Professionalism and Unionism in Nigeria: A discourse on the predictors of ASUU/Government Disputes

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Abstract: In comparison to other civil servants in the country, especially political office holders, as well as in relation to other academics in other parts of the world (both developed and underdeveloped), Nigerian academics are relatively underpaid and marginalized (Sylvester 2012). The intervention of the military into Nigerian politics shortly after independence in the 1960s kick-started a gradual shift in the social position of Nigerian academics whose pay packages and social status were initially at levels with other public sector workers. This meant that they were part of the country's elite. Moreover, the economic problems caused by the SAP in the late 1980s (i.e. increased inflation, high debt profile and so on) led to a major devaluation in the purchasing power of workers' salaries. Since then, ASUU had made frantic efforts to improve the economic welfare of its members, but these have yielded only marginal results. However, beyond the problem of poor wages, ASUU members are also struggling for an increase in the budgetary allocation to the educational sector more generally in order to improve facilities and create a comfortable environment for teaching and learning. Budget allocation has, however, been affected by rising student enrolment and inflationary pressures which increase the funding requirements of universities. When compared to other African countries such as South Africa, Egypt, Botswana and Kenya, Nigeria invests less in higher education and this, according to the union, reveals the seeming lack of value the Nigerian ruling class has placed on higher education. The paper discuses those factors that exacerbate conflict between Nigerian academic staff union of universities and the federal government; It recommends that unless those factors are sufficiently addressed, the intractable dispute will continue to manifest which consequently disrupts the academic system.

Keywords: Professionalism, Unionism, ASUU, Government, Disputes Nigeria.

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I. Introduction

The emergence of unionism and the use of the strike weapon by professional groups have been viewed as indications of the erosion of professional orientation. Some studies point to the negative association between professionalism and unionization among academics (Harrison 1994). Studies by Straus (1980), Ladd (1992) using time series data have shown that professionalism is incompatible with militant unionism. Lipset (1998) has for example offered the following reason as to why the two are incompatible. According to him, strikes threaten the commitment and realization of the *academic* ideals of professionalism in such areas as the service ideal, the moral basis of academics, professional claims etc. Studies by Crowin (1999) and Peterson (2000) disagree with the views of Straus (1980) and Ladd (1992); they believe that there is positive association between professionalism and militant unionism. For instance, they argued that professionally oriented teachers engage more frequently in militant action than their less oriented counterpart.

Regardless of the merits and demerits of this debate, many academic unions now exist. They also embark on strikes occasionally to back up their demands. According to Rudy (2000) academics go on strike for certain reasons. First, there is an increasing demand for economic returns. It is not, he argues, that academics are so exploited, but the fact that other professions are improving their economic positions faster than that of academics. Secondly, there is the growing claim of legitimacy of self assertion for just claims that have been denied. Rudy also identifies three types of strikes by the academics, i.e. The economic strike which concerns on the issue of wages and working conditions, Academic interest strike which tries to advance the ideals of

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professionalism such as academic freedom, shared government and university autonomy and the Political interest strike which aims of protesting against a political decision or a policy.

Scholars such as Otoba (1987), Olorodu (2003) argued that the unionization of academics is an attempt to secure more effective guarantee status and privileges. Harrison and Tabory (1980) in their study of Israel faculty unions and the strike weapons found out that environmental pressures as well as ideological factors are important determinants of union behavior towards strikes. The union uses the strike weapon to pursue their economic interest in a labour relations environment that is characterized by intense competition by various unions for their share of national budget.

According to Mathew (1996), the pre-eminent role assigned to external supervisory agencies and University vice chancellors is an important factor accounting for militancy among academics. Another factor is the removal of decision making powers from Universities in critical matters of budget, programs approval (among others) to a more distant agency. Hence frustration and unease among academics stimulated a search for ways to counteract this distance decision-making. He however contends that structural changes were not sufficient to explain the sudden explosion of demands by the academics. The feelings desires and frustrations of individual academics are important predicators. Hence, an enlarged expectation and relative deprivation set the stage for academic militancy.

II. The Political Economy Of Asuu/Government Conflict

Most scholars from the discussions above have identified three dominant factors as the main triggers and exarcebaters to the lingering crisis between academic staff union of universities and the federal government. These factors are:

- I. University autonomy and academic freedom
- II. Funding
- III. Working Conditions.

According to Obasi (1991) and ASUU (2009), these factors remained the salient issues that normally feature in any dispute between ASUU and the federal government.

2.1 The dispute for University Autonomy and Academic Freedom

The central issue in relation to the dispute under consideration here is the question of university autonomy and academic freedom, particularly as it affects the internal governance of the university and its academic staff in the discharge of their functions. The research is, therefore, concerned with university autonomy in all its respects, usually encapsulated in the term 'institutional autonomy. The International Association of Universities (IAU) policy statement defines institutional autonomy thus:

The principle of institutional autonomy can be defined as the necessary degree of independence from external interference that the University requires in respect of its internal organization and governance, the internal distribution of financial resources and the generation of income from non-public sources, the recruitment of its staff, the setting of the conditions of study and, finally, the freedom to conduct teaching and research (IAU: 1998).

There have been intensive debates between ASUU and the Federal Government (particularly various military governments) on the question of autonomy and academic freedom since 1978. In general ASUU argues that the Governments undue interference in matters concerning the day to day administration of the institutions inhibits progress and distorts effective decision making (Onyeonoru, 2008:2). Such interventions include attempts to control the appointment and removal of academic staff (including Vice Chancellors), the imposition of sole administrators during the military era, the admission of students, the prescription of teaching curriculum and research content, the restriction of certain publications and the allocation of recurrent income (Ekundayo and Adedokun, 2009:62). ASUU therefore contends that political ideologies and interests should not be allowed to interfere with the smooth running of the University system.

The position of the law relating to the issue of University autonomy in Nigeria and the opinion of some ASUU officials and rank and file members on the subject are also considered. In the respect of the last point, it is worth stating that the statutes establishing Nigerian universities confer on them three fundamental forms of institutional autonomy as implied from the IAU policy statement above. These are namely: (1) academic autonomy/freedom, (2) administrative autonomy and (3) financial autonomy. These three aspects of autonomy are the basis upon which these disputes have occurred and consideration of these will therefore form the basis of our further discussions.

i. Academic Freedom

Academic freedom is the institutional autonomy of Universities pertaining to academic matters. Institutional autonomy and academic freedom are complementary. While institutional autonomy relates to the self governance of universities as a whole, academic freedom is 'concerned with individual freedom of academic staff to impart knowledge unhindered and the freedom for students to choose what they will study' (Ajayi and Bolupe Awe, 2008:104). Academic autonomy relates to freedom for universities to take decisions in all academic matters, such as the control of teaching, the admission of students and all issues regarding curriculum content and pedagogy. Smith (1995:680) gives a clear definition when he described academic freedom as a fourfold right of a university: 'to determine for itself on academic grounds who may teach, what may be taught, how it shall be taught, and who may be admitted to study'. In line with this definition, Sylvester (2012:116) concludes that;

When we talk about academic freedom, we are saying that the government should allow us to admit students freely, they should not tell us what to teach or restrict us from being innovative in coming up with a sound curriculum for our students. What the government tries to do is to limit the search for knowledge to only those aspects that are in support of their perspective or that are in line with their interests. This does not work for the development of the system. We should have freedom to teach research and publish the results of our research whether or not it is appealing to anyone.

ASUU's main concern here is that the University should enjoy traditional academic rights such as the right to select students, teach freely and determine the content of its syllabus. According to Akpomi (2008:56), in order for the universities to perform their tasks effectively, they must have the freedom to teach and to ' advance the frontiers of knowledge' through research and publications. Usually, the rights to academic freedom or any other form of freedom are contained in a nation's constitution. The constitution provides for the position of the law on such matters. It can be stated that, although academic freedom is defined in the statutes establishing Nigerian universities, there is no specific constitutional provision on academic freedom in Nigeria (Sylvester, 2012). This is unlike South Africa and Ghana where the constitution expressly grants the right to academic freedom. In the Nigerian case, the concept of academic freedom can only be inferred from the provision of section 39(1) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, (1999) which provides for the freedom of expression and the press. This section specifically states: ' everyone shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference'. So, while in the case of South Africa and Ghana, the constitution is clear on academic freedom, for Nigeria, the concept of academic freedom is not expressly stated, though it can be implied. So in the Nigerian case, academic freedom is rather enshrined under the broader term of intellectual freedom. Bringing this to the context of the ASUU disputes, it appears that the freedom of expression and opinions which the constitution talks about has been denied Nigerian academics, at least from the union's perspective. The union accuses the government of undue interference in academic decision making and infringement on the rights of lecturers in clear violation of the provisions of the constitution.

2.2 The Dispute for Funding of Nigerian Universities

Beyond these questions, another economic aspect of the dispute relates to the provision of funding for higher education facilities more generally. This is one of the core considerations of the union which fuels the organization's wider involvement in national and state politics and relates to wider questions of wealth distribution and the placement of Nigeria within a global context. Matters of interest here relate to that of budget allocation to the education sector as well as relatively basic issues of maintenance, teaching and research facilities, transport and accommodation. These can be usefully reviewed and scrutinized comparatively.

The budget allocation to education has also been affected by the rising levels of student enrolment which increases the pressure on universities. The significance of funding according to ASUU is to satisfy the growing student population in Nigerian universities. They opined that the reason why they are on strike goes beyond salary demands. Hence, they want the government to finance education and its facilities. They opined that the 40% increment on their salary will never solve the problem of electricity and teaching facilities to the classroom. The university is expanding everyday both numerically and curriculum-wise, yet funding has not increased to meet up with this growth (ASUU 2012). At the same time, there is has been no commensurate increase in the level of funding. The increase in enrolment levels has placed substantial pressures on available infrastructure and facilities across various campuses, further depleting scarce amenities according to the union members.

Other factors that have caused the problem of underfunding include misplacement of priorities by the ruling class, corruption and misappropriation by political office holders. We can thus say that it is not easy to separate out economic and political aspects in this dispute. This is because the decline in academic wages has seen academics lose their social position in such a way that they have become increasingly positioned as part of a wider working class in Nigeria. The politicization of the dispute can also be explained in that the question of

economic remuneration for academics has been shaped by other political factors (such as the intervention of the military, the effects of structural adjustment, etc). In another sense, the wider question of funding for higher education sector in the country is seen as being an issue not just about jobs and security, but also about national development.

2.3 The Dispute in Relation to Poor Conditions of Service

A major issue of contention between the academic staff union of universities (ASUU) and the federal government of Nigeria (FGN) in common with much trade union activity all over the world is the issue of levels of salary and of the wider conditions of service for members. Academic staff members are poorly motivated due to poor salaries and allowances, and this has exacerbated the brain drain syndrome in Nigeria (Sylvester, 2012). According to Herzberg's theory of motivational hygiene, poor workers' pay and conditions of service lead to dissatisfaction in the workplace. Herzberg noted that an employee may decide to quit his job if he or she sufficiently disliked the working conditions. He or she will only be motivated to work harder when working conditions are reasonably adequate (Pemede 2007:360).

In Nigeria, not only are workers hardly able to satisfy other needs such as feeding, clothing, and shelter, but work especially in government establishments – is often insecure, and the payment of salaries is irregular. The result is profound unease for those employed. Under these circumstances, workers have low morale and tend to be significantly demotivated. The average Nigerian worker has been described by Jonnie (1997) and cited by Sylvester (2012) as follow;

The Nigerian worker is referred to as a stranded person who can neither be found at his workplace nor his home. It therefore follows that such a person or persons cannot afford to perform at efficiency level both at work and at home. The result of this kind of action leads to declining productivity not just at individual level but at corporate as well as at the level of the nation state (Johnnie 1997, cited in Johnnie, 2008: 424, Sylvester 2012).

Concerns regarding adequate salaries for university teachers are thus central to the way in which they conduct themselves in the discharge of their core functions. Although, in nominal terms, the total salaries received by university workers have increased over the years, in real terms, salaries have been significantly lowered in value by inflation. Consequently, the average university worker or employee has become economically much poorer in comparison to his or her earnings in previous years. ASUU (2012) also opines that:

It is a regrettable development that university lecturers, who are some of the brightest people in the country, are rewarded with wages, that are not attractive and are subject to poor conditions of service. Nigerian lecturers are suffering from hunger, starvation, and poverty. The other day, we learnt that three lecturers died at the University of Calabar in a period of three months due to illness. Many of us are in hardship. Some staff can hardly afford three square meals a day, let alone take care of their medical bills whenever they are knocked down by illness. We are calling on the government to address the issue of wages and our conditions of service.

What emerges from this is a growing sense of economic desperation among union members. According to them, many university lecturers have been forced to engage in other economic (non-academic related) activities simply in order to maintain themselves. For example, many lecturers serve as consultants to government agencies and other corporate organizations; some operate private businesses/shops both within and outside the university such as printing and photocopying centres, recharge cards cyber cafes, hair dressing salons, sewing outfits, restaurants and 'beer parlors'. According to a study conducted by Ushie, Ogaboh, Agba and Best (2010:154) there is evidence of academics running taxis after work, while some establish private schools, tutorial classes and learning centers for undergraduate students". Moreover, the situation makes various kinds of academic corruption more likely. Lecturers may take money from students for performing normal support functions such as project supervision, proof reading and editing, performing statistical tests, etc. In addition, many lecturers sell handouts and textbooks at exorbitant prices, while awarding marks to those who patronize them the most. Ushie's line of argument is corroborated by evidence from an ASUU official whose comments goes thus:

If our pay package is very attractive, you cannot see lecturers engaging in other private businesses to support their income, such as running consultancy services, photocopying and printing services inside or outside the campus.

A key point emerges here: that is the fact that Nigerian academics who, at the time of independence were very effectively a part of the nation's professional middle class, find themselves increasingly in a position equivalent to that of the working class, subjected to the need for alternative livelihood strategies, working around the clock (and sometimes engaging in illicit activities) in order to meet their basic needs.

The wage disparity observed between the University sub sector and other sectors of the economy is thus a major source of discouragement and frustration among the academic staff. Similarly, an open letter

written by ASUU to the President of Nigeria (available on ASUU website), provided an interesting comparison between the annual salaries of senior public officers and those of university Professors as shown below:

Table: 1 Annual Salaries of Nigerian Academics versus Other Civil Servants as at 2009

Public Officer	Annual Salary	Equivalent in pounds Starling
	(In Naira)	Using historical exchange rate as at
		1 st January 2010
Senator	36,677,840	179,599.00
Federal House Member	35,932,346.30	175,996.00
Federal High Court Judge	26,875,840	131,638.00
Perm, Sect/ Ex-Sect/ CEO	22,051,154.30	108,006
of parastatal/ Vice chancellor		
Local Government councilor	12,746,875	62,434.10
University Professor	3,859,078.60	18,901.70

Source: Adapted from ASUU's website: www.asuunigeria.org

Moreover, even the lowest step in the cadre of elected political office holders, the local government councilor, earns about N1.29 million a month, more than a Professor's N321, 000.

By these wages disparities, the government has made it clear the value of higher education in Nigeria. Some people have accused the ASUU of using the salaries of political office holders as a benchmark for ASUU's negotiations. This is not the case; we are only saying that if we are important to the system, we also deserve a more decent pay package. we know it is very easy to say that politicians who have joggled their way into elected offices have to recoup their investments, but this is how far we have come in this country; the political elite class have legalised corruption and entrenched it into our wages structure, to the extent that the government does not even feel it is important to justify these discrepancies. ASUU 2012

When analyzing these figures, the then President of ASUU, Professor Ukachukwu Anwuzie argued in a press conference given on the 23rd of October, 2009.

What the government has offered us is untenable, at a time when each Local Government councilor earns over four times, each member of the House of Representatives over seven times, and each senator over nine times the salary of a University Professor. To say that academics who want to earn a legislators pay should become legislators is a light headed way of missing the point. The point is that Nigerian Government does not value academic labour even though it claims it wants to compete with the best in the world in the production of knowledge in the twenty first century.

According to the Union's position, then, Nigerian university teachers deserve decent pay, especially because they are the custodians of 'national intellect. Remuneration of academics is thus linked by Union members to a wider social function, the ability of university teachers to effectively carry out teaching, research and community development. This view was reflected in the responses of the Union:

It is not motivating to see that a country where those saddled with less tedious responsibilities are excessively rewarded while university lecturers are left to hold the short end of the stick – (ASUU 2013).

Even within the University sub-sector (i.e. moving from State universities controlled by States or regional governments to federal universities), low wage packages have led to what can be called an 'internal brain drain' where many lecturers are leaving their jobs in regional, state universities in order to apply to federal universities, or to private or non-state sector institutions of higher learning who appear to be able to offer more competitive and regularly paid wages.

A. Retirement Period for University Academic Staff

One consequence of the above argument is that the dispute has involved some demands which appear, from the point of view of 'classical' wage disputes (at least in the Western context), surprising. For example, according to the union members, an issue in the dispute, which remained unresolved until 2009, was the pegging of retirement age for university professors at 65 years. ASUU members have been fighting for an increase to 70 years. The demand by ASUU for the increment in retirement age appears unexpected when examined from the perspective of workers in some developed economies who agitate for earlier retirement ages. One can argue that the economic explanation for this difference lies partially in the fact that in most African economies like Nigeria where policies such as unemployment or retirement benefits are limited, workers are compelled to seek to work longer in order to be able to maintain themselves in old age. Another argument often posed by the union members to justify the increase in retirement age to 70 is based on the premise that (as a result of the loss of academic staff to other contexts) there is often a huge gap between the younger lecturers in Nigerian universities and the older (more experienced) ones, especially professorial staff. The argument is thus that professors should be allowed to stay for additional 5 years, in order to prepare the young lecturers for more senior positions, before they leave the university system. This request was granted in 2009 when the Yar'Adua administrations negotiation team agreed to ASUU's demands.

Based on the above, it was evident that ASUU members were pushing for an increase in the retirement age for university professors because it afforded an opportunity for more experienced intellectuals to train the less experienced lecturers in the context where large numbers of professors were retiring or migrating to other countries. In that respect, retirement ages became an issue in the crisis of higher education in the country not because the union aimed at protecting lower retirement ages (as might be conventionally expected), but because the dispute occurs in the context of the profoundly politicized crisis of Higher Education in the country.

B. Salary Differentials between Federal, State and Private University Staffers:

For the same reason, according to the union members, another controversial issue which the members have been concerned about is the uniformity of the pay scale across the national university system so that agreements reached at the Federal level become binding on the state and private universities. The issue arises, in part, because some state governors have threatened not to execute any salary packages approved by the federal government for state owned universities, except if funding was forthcoming from the federal government to support such measures. ASUU members were of the view that an equalized pay structure would allow for the free movement of academic labour within the national university system (Awuzie, 2009).

ASUU argues that there should be a national agreement which would require the Federal Government, the State Governments and Private universities to adhere to the same salary structure and conditions of service for all academic staff, irrespective of where they teach based on the fact that they are all regulated by the same federal government agencies: the National University Commission (NUC) and Joint Admission Matriculation Board (JAMB). Similarly, the former President of ASUU, Professor Ukachukwu Anwuzie in his October 2009 press conference, said:

ASUU has, since 1992, insisted that we should never have a multiplicity of academic standards in Nigeria. We cannot divide Nigerian Universities into low and higher standard institutions in the same structure. There should be just one system with minimum standard that will keep the system internationally competitive. This is ASUU's position. This is why we have insisted that what our Union has negotiated is a minimum benchmark for the system. State Governments that cannot fund their Universities to meet the benchmark set up in the Agreement will find that they cannot survive in the system. The minimum conditions are not only about emoluments. They are standards which must be met in the funding of facilities for teaching and research, funding of post-graduate studies, the upgrading of programmes, remedy of deficiencies in them, and for collaborating with industries in the areas of research and development of technology and staff development.

III. Conclusions

Nigerian academics have seen their social position decline dramatically, so that in effect, many now exist on the edge of a working class position. The social protests or conflict actions are more likely to occur not only when people are in dire poverty but when there is some improvement in their living conditions and their expectations start to rise. But the opposite can be argued in the case of ASUU. Indeed, it could be argued, that Nigerian academics have experienced something tantamount to a growing exploitation (Sylvester 2012). In this respect, the growing radicalism of the union may be understood as a consequence of the degree to which Nigerian academics in the state sector have been forced out of a middle-class position and into a situation where they are able to sympathize with the sufferings of a much wider working population in the country. What is clear from this is that the union is not only concerned about pecuniary benefits but are also seeking to defend the integrity of the state funded education sector against the threat posed by a growing private sector in the country which can be seen as one consequence of the effort towards deregulation, consolidation and limited state expenditure by the Military (SAP) and the Civilian (IPPIS) regimes. This provides, in part, an explanation as to why these disputes seemed to have become increasingly politicized, involving not just questions of economics but also questions about the general management of the economy and the distribution of the nation's resources.

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