector reform

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

28. Trade Unions have adequately negotiated and resolved all discriminatory practices of the past

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

29. Trade unions succeeded in negotiating significant public sector reform but failed their members in not achieving higher salary increases.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

30. Trade unions succeeded in negotiating significant public sector reform but failed their members in not achieving better conditions of employment

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

31. Trade unions have adequately addressed all gender issues, permitting women to break the “glass ceiling”

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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32. Trade Unions have adequately addressed pension related anomalies

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

33. Trade unions have negotiated proper “*career-pathing*” opportunities for all categories of staff

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------	----------------

34. Trade Unions have failed to realise their members’ expectations in the new dispensation.

35.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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SECTION E – Concluding remarks

(Please feel free to add any related question or comment in the space provided; which you feel has not been covered)

36.

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37.

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