POLITICS OF LABOUR UNION AGITATIONS IN GHANA’S FOURTH REPUBLIC: A CASE STUDY OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GRADUATE TEACHERS’ (NAGRAT- GHANA)

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JULY, 2015
DECLARATION

I, Juliana Okyere do hereby declare that this Master of Philosophy thesis submitted to the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana is the result of my own independent investigation and that no part has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere. References made to other peoples’ work have been duly acknowledged through citations.

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ABSTRACT

Various governments of Ghana both past and present have to deal with one labour unrest or the other most times. The problem is even worst at the education sector, where such unrest affects teaching and learning in schools, colleges and even universities, leading to time lost on academic calendar which can never be regained. To verify these concerns, views were sampled from union members and leadership of NAGRAT through a structured questionnaire, the internet, the press and related studies that had been conducted so far. Among the important findings were that union members trust that their leaders were working for their betterment, that unrest occur when it does but not because any particular party is in power or not. The study recommends that government or employers must collaborate with union leaders to address the numerous challenges such as disparities in wages and salaries, poor working conditions, inadequate logistics to solve the problem rather than using the propagandists approach.

The significance of this research includes adding to existing literature on labour agitation. Its recommendations can inform policy makers on ways to help solve some of these agitations within the educational sector. Academically, further research can be conducted based on this work. Labour agitations such as demonstrations, strikes and lockouts have consequential effects on students in particular and the nation at large which can never be regain.

The research recommends that governments must stop the blame game of accusing opposition parties of instigating unions to agitate but rather dialogue with unions dispassionately to solve labour related problems.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the memory of the late Mr. John Armah Akrong, former Headmaster of Odomaseman Senior High School, B/A. May you rest in peace, my mentor, confidant, inspirer and father.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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To my loving parents, Mr. and Mrs. Otchere, I say may God bless you all for your prayers, encouragement and sacrifices you have made in my life until now. Other thanks go to my siblings Juliet (twin), Ellen and Kate Okyere. To all my children: Yaa Serwaa, Akosu a Kyeremaa, PapaYaw, Yaa Afriyie, Kobby, Nikee and Nhyira. I love you all.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION........................................................................................................................................ i  
ABSTRACT.......................................................................................................................................... ii  
DEDICATION....................................................................................................................................... iii  
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..................................................................................................................... iv  
TABLE OF CONTENTS ...................................................................................................................... v  
LIST OF FIGURES ........................................................................................................................... viii  
LIST OF TABLES ............................................................................................................................... ix  
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .................................................................................................................. x  

CHAPTER ONE ...................................................................................................................................... 1  
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND .......................................................................................... 1  
1.1 INTRODUCTION.................................................................................................................... 1  
1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM........................................................................................................ 3  
1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES ..................................................................................................... 7  
1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS......................................................................................................... 7  
1.5 RESEARCH JUSTIFICATION AND RATIONALIAN............................................................ 8  
1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ............................................................................................ 9  
1.6.1 Conflict Framework...................................................................................................... 9  
1.6.2 Accommodation Framework ...................................................................................... 12  
1.7 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY .................................................................................... 15  

CHAPTER TWO .................................................................................................................................. 16  
LITERATURE REVIEW ..................................................................................................................... 16  
2.1 INTRODUCTION.................................................................................................................... 16  
2.2 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE ON CAUSES OF LABOUR UNREST .......... 18
CHAPTER THREE .......................................................................................................................... 21
METHODOLOGY .............................................................................................................................. 21
3.1 INTRODUCTION ....................................................................................................................... 21
3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH .......................................................................................................... 21
3.3 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GRADUATE TEACHERS’ - GHANA: A PROFILE .......................................................... 22
3.4 SOURCES OF DATA ................................................................................................................. 25
3.5 POPULATION OF THE STUDY ............................................................................................... 26
3.6 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE ........................................................................................................ 28
3.7 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT ..................................................................................................... 28
3.8 FRAMEWORK OF DATA ANALYSIS .................................................................................... 28
3.9 ETHICAL ISSUES ON THE FIELD ....................................................................................... 29
3.9.1 INFORMED CONSENT ..................................................................................................... 29
3.9.2 ANONYMITY ..................................................................................................................... 29
3.9.3 CONFIDENTIALITY .......................................................................................................... 29
3.9.4 PRIVACY .......................................................................................................................... 30
3.10 CHALLENGES FROM THE FIELD .................................................................................... 30

CHAPTER FOUR ............................................................................................................................ 32
DATA ANALYSIS ............................................................................................................................. 32
4.1 INTRODUCTION ..................................................................................................................... 32
4.2 SOCIO- DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS ......................................... 32
4.3 LEVEL OF ENGAGEMENT OF RESPONDENTS IN THE ACTIVITIES OF NAGRAT .......................................................................................................................... 37
4.4 THE CONTRIBUTING FACTORS OF LABOUR AGITATIONS IN GHANA ......................... 42
4.5 OUTCOME OF LABOUR AGITATION AND THE NATIONAL LABOUR COMMISSION ................. 46
4.6 LABOUR AGITATIONS, ELECTIONS AND CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT .............................. 51
4.7 CONCLUSION ......................................................................................................................... 61
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Distribution of respondents by gender ................................................................. 33
Figure 4.2: Distribution of respondents by age ................................................................. 34
Figure 4.3: Distribution of respondents by marital status ................................................... 35
Figure 4.4: Distribution of respondents by educational background .................................... 36
Figure 4.5: Distribution of respondents by whether they belong to any trade union in their profession .................................................................................................................. 38
Figure 4.6: Distribution of respondents by type of Labour union they belong ....................... 39
Figure 4.7: Distribution of respondents by whether they follow the various activities and actions of NAGRAT as a labour Union ................................................................. 40
Figure 4.8: Distribution of respondents by medium of monitoring the activities of NAGRAT... 41
Figure 4.9: Distribution of respondents by forms of agitations mostly employed ................. 43
Figure 4.10: Distribution of respondents by whether they always achieve the reasons for their agitations .......................................................................................................................... 47
Figure 4.11: Distribution of respondents by reason for not always achieving desired outcomes of agitations .......................................................................................................................... 49
Figure 4.12: Distribution of respondents by knowledge of a labour commission in Ghana ...... 50
Figure 4.13: Distribution of respondents by level of agreement on the effectiveness of the National Labour Commission .................................................................................................................. 51
Figure 4.14: Distribution of respondent by level of agreement on whether most labour agitations occur during elections or change of government ........................................... 52
Figure 4.15: Distribution of respondents by reasons for agitations in election year ............... 53
LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Distribution of representation by regions for Conference ........................................... 27

Table 4.1: Distribution of respondents by numbers of years of teaching ........................................ 37

Table 4.2: Distribution of respondents by reasons for labour agitations in Ghana.......................... 46

Table 4.3: Distribution of respondents by reason for why Labour agitations surface more with
new government in power ........................................................................................................ 55

Table 4.4: Distribution of respondents by level of agreement that Labour agitations increase
with a particular party time in government than the other (s)...................................................... 56

Table 4.5: Distribution of respondent on level of agreement whether agitations are to satisfy
union leaders desires on not ....................................................................................................... 58

Table 4.6: Distribution of respondents by level of agreement on the effects of agitations
on the Ghana .................................................................................................................................. 59

Table 4.7: Distribution of respondents by whether the effects of Labour agitations are negative
or positive........................................................................................................................................ 60

Table 4.8: Distribution of respondents by level of agreement on the implementation of a strike
pay policy ........................................................................................................................................... 61
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BNI</td>
<td>Bereau of National Investigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCT</td>
<td>Coalition of Concerned Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CID</td>
<td>Criminal Investigation Department of The Ghana Police Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FWSC</td>
<td>Fair Wages and Salaries Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNAT</td>
<td>Ghana National Association of Teachers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GES</td>
<td>Ghana Education Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>GMA</td>
<td>Ghana Medical Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAGRAT – GH</td>
<td>National Association of Graduate Teachers’- Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUGS</td>
<td>National Union of Ghanaian Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLC</td>
<td>National Labour Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>New Patriotic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>National Democratic Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POTAG</td>
<td>Polytechnic Teachers’ Association of Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSSS</td>
<td>Single Spine Salary Structure</td>
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SPSS  Statistical Package For Social Sciences

TEWU  Teachers’ and Educational Workers’ Union

UTAG  University Teachers’ Association of Ghana

WAEC  West Africa Examination Council

WASSCE  West Africa Senior Secondary Certificate Examination
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The key role played by a country’s human resources towards growth and development cannot be overemphasized. In as much as a country is endowed with natural resources, her human resources are essential to manipulate these natural resources for the country’s growth, development and prosperity.

The effectiveness and efficiency a country derives from her human resources, for that matter labour, depends on a number of factors such as education, technology, relevant logistics and equipments and most importantly, creating an enabling working environment at work place. In this regard, the cordiality that exists between labour and employers is what is needed for labour efficiency and effectiveness to promote national growth and development. (ILO, 2012). Former American president Abraham Lincoln is credited as stating that “Labour is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labour, and could never have existed if labour had not first existed. Labour is the superior of capital, and deserves much the better consideration”. In other words, for a state or organization even with all the resources in the form of capital and technology to develop and grow, labour is required to play a pivotal role before such growth and development can be achieved. Hence any mistreatment of labour by the government or management in the process of achieving this aim can be disastrous.
A labour union, otherwise referred to as Trade Union, is a recognized group of workers in an organization or institution that appoints or elect leaders to negotiate salaries and wages and other benefits and working conditions. Under the Labour Act of Ghana Labour Act 651, a trade union means any association of workers, the principal purpose of which is to promote and protect their interests.

Labour Union is broadly used to describe the development of a collective organization within societies, organized for the purpose of representing the interest of workers and the working population, campaign for better working conditions and treatment from their employers and government, in particular through the implementation of specific laws governing labour relations. (J., Ghana's numerous workers strikes; a cause for concern, 2013)

In Ghana, the government happens to be the major employer of the public sector workforce, employing about over fifty percent (50%) of the country’s organized labour force. In the educational sector alone the government employs over forty-five thousand (45000) workers which is made up of teaching and the non-teaching staff spread over the schools, colleges, Polytechnics, Universities and offices of the District, Municipal, Metropolitan and Regions of the country. Hence, any form of labour unrest or destabilization severely affects the country most especially if it happens in the educational sector.

The high rate of organized labour agitations in various forms such as strikes, lockouts and demonstrations over the last two decades have been a major source of concern to both the government and people of this country. One significant factor that promotes a state’s growth and development, is employee satisfaction which eventually leads to considerable growth and development. In situations where workers are satisfied within their working environment, they
are able to give out their best to increase efficient production. Failure of governments and succeeding governments of Ghana to find a lasting solution to this problem of frequent unrest on the labour front, most especially within the education sector is a major concern to the citizens of the country.

Creating a conducive environment based on effective cooperation between employers and employees or labour unions is required to push the country’s growth and development, most especially at the education sector.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The growth and development of any country to a greater extent depends on the country’s human resources which are considered the most valuable, yet the most volatile and potentially unpredictable resources which an organization (in this context a state) utilizes according to Beardwell and Holden (1994).

The activities of organized labour in Ghana recently cannot be put in any better way than as expresses by Beardwell and Holden stated above. Ghana as a country accepts the fact that the country’s growth and development depends largely on its human resources, allows for the formation of labour unions and associations to serve as a collective mouthpiece of the country’s labour force.

One of the biggest challenges faced by the various governments of this country has been that of various forms of organized labour agitations by workers on state payroll. Such employees, from unskilled labourers to middle level staff, as well as those at the apex including university
professors, have at one point or another laid down their working tools in demand for one condition of service or another to be fulfilled by the government.

There is also a Labour Law that seeks to provide Labour with the framework to negotiations and grievance resolution. In fact Ghana’s Labour Law, the Labour Act of 2003 (Act 651) is noted to be among the best on the continent, states in clear terms the steps employees can take to have their grievances or differences resolved and even defines the conditions under which they can embark on any form of agitation. The Labour Act also established the National Labour Commission (NLC) to act as a central body to see to the amicable resolution or settlement of disputes between the employer and the employee.

Labour has the right to express their misgivings regarding how they are treated as a group or as individuals. It is widely accepted that the most reliable way labour seeks redress or approach such expression of maltreatment is to resort to the law which in Ghana’s case Act 651. This law must be able to settle whatever dispute without it degenerating into strikes and other forms of labour unrest.

Despite the existence of this labour law with its provisions, the country is always faced with various forms of agitations on the labour front almost on weekly bases. Hardly a week passes in Ghana that there is no report on one labour union or the other agitating. This situation is even so serious at the education sector in the country. Organized labour in the education sector such as the University Teachers’ Association of Ghana (UTAG), the Polytechnic Teachers’ Association of Ghana (POTAG), the Ghana National Association of Teachers’ (GNAT), National Association of Graduate Teachers’ (NAGRAT), Coalition of Concern Teachers’ (CCT) and the Teachers’ and Education Workers’ Union (TEWU), happens to be the unions that are almost
always in the news for threatening strikes or on strike. It is therefore not surprising that the National Labour Commission quarterly publication for the third quarter of year 2013, on its union agitation chart has the National Association of Graduate Teachers’ on top of the list. This situation is more worrying with the timing most of these actions happened. Usually such unrest by such teacher unions happen when students and pupils are about to write their West Africa Senior Secondary Certificate Examinations (WASSCE). Such examination which is managed by the West African Examination Council (WAEC), is not a body that would stop an impending examination because Ghana which one of the countries taking WAEC examinations is facing some challenges at the labour front within the education sector. What is more worrying is the fact that most of these agitations at the labour front occur during election years and also when a new government takes over. Governments and succeeding government have over the years tried to use various interventional means to try to prevent such labour agitations but they keep repeating now and then. Some of such interventions included the introduction of the Single Spine Salary Structure (SSSS) which literally means equal pay for equal qualification irrespective of where one find him or herself. This structure introduced in the year 2010, has even rather worsened agitations on the labour front. Why is it so? There have been many researches by individuals, corporate organisations, government bodies conducted with the aim of finding out what causes labour unrest in the country so as to find lasting solutions to it but to no avail. Governments in power are always quick to blame political opponents as the group that instigates unions to agitate to score political points. Can this be true? If true then why would there be a change in government for the new government to turn and blame the previous administration for such instigations which they were accused of when in opposition? What is
going on between union leadership and the politicians? Is there any politics going on at the organized labour front that is not known to Ghanaians?

The National Labour Commission has declared many of the strikes and other forms of labour agitations embarked on by labour as illegal, in accordance with Section 168 of the Labour Act which frowns on illegal strikes and recommends either a termination without notice or forfeiture of remuneration of such employees. Yet the Commission has never strictly applied these punitive measures as state by the Act to workers who have sometimes been on strikes longer than the permitted period. The only time the National Labour Commission tried applying the punitive measure was against members of the National Association of Graduate Teachers’ (NAGRAT) during former President J.A. Kuffour’s administration when the government withheld their salaries. But it was only a matter of time and all of them had the salaries paid. Why can’t our politicians apply the punitive measures if unions’ strikes are considered illegal? Does the country have not much knowledge on what the real causes are of organize labour agitations especially at the education sector?

It has been suggested by a onetime Head of Policy, Monitoring and Evaluations at the Presidency, Dr. Tony Aidoo, that government should formulate a strike pay policy, so that employee unions will pay their workers as long as they choose to go on strike so that unions and associations of labour will better appreciate the burden of having to pay workers whose actions do not in any way improve productivity. Is this the solution to Ghana’s problem of constant labour unrest?
This is what the research hopes to find out and make recommendations to that effect to serve as a contribution to restoring a relative level of sanity on the labour front in the country for labour efficiency and effectiveness for Ghana’s growth and development.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The broad objective of the study is to assess the politics of Labour union agitations in Ghana using NAGRAT as a case study. Thus the specific objectives of the study are:

1. To ascertain if there exists any form of politics at play between NAGRAT union leaders and Politicians at the blank side of union members.
2. To find out why most of NAGRAT agitations seem to occur during electioneering years and when there is a change of government.
3. To establish if the timing of various strike actions of NAGRAT has any link with a particular party in power or not.
4. To find out the main reasons for the numerous labour agitations in Ghana’s educational sector.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Why is the country’s educational sector always plagued in labour unrest during election years and when there is a change of government?
2. Is there any politics at play between NAGRAT union leaders and employers, or government that is not known to members?
3. What are the main reasons for labour agitations in Ghana’s educational sector?
1.5 RESEARCH JUSTIFICATION AND RATIONAL

Organized labour’s constant agitations have been a source of worry to both the government and people of Ghana. Various forms of organized labour agitations reduce labour productivity thereby slowing down the pace of the country’s economic growth. The situation even goes beyond the present when this unrest happens in the education sector. The effects of these organized labour agitations on pupils and students in the country’s educational institutions today can never be recovered as the country’s educational system is so compact with time to make room or allow for any extra time to make up.

Governments in their bid to try to solve this problem introduced a new pay policy scheme in the year 2010 thus the Single Spine Salary Structure (SSSS). But rather, this new pay policy instead of addressing the problem of constant organized labour unrest has come to worsen the already bad situation. As already indicated, most of these problems occur during election years and when there is a change in government. Why chose such timings? Is this timing of any significance to unions? There have been various researches that tried to find out the causes of the constant agitations on the labour front from various angles such as assessing the weakness or limitations of the Labour Law Act 651, in terms of adjudication of labour issues and resolution of labour disputes (Seniwoliba, 2013), looking at the performance of the National Labour Commission, yet no particular research had been conducted to find out if there is any politics at play during the timings that such unrest occur and if union leaders and politicians are playing politics with members.

It is based on this that this research seeks to find out the actual causes of these constant labour unrest on organized labour front and to find out if there exist any form of ‘marriage’ between politicians and union leadership in Ghana, most especially at the educational sector. The findings
would not only add to knowledge but also help various parties involved in labour issues in the
country to consider to help reduce this problem to its bearest minimum.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework underlying the study would be the Conflict and Accommodation
framework.

1.6.1 Conflict Framework

Conflict has been defined in various ways by various scholars. Stoner and Wankel (2012) define
conflict as disagreement between two or more organisation members or groups arising from the
fact that they must share scarce resources or work activities and / or from the fact that they have
different statures, goals, values or perceptions. They further state that organisation members or
sub- units in disagreements attempt to have their own cause or point of view prevail over that of
others.

Weberstein (1984) described conflict as “a social interaction in which a minimum of two parties
strive in time to acquire the same scarce resources.”

What stands out of both definitions is that conflict is a manifestation of contradiction between
two or more actors.

There are two main views on the concept of conflict. One views conflict as unnecessary,
harmful, disruptive and avoidable, while the other sees conflict as a positive way of
modification.

The traditionalists view notable among them is Talcott Parsons sees conflict as having primarily
disruptive, dissociating and dysfunctional consequences. Though, Parsons sees conflict as
avoidable, he believes “that conflict is endemic in our modern industrial type of society”. In the traditionalists view conflict must be avoided and rather resort to communication. What they are forgetting is that conflict itself is a form of communication but in a more radical state. Dahrendorf even contends that there cannot be conflict without consensus. Communication in whatever form is communication. There can be conflict for example in a workplace or environment where there are laid down rules (consensus), a group can partly decide to flout these rules to gain some advantage over the other. Parsons even admits that in human society conflict can never be avoided hence in somewhat defeating his own argument.

The other school of thought such as Coser (1956), a well-known theorist, sees in conflict a positive functional role. He argues that conflict rather than being disruptive and dissociating may in actual fact, be a means of balancing and hence maintain a society growth. Thus a flexible society benefits from conflict because such behavior by helping to create and modify norms assures the society’s continuance under changed conditions which become an advantage. This view re-echoes the earlier view of Hegel and Karl Marx that conflict is a component of social change without which there can be no progress. Charles Cooley also clearly defends the functionalists stands by contending that conflict of some sort is the life of society and that “progress emerges from a struggle in which an individual, class or institution seeks to realize its own good”. Accepting the functionalist stands means disregarding the effects of conflict in an industrial environment. The change which is said to bring about would not include the loss done to the organization in particular and the state or country as a whole.

Kerr, while acknowledging the positive role of worker protest in industrial relations transformation, contends that the nature of industrial conflict depends on the stage of a country level of industrialization. This point is agreed on also by Ralph Dahrendorf as he maintains that
industrial conflict between its actors tends to be more severe and intense in early developing capitalist societies as the period of political and industrial conflict is superimposed on them. Thus strikes and threats of labour of any kind therefore may not have the same bite in both developed and developing worlds. All things been equal, a new or an emerging organisation tend to be more authoritarian in their administration than established ones. Conflict patterns may be more radical in developing countries industrial sector.

Interestingly, in this 21st century, some leaders in government still believe that effective union participation in nation building requires a more clearly prescribed roles hence they make frantic efforts in attempt to bring labour unions under stiff political control. Such government leaders tend to think that allowing labour unions a say in state affairs even if it directly affect unions and its members would spell doom as they may have the potency of taking the country to ransom. Labour unions on the other hand believe that they owe their allegiance first to its members then even the government, hence conflict.

In various instances, government have arrested and imprisoned numerous union leaders without fair trial under the impression of protecting the interest of the state. Union leadership are treated and labeled as enemies of their own countries. Government resort to close all channels of communication available to labour unions to have pressing issues redress amicably therefore force would be the only language unions can speak to the hearing of government and her employers, hence the resort to strikes, demonstrations, lockup’s etc. In countries such as Canada where labour unions such as the Federation of Canadian Teachers’ are very powerful, such labour unrest has the potential of paralyzing the country’s economy for even decades.
Tensions between labour unions and government do not auger well for a nation’s economic development. Such effects include

- Brain drain of skilled labour to other countries.
- Large sums of foreign exchange due to no productivity because of strikes and other forms of unrest on the labour front.
- It has the potential to scare off potential foreign investors from investing in a country in which there is tension.
- The military may capitalize on the tensed situation and overthrow a constitutionally elected administration.

Most leaders of Third World countries especially of Africa still contend that the solution to their economy woes is through effective and efficient centralized planning. Central planning demands a high degree of political control over all major sectors of the economy including labour which is viewed as a tool to the achievement of the plan goal. To such governments, development can only be achieved if all ensundry are brought under strict central control which can only be the government. If such move meet powerful unions which would not compromise on their stands, then conflict, which retards progress.

Healthy collaboration between government and labour unions would ensure continuity in national development.

1.6.2 Accommodation Framework

Accommodation theory was developed by Giles, Coupland, and Coupland (1991). They used it to explain how communication behaviour changes based on whom one interactive partner is. Thus one’s behaviour or attitude adopted in a conversation or any other form of communication
depends largely on who the partner is. The theory as developed by Howard and Peter has since been modified to a Communication Accommodation Theory that explains the process by which we can both reduce and magnify communicative differences between people. For example, adopting a communicational partners assent or vocabulary can lead to the partner to perceive the accommodating speaker as more similar to the partner, perhaps as more likable.

Since its inception, researchers have come to realize that, the theory is more complex than simply that. It has been used to study various forms relational developments and interactions even at the industrial level.

Hummert, Wiemann and Nussbaum (1994) used the theory to study industrial relations during the 1990s’ which reveals that actors in industry, understanding and adopting each other’s level of communication and vocabulary would result in reducing tensions between actors to promote relative peace to increase productivity.

Labour Unions are the organization of workers mostly working under similar environment or with similar qualifications with the aim to promote the interest of their members mainly through a process whereby procedures are jointly agreed and salaries or wages and conditions of employment or service are settled through negotiations between employers or their associations and the Labour Union leaders. This process is commonly referred to as Collective Bargaining. This requires a high level of accommodation between the employer and employee with each striving to adopt the level of vocabulary of the other to gain each other confident and respect.

In labour unionism, political and industrial actions are very essential especially for the attainment of specific objective which would benefit membership. Due to the important role human resources play in State growth and development, some government leadership seeks to adopt a
form of cordial relationship with labour unions. This government does by consultations. Union leadership are consulted by government on policies, projects and programmes to be undertaken especially if these issues relate to their areas of work or scope. Views, suggestions and contributions that labour leaders are able to bring forth after consultations at the grassroots’ of their member is taken into consideration by government during the implementation of that particular policies, projects and programmes. Here government gives the recognition to labour as the experts in their area of operations.

Labour Unions on the other hand ensure that members perform their duties effectively as they are part of decision making process and therefore nothing is push on them. This would ensure effectiveness and efficiency leading to increase in productivity which would result in economic growth and development.

The willingness to accept changes and improvement is at the heart of every organization will be assured. All open disputes and disagreements such as strikes, hostage taking and stoppages usually embarked upon by workers and employers would be negated.

Accommodating unions also ensure continuity in production of essential materials by workers needed urgently by the society. Disputes between employees and employers in Ghana’s case the government can lead to disruptions in the productivity of essential goods and services such as electricity, water, healthcare, education, security to mention but a few. Continuity in production can only be assured when all sectors of the production process: unions and employers including the government have a platform and mechanism for redressing their grievances so as to ensure continuity in the production of these goods and services. The effect of workers unacceptable conditions of service does not only rest on themselves alone but also on their dependents.
1.7 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The study is divided into six chapters.

The first chapter deals with background to the study, statement of the research problem, objectives of the study, research questions, theoretical framework underlining the study and the research justification and rational.

Chapter Two is devoted to the review of related literature on the research topic.

Chapter Three looks at the methodology used for the research, research instrument as well as framework of data analysis.

The fourth chapter comprises data analysis.

This is followed by Chapter Five which consists of discussions of research findings.

The final chapter which is Chapter Six deals with the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature review of this work is based on two (2) concepts: labour unrest and politics. These concepts are social science concepts which of course lack clearly definite definition hence scholars see it from their own view point.

Firstly labour union is any combination of workers whether temporary or permanent. Its principal objectives are the regulation of the relationship between work-men and workmen or between masters and masters or the imposing of restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business and also the provision and benefits of members.

However, labour unions are the main power resource of working people. The power in this collectivity of workers tends to promote the resolution of a variety of problems faced by the workforce which help in Nation building.

Again labour unrest can be defined as the inability of members in a role set are unable to reach an agreement on an issue concerned with the objective of interaction. There is hardly any gainsaying the fact that industrial conflict or labour unrest are realities of any economic system where workers and the management interact.

Labour unrest seems to be more pronounced in public sector organisation. Anugwom and Ukaegbu (1998) argue that public union have substantial market power and are usually in a
position to play a key role in the political process and it’s this unique positioning that make them conflict prone.

Politics, on the hand, comprises the process by which rulers are selected and empowered to make decision, takes action to attain common goals and reconcile conflicts within a political community. Such decisions which are political in nature could be arrived at through various ways such as discussions, bargaining, voting or in some cases through violence. It must be emphasized that politics here does not always involve conflict, but rather seeks to find ways or conditions under which groups within the political community can achieve their goals peacefully and effectively. However, much of the favour of politics springs from the fact that members of the community rarely agree usually initially, on the course of action to follow.

Hague, Harrop and Bresline (1992) define politics as the process by which groups make collective decisions. To them, the size of the decision can vary from a single family at one extreme to the international community at the other. Thus politics on the other hand comprises the process by which rulers are selected and empowered to make decision, takes action to attain common goals and reconcile conflicts within a political community. These decisions are arrived at in various ways which may include violence, discussion, custom, bargaining and voting. What make these decisions political are their collective nature and the fact that it affects all members of the group.

Lasswell (1936) defined politics in one of his major works titled Politics: Who Gets What, When, How as, “who gets what, when, how”. This definition though simple and may be limited, its strengths lies in the fact that it expands or broadens the horizon of a researcher or an enquirer to look for politics in many social settings than the formal public government. It helps underline
the fact that politics is about decisions made by people usually in leadership concerning certain objectives which could be limited. Also in contains the implication of some struggle involve in the making of the decision as to which group attains what, at which time thus the when and how or which means or medium to the satisfaction of members.

2.2 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE ON CAUSES OF LABOUR UNREST

According to Aðalsteinsson (2007) various strike and industrial theories were propounded during the 1960s and 1970s to explain the different levels of industrial conflicts at the time. Those theories can’t be effectively applied to explain industrial conflicts in current times. This view can be accepted to a certain degree when one considers that time comes in with changing trends of issues, but if the theory is still valid, then although there could be change in time, the methods can still be used to arrive at better results.

First of such theories is the Relational or implicit contract theory. This theory perceives that there is a relational (or implicit) contract between an employer and a workers’ union, based on an infinitely repeated game with imperfect monitoring.

To Gary-Bobo and Jaaidene (2014), conflict is the unavoidable consequence of informational asymmetries. But the various avatars of conflict, which is, strikes, slowdown, low morale, dismissals, resignations, etc. are not by themselves essential ingredients of the theory. Strikes, for instance, would have a non-zero incidence only under certain parameter configurations, while conflict is still present, but takes another form.

Gary-Bobo and Jaaidane (2014) further show that high effort and high pay cooperative agreements between the union and the employer can be supported as Public Perfect Nash
equilibrium of a repeated game, if players are patient enough, but only at the cost of random reversions to inefficient sequences of actions, in which strikes and rigid wages, or slowdown and outsourcing may take place. The theory states that in equilibrium, the union simply goes on strike when the proposed wage is too low and the real state of nature, being private information of the employer, is never revealed to the union. This type of union behaviour is rational in a repeated interaction framework: it creates the necessary incentives for cooperation in good times, while also creating the required platform for labour agitation when the necessary conditions are not met.

Institutionalisation theory is attributed to Ross and Hartman according to Bean (1994). Institutionalisation theory asserts that institutional mechanism of negotiation such as collective bargaining procedure reduces industrial conflict (Bean, 1994). According to Olafsson (1982) and cited by Aðalsteinsson (2007), the theory believes that highly developed Systems of industrial relations are associated with low levels of conflict. Thus Sweden, Norway, and Denmark have often been singled out as examples of countries which have developed a model system for industrial peace, characterised by a highly centralised labour movement, comprehensive formal means of negotiations, effective legal regulations of strike activity and efficient dispute procedure (Aðalsteinsson, 2007).

In their study to determine the factors which influenced strike activity in fifteen countries, Ross and Hartman found that countries with stable and unified labour movements recognised and accepted by employers and with well-developed collective bargaining procedure were those which experienced industrial peace (Bean, 1994). Ross and Hartman, concluded that centralised bargaining system reduces the level of industrial conflict, since worker and employer
organisations are enabled to impose real behavioural constraints upon their respective member (Bean, 1994).

Labour unrest is so closely related to loss of peace because like Ofube (2001) argues that unrest or conflict is as central to life. Life without conflict is no life. Therefore labour unrest is not abnormal in any organization whether private or public.

Anugwom (1997) views the dimension of labour unrest as a situation when the economic depression in the country as exposing workers to a high level of economic hardship. He further contends that the public sector workers especially have been faced by given economic realities and may have seen unrest as a way of breaking loose from the shackles of economic deprivation.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter covers the concepts of research work and methods used by the researcher during the study. It gives a brief description of the methods of data collection, sampling procedure, framework of data analysis, ethical issue as well as problems that the researcher encountered from the field in the data collection process.

3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

The research strategy used for this research was the case study. Case studies are analyses of persons, events, periods, policies, institutions or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the subject of enquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame -an-object -within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates.

Creswell (2009) goes on further to state that data collection in a case study occurs over “sustained period of time”. This enabled the researcher to use questionnaire to solicit the views of respondents on the Politics of Labour union agitations in Ghana. The case study also has a considerable ability to generate answers to the questions “why”, “what” and “how” and the data collection techniques employed was various and was used in combination. The case study body used for this research is the National Association of Graduate Teachers’, Ghana. (NAGRAT – GHANA).
3.3 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GRADUATE TEACHERS’ - GHANA: A PROFILE

Bringing all University Degree holders in the Ghana Education Services (GES) under one and the same umbrella to constitute a platform whereby the fraternity of graduates in the GES could share ideas and identify common and peculiar problems and find solutions to them, is the vision of NAGRAT. For the full realization of this vision NAGRAT has the following objectives:

- To bring all university graduates under one fraternity to protect the social and economic rights of teachers.
- To serve as a negotiating body specifically for graduate teachers in matters, instances and circumstances pertaining to remunerations and other conditions of service in the GES.
- To initiate programmes to improve upon the professional and academic status of graduate teachers in the GES.
- To serve as a means of encouraging graduates to make teaching a profession of choice and not by accident.
- To serve as a source of encouragement to other categories of teachers to climb up the academic and professional ladder and become professional graduate teachers in the GES.
- To make the teaching profession attractive for graduate teachers to enter and remain there in.
- To address itself to National and International issues when the need arises.

The National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT) Ghana brings together all University Degree Holding teachers within the Ghana Education Service under one umbrella.
Their focus as a united whole is to fight incessant neglect and marginalization of our profession. NAGRAT was constituted as an autonomous body by a resolution adopted at its second National Delegates’ Conference held at St Louis Training College, Kumasi, in October 1998. This was after two earlier unsuccessful attempts at forming an association comprising university degree holding teachers within the Ghana Education Service.

The grievances leading to such earlier attempts were the same as those leading to the break from the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), with the bottom line being the deplorable service conditions of graduate teachers in the Ghana Education Service vis-a-vis their counterparts in other establishments.

The lumping of all graduate teachers together with other categories of teachers on the same rank for salary purpose was a great disincentive and a cruel one at that.

Until NAGRAT petitioned the Appellate Body of the Central Management Board teachers with specialist and diploma certificates entered the GES on the same rank-superintendent-just as the first degree, second degree and even the Ph.D. holder. This state of affairs seriously undermined commitment, reduced morale and effective performance of the graduate teachers.

It came as a relief when the GES in 1993 commissioned the Pay and Grading Committee to look into the placement of personnel in the service. Almost at the same time Government set up the Gyampoh Salary Review Commission to study the placement and salary structure of the public sector. The Commission recommended the establishment of separate hierarchical structures for graduate and non-graduate professional teachers for salary purposes.
The rejection of the recommendations of the two bodies by the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT) even before they were made public on grounds that if implemented it would divide the teachers front provided the fertile ground for the emergence of NAGRAT. GNAT’s rejection of the recommendations was published in the official newsletter of the Association, ”The Teacher” volume 4, Number 2, December 1993.

NAGRAT therefore was formed in 1996 as a pressure group and became a fully blown autonomous labour union on the 3rd of October 1998. Mr. Lucas Alogbo is considered the founder and first president of NAGRAT.

NAGRAT as a union, since its formation, is credited with the following achievements:

- The formation of NAGRAT has amplified the voice of the Graduate Teacher in particular and all Teachers in this country in General than never before.
- NAGRAT has broken the monopoly of just one teacher union by providing teachers with a worthy alternative. They have provoked healthy competition which has made teachers in this country the eventual winners.
- NAGRAT fought vehemently in 2000 to bring the starting of graduate teachers to level 14 (principal Superintendent). Hitherto, they started at level 11 (Superintendent) and it took them eight years to reach principal Superintendent. Senior Superintendent was then at level 12.
- In 2006, NAGRAT embarked on a forty-six day Destiny Strike which compelled government to increase teachers’ salaries by 38% and also precipitated in the establishment of the Fair Wages and Salaries Commission that brought about the Single Spine Pay Policy Structure (SSPPS).
➢ NAGRAT fought hard to get GES Council to accept that invigilation of examinations conducted by WAEC are not part of the normal duties of teachers and therefore teachers cannot be compelled to do so.

➢ The union fought hard in the year 2014 to get all outstanding supervision allowances paid.

➢ As a member of the Joint Negotiation Team, NAGRAT worked hard to get Professional Allowance of 15% paid to all Professional teachers. They also got management to agree on the payment of Deprived Areas and Selected Subject Allowance.

➢ We have a Welfare Scheme that provides the following packages for teachers.

➢ There is a NAGRAT Auto Scheme which has provided about one thousand (1000) cars of various brands to teachers and still continues to satisfy the numerous applications received monthly. This has greatly lifted the status of teachers.

➢ NAGRAT has handled many cases of unfair treatment and unwarranted releases of teachers, some of which resulted in legal suits (NAGRAT Secretariat)

3.4 SOURCES OF DATA

In fulfillment of the objectives of this research, data was collected from both Primary and Secondary sources. Primary data is the view or fresh data collected from the respondents through structured scheduled questionnaires. A questionnaire was administered to a sample of two hundred people in the study area to seek their views on the above topic. Secondary data for the research included published books, reports, journals, articles and researches conducted on labour agitations in Ghana and elsewhere most of which were located in Balme library and the

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh
Department of Political Science library, the internet and other documents from the offices of the National Association of Graduate Teachers’ NAGRAT.

3.5 POPULATION OF THE STUDY

According to Saunders et al. (2003) the target group about which the researcher is interested in gaining information and drawing conclusions is what is known as the population. For the purpose of this research, the population was the National Delegates Conference of NAGRAT Ghana.

The case study which is the National Association of Graduate Teachers’- NAGRAT has over Twenty-Five thousand (25,000) membership spread across all the basic schools, secondary schools, teacher training colleges and District, Municipal, Metropolitan and Regional Offices of the Ghana Education Service. At the top of NAGRAT’s organizational structure is the National Delegate Conference which is made up of all zonal chairpersons with their secretaries who were elected as representatives by the entire membership of the associations of their respective zones in the various regions of Ghana and a representative each, all regional chairpersons, regional secretaries and regional treasuries or financial secretaries plus its seven (7) National Officers.

The distributions of the zones are as follows:
Table 3.1: Distribution of representation by regions for Conference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Number of Zones</th>
<th>Number of Zonal Representatives</th>
<th>Regional Officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volta Region</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Region</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashanti Region</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Region</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brong Ahafo</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Region</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Accra Region</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Region</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper West Region</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper East Region</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NAGRAT SECRETARIAT, ACCRA.

Two hundred (200) respondents were randomly sampled from the 367 members of the National Delegate conference (representing 54.5%) and questionnaires were administered to them so as to enable the researcher ascertain the factors that motivate the labour agitations of NAGRAT. Thus twenty (20) questionnaires were administered to the delegates of each of the ten regions of Ghana who are members of the National Delegate Conference. Such a sample size was chosen because of the limited time frame for the research and limited funds.
3.6 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

The sampling technique that was applied for the purpose of this study was the simple random sampling. Simple random sampling is a probability procedure that ensures that each case in the population has an equal chance of being included in the sample.

Simple random sampling method was used to arrive at the sample frame. A sample frame of 200 delegates was selected as the target population. Out of this sample frame a calculating method was used by dividing the total population of three hundred and sixty-seven (367) by the sample frame of two hundred (200) to get the mode of picking every other second (2\text{nd}) member till a sample size of two hundred 200 respondents was covered.

3.7 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The researcher adopted questionnaires as the main instrument for data collection. The researcher used the questionnaire instrument because it is an inexpensive way to gather data from a potentially large number of respondents. It is the only feasible way to reach a number large enough to allow statistical analysis of results. It also helped the researcher to have limited control over the environment. For the purpose of this research, structured questions were forwarded, written down and distributed to the respondents to provide the required answer to them. Measures were taken in order not to put words aimed at influencing the respondents.

3.8 FRAMEWORK OF DATA ANALYSIS

The collected data were examined for consistency of responses. The data was then edited, coded and fed into the computer by the use of the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS version 20) software for the purpose of doing a proper analysis of the data in order to uncover the factors that motivate the agitations of NAGRAT. The processed data that was produced by the SPSS
software was presented by the use of percentages, figures, graphs and table which enabled the researcher to do a proper analysis of the collected data.

3.9 ETHICAL ISSUES ON THE FIELD

There were ethical issues that were considered by the researcher and her team during the process of data gathering among which included Informed Consent, Anonymity, Confidentiality and Privacy.

3.9.1 INFORMED CONSENT

Under this ethical issue, the researcher identified herself with the respondents to avoid all kinds of false impression been created in the minds of respondents. In addition to this, the purpose of the study or the reason why the research was being conducted was also explained to the respondents for them to get clear understanding of the study. This enabled the respondents to willing participate in the study.

3.9.2 ANONYMITY

All form of questions that could lead to the identification of the respondents including name of respondents, address, telephone number etc were avoided in the questionnaire in order to assure respondents of their anonymity. In fact it was clearly stated in the introduction of the questionnaire that the purpose of the study was purely for academic reasons and as such the respondent need not to provide their names or contact numbers.

3.9.3 CONFIDENTIALITY

With reference to this ethical issue, respondents were informed and promised that the information given by them will solely be used for the purpose of the study but not other matters.
Furthermore, respondents were also informed that the information that they will give will not be made available to other people for any reason.

### 3.9.4 PRIVACY

Respondents’ right to privacy was also respected during the administration of the questionnaire. Questions relating to respondents private matters were avoided. Respondents were also given the liberty not to answer some questions that they thought were personal to their lives and it was only in circumstances where the respondents required the assistance of the research and her team to clarify some issues on the questionnaire that the team intervened.

### 3.10 CHALLENGES FROM THE FIELD

One major challenge the researcher and her team encountered on the field was the people not willing to participate. Their problem was that since some of the question would require them to speak their views on the activities of their leaders at a ground were these leaders were. The researcher and her team assured them fully that their privacy, anonymity and identity are fully protected and that the team has nothing to do with the leadership of NAGRAT.

Again, some of the respondents demanded for cash before they participated in this research which the researcher provided in some case before the questionnaire were answered. In other cases persistence in begging respondents by the researcher and her team made respondents reason with us so they took part without pushing for their earlier request.

Another challenge that was encountered on the field of study was the fact that some respondents asked the researcher and her team of assistance to leave the questionnaire with them and come back later the following day for the answered questionnaire as they were so engulfed with conference actives at that moment. The researcher and her team obliged to their request only to
return to realize that some of the respondents had either misplaced the questionnaire or had not answered them as promised. The research team had to look for the misplaced questionnaire with the respondents and wait on them to be answered.
CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data based on the research problem and objectives of the study. Thus, it critically examines and scrutinizes the dynamics and contours of the politics of labour agitations under the Fourth Republic of Ghana by using the National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT) as the focal point of analysis through valid interpretation. The chapter in essence, entails the demographic characteristics of respondents, the level of engagement of respondents in the activities of NAGRAT, the contributing factors of labour agitations in Ghana and the outcomes of labour agitations.

4.2 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The socio-demographic features of the respondents include gender, age, marital status, educational background and number of years in the teaching profession.

In terms of the gender composition, majority of the respondents representing 64% were males with the remaining 36% being females. Thus, males constituted significant majority of the total number of respondents interviewed and gives the indication that contrary to the common parlance that the teaching profession is female-dominant, the number of males in the profession is increasing as well (see figure 4.1).
The results in figure 4.2 show the age pattern of the respondents. Majority representing 48% are between 40-49 years. This is closely followed by those between 30-39 years constituting 46% whereas those from 50 years and above were the least representing 6%. Thus, majority of the respondents representing about 94% were between 30-49 years. With many participants within such an age group, it can be said that in terms of experience, respondents are in a better position to share their views regarding the questions posed to them by the researcher. Also the age composition explains why age factor is an important variable in explaining labour agitations.
In terms of the marital status of the respondents, significant majority representing 82% are married, followed by 11% who are divorced and 7% who are single. It can therefore be deduced that majority of the respondents constituted those who are married and logically, are always in the position to agitate for better condition of services when the family demands and pressures on them increase (see figure 4.3).
Figure 4.3: Distribution of respondents by marital status

With regards to the educational background of the participants, overwhelming majority representing 74% have first degree as their highest educational qualification and with a fairly 26% having climbed the educational ladder up to the masters level. It can therefore be inferred that the educational qualification of the respondents reflects the very representation of NAGRAT as a labour union (see figure 4.4).
Figure 4.4: Distribution of respondents by educational background

The number of years that one has been in his or her profession is very fundamental in understanding and comprehending the issues regarding that particular profession. As a result, the researcher considered this as an important independent variable. Majority of the participants constituting 44% have been in the teaching profession from 1-5yrs, followed by those who have been in teaching from 6-10 years representing 34% and lastly 22% representing those who have been in the teaching profession from 11 years and above (see table 4.1).
Table 4.1: Distribution of respondents by numbers of years of teaching

How long have you been a teacher?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5 years</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>77.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 years and above</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, 2014  
NB: Sample size (N) = 200

4.3 LEVEL OF ENGAGEMENT OF RESPONDENTS IN THE ACTIVITIES OF NAGRAT

When the researcher posed the question whether respondents were members of any trade union in their profession, significant majority of the respondents representing 89% indicated that they belong to labour unions in the teaching profession. However, only 11% stated otherwise that they do not belong to any labour union in their profession (see fig 5.5). Thus, majority of the participants see organised labour unions within the teaching profession as very important through which they can easily promote their interest and general welfare.
Figure 4.5: Distribution of respondents by whether they belong to any trade union in their profession

![Pie chart showing distribution of respondents]

Are you a member of any of the Trade Unions is your profession?

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

NB: Sample size (N) = 200

The results in figure 4.6 shows the various types of trade unions in the teaching profession identified by the respondents of which majority constituting 69% belong to the National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT). This is followed by 23% belonging to the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT) and 8% who indicated that they belong to the Coalition of Concern Teachers (CCT). It is important to note from this results that apart from NAGRAT which is arguably one of the most vibrant and influential labour union within the University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh
teaching profession, respondents also see the importance of other existing labour unions such as GNAT and CCT.

**Figure 4.6: Distribution of respondents by type of Labour union they belong**

![Chart showing distribution of respondents by type of Labour union they belong]

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

NB: Sample size (N) = 200

In a follow-up to question (8) on the administered questionnaire, respondents were asked if they were members of any recognized trade union. 87% of the respondents were active members of trade unions. All the 87% of the respondents were members of NAGRAT because their educational background with majority of the respondents being first degree holders, they became automatic members of NAGRAT.
Respondents also gave various reasons for opting to join NAGRAT, paramount among the reasons was the effective leadership provided by the NAGRAT leadership and their continuous struggle for the fight and the betterment of its members.

In terms of the level of awareness of the respondents on the activities of NAGRAT, significant majority of the respondents constituting 81% indicated that they follow the activities and actions of NAGRAT as a trade union whereas 19% indicated otherwise. It can therefore deduced that majority of the members of NAGRAT interviewed have very high awareness in monitoring and following the activities of their labour union (see fig 4.7).

**Figure 4.7: Distribution of respondents by whether they follow the various activities and actions of NAGRAT as a labour Union**

Do you as member follow the various activities and actions of NAGRAT as a labour union

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

NB: Sample size (N) = 200
The results in fig 4.8 show the various media through which participants follow the activities of NAGRAT. The most common medium is through their delegates which were identified by 34% of the respondents. This is followed by the press constituting 31% of the respondents. Also 31% and 5% indicated that they follow the activities of NAGRAT through NAGRAT Bulletin and conferences of the association respectively. Thus, so far as the results are concerned, respondents rely mostly on their respective delegates as the most convenient channel of information through which they follow the activities of their labour union.

**Figure 4.8: Distribution of respondents by medium of monitoring the activities of NAGRAT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conference of the association</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through delegates</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAGRAT Bulletin</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

NB: Sample size (N) = 200
4.4 THE CONTRIBUTING FACTORS OF LABOUR AGITATIONS IN GHANA

This section examines the politics of labour agitation by investigating into the factors leading to the agitations of NAGRAT as a labour union on the government. As succinctly argued by Seniwoliba (2013), a motivated workforce is a fertile ground for achieving sound industrial relations and upon which efficiency and quality depend on.

Respondents are of the view that labour agitations is when labour unions through their leadership fight the government of the day for what they feel is lack of good will on the part of government towards their wellbeing. The agitations are normally done in the form of strikes and demonstrations by labour unions.

It is important to note that two main forms of expressing labour agitation by trade unions in Ghana in general and NAGRAT in particular are identified. Significant majority of the respondents constituting 71% out of the 200 interviewed identified demonstration as the most employed form of agitation with a fairly 29% also indicating the use of strike actions. It is important to note from these results that, in examining the politics of labour agitations in Ghana, the modes through which such agitations are expressed are constitutional, that is, they are recognised by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. Therefore, in the absence of any other legitimate means of demanding for good condition of service, resort to demonstrations and strike actions are commonly employed by NAGRAT as a labour union championing and promoting the interest of its members (see figure 4.9).
The results in table 4.2 show the various reasons explaining labour agitations in Ghana identified by the respondents. Not surprisingly, sixty-five (65) of the respondents, constituting about 32% identified unrealistic salaries and wages as the major factor accounting for labour agitations. It is confirmed from the results that better salaries and wages remain important motivation package for any organized labour unions. Also, it is important to note that, labour issues like salaries and wages when addressed properly brings into reality, the ability of government to see labour unions as partners (Personal Communication, 2014). For instance, Dr. Justice D. Yankson, an Assistant General Secretary of the Ghana Medical Association (GMA) addressing the Fair Wages and Salary Commission (FWSC) argued in the light of labour issues that labour contract
between the government and labour unions should be seen as a service rather than servitude (The Chronicle, 2013).

Also the results reveal empirically that about 24% of the respondents indicated poor condition of services as a contributing factor for labour agitations in Ghana. Thus, to such respondents a better condition of service would not only ensure an increase in output in terms of performance but the promotion of friendly relationship between NAGRAT and the government. However, although various governments continue to make promises towards the promotion of better condition of service for NAGRAT, there have not been any significant changes in the light of such promises. An informant in an interview with the researcher argued that with such a persistent problem, labour agitations would continue to be fuelled and heightened as long as NAGRAT as a labour union in the teaching profession continue to press home their demands (Personal Communication, 2014).

In examining the politics of labour agitations in Ghana, results from the study notes that about 12% of the respondent identified high cost of living against low remuneration as another reason accounting for the agitations of NAGRAT. This is closely linked to the problem of unrealistic salaries and wages identified by majority (32%) of the respondents. It can be deduced from this empirical account from the study that, there is a significant relationship between cost of living and remuneration. Thus, just like any rational human entity, it is fundamental and logical to have expectation for better remuneration when the cost of living increases. Therefore, when such expectations are not met, the possibility of members putting pressure on their respective labour unions to push for such a demand becomes high. This, NAGRAT is not in exception.
To about 8% of the respondents, government does not seem to take labour serious until a form of agitation is resorted to. Thus, clearly labour protestations through demonstrations and strike actions are the only viable channel through which the government and other state agencies heed to the demands of labour unions. For example through the numerous strike actions, the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) had to appeal to the government to be proactive in responding to the demands of NAGRAT and other labour unions in the teaching profession (Joy News, 2013). A key informant in an interview with the researcher noted that:

You see, madam researcher as you are aware agitation through demonstration and strike action is the best alternative available to draw the attention of the government to comply with our plights. In fact, the government only takes us serious when we walk on the streets with our red banners tied around our foreheads and wrists. Moreover, when we decide to boycott and suspend teaching and other services, we draw not only the public attention but the government as well. We do this with the aim the public pressure and opinions will increase and put pressure on the government (Personal communication, 2014).

It is important to note again that 7% of the participants noted inadequate logistics and equipment as a contributing factor for the agitations of NAGRAT. Since the availability of the necessary logistics and equipment are important independent variables in enhancing academic performance, teachers naturally and fundamentally would express their worry to the government if such basic academic necessities are not provided (Personal communication, 2014).

In addition to the above reasons, it is worth not discounting that about 7% of the respondents indicated poor employer-employee relationship to be a contributing factor underlying the agitations of NAGRAT. Thus, labour issues such as unrealistic salaries and wages, poor condition of services, high cost of living against low remuneration, negligence on the part of the government and inadequate logistics and equipment are not the only contributing factors for the agitations of NAGRAT but the need for cordial employer-employee relationship. It is fair
enough for one to conclude based on this result that the existence of friendly and cordial relationship between the government and labour unions in general and NAGRAT in particular would ultimately provide the necessary condition for meeting their demands effectively.

**Table 4.2: Distribution of respondents by reasons for labour agitations in Ghana**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unrealistic salaries and wages</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate logistics and equipment</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor conditions of employment</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers not responsive to employees complain and demands</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor employer-employee relationship</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High cost of living against low remuneration</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government does not seem to take labour serious until a form of agitation is resorted to</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

NB: Sample size (N) = 200

### 4.5 OUTCOME OF LABOUR AGITATION AND THE NATIONAL LABOUR COMMISSION

The results in figure 4.10 show the extent to which NAGRAT as a labour union achieves its reasons for agitations. A fairly but not significant majority of the respondents constituting 45% indicated that they achieve the reasons for their agitations followed by 31% who were not certain
about whether they achieve their desire results for embarking on strikes and demonstrations. However, 24% of the participants were emphatic to indicate that they do not always achieve the reasons for their agitations. It can therefore be deduced that with a fair majority of the respondents indicating that they always achieve their reasons for their agitations, NAGRAT as a labour union takes pride in achieving a positive outcome so far as labour agitations are concerned.

Figure 4.10: Distribution of respondents by whether they always achieve the reasons for their agitations

It must be noted that some reasons were given for the inability of NAGRAT as a labour union in the teaching profession to achieve results. Majority of the respondents constituting 60% cited that that government is irresponsible to the plight and demands of labour unions like NAGRAT. Most often than not, the study noted through an interview with some key informants that
government is unnecessarily selective in responding to the demands of some labour unions (Personal communication, 2014). Using the Ghana Mediation Association as an example, a key informant noted passionately that:

If all of us would be honest to ourselves, apart from the Ghana Medical Association (GMA), which other labour union in Ghana here is the government quick to meet their demands? The problem is that and perhaps when we go on strike for weeks or months we do not hear of any loss of life. However, since human life is valued, the public outcry on the government becomes massive when there is a nationwide complains of deaths as a result of the strike actions of GMA. What people fail to understand is that the absence of we teachers from the classroom has both short and long term effects on the country. May be since these effects are not tangibly and practically felt, the government remains irresponsible and unconcerned about our demands. This is normally one of the serious reasons underlying poor examination results within the public schools (Personal communication, 2014).

To 33% of the respondents, the National Labour Commission always sides with the government. To 7% constituting the least, labour unions do not always achieve their reasons for agitations because they do not always follow the due process (see figure 4.11). This therefore makes some of their agitations lose both credibility and legitimacy making it difficult for them to achieve their desired outcomes no matter the severity of their agitations (Personal communication 2014)
Figure 4.11: Distribution of respondents by reason why NAGRAT do not always achieve desired outcomes of agitations

- Government is irresponsible
- Labour commission always side with government
- Labour unions do not always follow due process

Source: Fieldwork, 2014  
NB: Sample size (N) = 200

It is very encouraging to note that majority of the respondents comprising of significant 84% are aware of the existence of a commission that controls the activities of labour unions in Ghana. However and surprisingly, 16% of the respondents have no knowledge about the control of labour union activities by a commission in Ghana (see figure 4.12). This is because with the kind of vibrancy associated with the activities of labour unions like NAGRAT, it would have been expected that every member of such a labour union would have knowledge about the activities of important stakeholder like the National Labour Commission.
Despite the existence of the National Labour Commission, majority of the respondents constituting 55% disagree that the commission is effective so far as labour agitations are concerned. This is in contrast to 19% of the respondents who strongly agree to this assertion (see figure 4.13). Generally, majority of the respondents do not see the commission as an important mediator of labour agitations in Ghana. This quantitative evidence was supported qualitatively during the researcher’s interaction with some key informants interviewed. For instance, one informant argued that:
The lukewarm and ineffectiveness on the part of the National Labour Commission do not justify its existence. In fact, if I should put it this way, its presence is just like its absence. Therefore, we may be right to refer to it as a toothless bull dog (Personal communication, 2014).

**Figure 4.13: Distribution of respondents by level of agreement on the effectiveness of the National Labour Commission**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, 2014  
NB: Sample size (N) = 200

### 4.6 LABOUR AGITATIONS, ELECTIONS AND CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT

The timing of any form of agitations or demands for the promotion and protection of a particular interest group is very crucial. In investigating into the politics of labour agitation in Ghana, the study revealed that majority of the respondents constituting 51% strongly agree that most labour agitations in Ghana occur during elections years or when there is alternation of power as against
24% who disagree to this effect. About 17% also agree that labour agitations usually occur during these periods with 8% of the respondents who strongly disagree (see fig 4.14). Thus, undoubtedly, labour agitations do gain some popularity during electioneering years.

**Figure 4.14: Distribution of respondent by level of agreement on whether most labour agitations occur during elections or change of government**

It is important and revealing that various reasons were identified for the justification and prevalence of labour agitations during elections. To majority of the respondents constituting 45%, labour agitations do occur during election periods because of mere coincidence and nothing more. However, 43% of the participants indicated that government become responsive to the demand and agitations of NAGRAT. Thus, to such respondents, electioneering periods provide
the appropriate time for labour agitation. It is quiet revealing in examining the politics of labour agitations that 10% of the respondents noted that the agitations of NAGRAT become heightened in election to make the government of the day unpopular. To 2% of the respondents various political parties require inputs for their manifestos, hence the need for labour unions to take advantage of election years. It is obvious from the results that in examining the politics of labour agitations in Ghana, labour unions like NAGRAT see the periods of elections as very strategic through which they can realize their demands.

**Figure 4.15: Distribution of respondents by reasons for agitations in election year**

- **Government become more responsive**
- **Parties require inputs for their manifestos**
- **Unions want to make government unpopular**
- **Mere coincidence**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

NB: Sample size (N) = 200
The results in Table 4.3 reveal the various reasons explaining why most of these labour agitations tend to surface more with the coming into power of a new government. To a seeming majority of respondents thus 44.5% new governments tend to be mostly listening to labour than previous government it voted to replace. May be to such respondents, new governments are listening as a sign to appreciating electorates for voting for than into power or in fulfilment of campaign promise of forming a listening government. To 31% of respondent’s interview, labour agitations surface mostly with new government assuring its position for no other reason than to make the new government aware of challenges facing labour in the early enough. Thus, in an interview with a National Officer of NAGRAT, the respondent revealed that usually politician tend to pretend that they never were aware of issues concerning labour during the administration of their predecessors. Therefore, once labour “shake up” the system, an awareness created early more so inform the new government about labour issues early enough. With its development government cannot hide behind the issue of “we were not aware of issues” (Personal communication, 2014).

Again to a small percentage of respondents thus 6.0%, they think that labour agitate with the coming of the new government as a strategy where union leaders use to put fear into new government to make them prioritise labour issues.
Table 4.3: Distribution of respondents by reason for why Labour agitations surface more with new government in power

Why then do these labour agitations tend to surface more with the coming into power of a new government?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New governments are mostly listening to labour than their predecessors</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To make new governments aware of challenges facing labour in the early enough</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>75.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To put the fear of labour on the government to make them prioritize labour issues</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>81.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out gone governments mostly allow labour issues unsolved at the time of leaving office, therefore successive government always come to inherit such agitations</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

As already indicated earlier in this study the timing of any form of agitation or demands in the promotion and protection of a particular interest group is very crucial. It was revealed that 50% of the respondents interviewed for the study strongly disagree to the effect that labour agitations by the union were more in a particular political party’s time in government than the other. To further establish this fact based on respondents, 37% disagree with only a minor percentage of 6.5% agreeing that NAGRAT agitation is mostly connected with a particular party’s term of
office than the other. Quite surprisingly, most of the respondents believe that unions do not sympathise with any political party. That unions agitate when and how the situation calls for and not because party A is in power or party B is not. Therefore there is a known establish links between NAGRAT or union activities and party politics. (See table 4.4 below).

**Table 4.4: Distribution of respondents by level of agreement that Labour agitations increase with a particular party’s time in government than the other(s).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

NB: Sample size (N) = 200

The results gathered on whether NAGRAT as a labour union leadership pushes members agitate for their own selfish gain from politics is showed in table 4.5. A vast majority of the respondent refused the allegation. To the 61% of the respondents, the leader is NAGRAT do not stand to gain anything by pushing members to agitate, to them their leaders are never selfish. They work for the benefit of teachers in general and Nagrat members in particular. An informant the researcher interview denied vehemently on this allegation. She noted:
Mrs!!, if you consider the risk that our leaders go through during striking periods you would be surprised and appreciate their sacrifices. Rather than accusing them, I think they must be commended, why am I saying so, Madam, during such periods a strikes and demonstrations, some of our leaders have to switch off of their phones or even leave the homes or workplaces to avoid receiving threaten calls and messages or even personnel form the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI) or the Criminal Investigation Department of the Ghana Police Service (CID) arresting them; are these bodies not government institutions?. Now tell me, why such a person would go to bed with government and still feel threatened. If other union leaders do well I can answer for them but NAGRAT is a big False (Personal Communication, 2014).

For a total of 45 respondents represent about 22.5% of valid percent, they preferred not to comment on this issue may be for reasons best not said. Besides, one may also not be far from right to think or believe that the No comment responds from these category of respondents could be that they don’t want to incriminate their leadership by saying something that may not have been proved.

Surprisingly, a total of 16.5% of the respondents either strongly believe or somewhat agree to the statement that union leaders push membership to agitate for their own selfish desire satisfaction.

A respondent orally reacted:

Madam Researcher, frankly speaking, our leaders sometimes pushes us the members to agitate to their benefit. See, we voted them to power; we knew than before voting for them and now look. They are riding in sophisticated cars and living in posh apartments in Accra and other places. Are we not all teachers? Where on earth did our leaders acquire such affluence with in this short time? If not from government or politicians, then where? They think we are fools, whenever their demands are not met by these politicians, then they turn to use members as baits. If not then what explanation can be given so many unresolved issues with our work. Tell me, why we always, almost agitate on the same issues and government seem not to be bothered. In fact, teachers we are fed up with our union leaders. Is a matter of time? When we get of evidence that our leaders and these politicians are bed mates, then you will all hear about us (Personal communication, 2014).

As indicated by table 4.5 below:
Table 4.5: Distribution of respondent on level of agreement whether agitations are to satisfy union leaders desires on not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very True</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>77.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Comment</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, 2014. NB: Sample size (N) = 20

A total number of 156 respondents out the 200 representing 78% of valid percentage agree to the fact that labour agitations have maximum effects on the country as a whole. While to a minimum number of respondents representing 22% of total respondents, Labour unrest has no effect on the country Ghana as a whole. (See table 4.6 below).
Table 4.6: Distribution of respondents by level of agreement on the effects of agitations on the Ghana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid Yes</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td>78.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

According to the results from table 4.7 below, for 47% of respondents, labour agitations or unrest seem to have positive effects on the country so far as labour issues are concerned. May be the effects from respondents being union members looked at the effects from the angle of how much these agitations results might benefit labour or workers in particular. For 27.5% of respondents, the effects of Labour unrest are always negative. Thus to these group of respondents there is nothing beneficial that the state gains from labour unrest. To 53 respondents, represented by 26.5%, they view such agitations on the labour front as having both positive and negative effects on the country. To the researcher, these group of respondents are more broad minded. They seem to do a neutral analysis on the effects of these agitations not only to see it as a having a resultant benefit to the worker but also the negative impact such unrest tend to have on the country as a whole.
Table 4.7: Distribution of respondents by whether the effects of Labour agitations are negative or positive

If yes, are these effects positive or negative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Only</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>46.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Only</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>73.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Positive and Negative</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, 2014  
NB: Sample size (N) = 200

On respondents view on the suggestion that was made by Dr. Tony Aidoo. He advocated for the introduction of a Strike Pay Policy whereby unions would pay the salaries and wages of its members for the period they stay out of work during strike actions. This Mr. Aidoo believes is the one time solution to constant labour unrest in the country Ghana. Surprisingly, a total respondent’s percentage of 68% as indicated in table 4.8, responded negatively to such suggestion. An informer who shared this view, out of anger retorted: “who does Dr. Aidoo thinks he is? How resourced are the unions to pay such a huge number of members? He should accept that the right to demonstrate or strike to express our displeasure as the workforce of this country is legitimate and therefore we would resist any attempt from any quarters to rob of our legitimate rights as citizens. We would not be intimidated in anyway. If the try to punish us we the seizer of our salaries, we would fight them with everything at our disposal”.

60
On the other hand a total respondent percentage of 32% of 200 strongly agree to the suggestion for the introduction a strike pay policy. In an interview with one of such respondents, he claimed that with the adoption of this policy when they as teachers go on strike nobody can threaten as again.” We can strike till governments solve our problems.”

**Table 4.8: Distribution of respondents by level of agreement on the implementation of a strike pay policy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes I strongly think so</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, I strongly refuse this solution</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork, 2014  
NB: Sample size (N) =200

4.7 CONCLUSION

The chapter presented the analysis and discussion of data in investigating into the politics of labour agitations in Ghana by using the National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT) as a case study. The chapter through a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of data presented the background of respondents, the level of engagement of respondents in the activities of NAGRAT, the contributing factors of labour agitations in Ghana and the outcomes of labour agitations. It also, as part of examining the politics of labour agitations in Ghana analysed the
dynamics and relationship between NAGRAM’s labour demands, elections and change of government.
CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the discussion of the findings of the research. The study was carried out to find out from union members perspective why the country seem to experience intense labour agitation during election years, when there is a change of government and most importantly to try to establish if there exist any politics going on between government and union leadership more especially from the unions in the education sector, so as to suggest strategies and procedure that union leaders and government in general can employ to contribute to solve the labour unrest problem if not completely reduce it to the bearest minimum to safe pupils and students of the country. In this life, it is said that time once lost can never be regained.

5.2 DISCUSSIONS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The study arrived at the following findings.

Majority of the respondents that took part in the study responded positively to question whether or not they follow the activities of NAGRAT as labour union or not. Labour union, otherwise also referred to as Trade Union, as formally organise coalition of employees (Bendix, 2004) and encourage participation in their goals (Metochi, 2002). Union participation refers to involvement in collective action (Metochi, 2002) and other union related activities (McShane, 1986), that are closely to the effective functioning of the union. According to Fullagar (1986) union participation activities can be classified as either formal or informal. The formal activities to
include involvement in elections, meeting attendance, voting, filling a grievance and serving as an officer (Fullagar et al., 1995); these are activities which are in frequent as schedule. In contrast, informal activities include helping other members to file grievances, talking about the union with friends and family, and reading union relating publications. These informal activities are less formal but more frequent (Fullagar et al., 1995).

With majority of respondents participating to NAGRAT activities through means such as the press, NAGRAT bulletins, conferences of the Association, etc, it can be said that they were very much informed on labour unrest as active participants and not passive ones.

Again, majority of the respondents had been in the service between 6-11 years and above. This implies that by virtue of their long service, they might have witness or have partake in a number of unrest on the labour front. This, all thing been equal had given them much experience to effectively provide meaningful information as to whether there is any politics giving at the labour front which either leadership or government explore to their benefit. Besides, the respondents high educational background and high level of participation in union activities, means he or she is able to understand and appreciate the reasons for labour unrest.

Politics as defined by Lasswell (1936) in one of his major works titled; Politics: Who Gets What, When, How, “who gets what, when, how”. This definition though simple and may be limited, its strengths lies in the fact that it expands or broadens the horizon of a researcher or an enquirer to look for politics in many social settings than the formal public government. It helps underline the fact that politics is about decisions made by people usually in leadership concerning certain objectives which could be limited. Also it contains the implication of some struggle involve in the making of the decision as to which group attains what, at which time thus the when and how
or which means or medium to the satisfaction of members. The politics that goes on between on leadership and government within the labour front during negotiations was what this study sought to find out from members. At the end, it was reveal that majority of NAGRAT members trust their leaders so much that they do believe that their leaders would never betray them with politicians. Their responds made this revelation.

The result gathered on whether NAGRAT as a labour union leadership pushes members agitate for their own selfish gain from politics is showed that vast majority of the respondent refused the allegation. To the 61% of the respondents, the leaders of NAGRAT do not stand to gain anything by pushing members to agitate. To them their leaders are never selfish. They work for the benefit of teachers in general and Nagrat members in particular. An informal the researcher interview denied vehemently when questions on this allegation she noted:

Mrs, if you consider the risk that our leaders go through during striking periods you would be surprised and appreciate their sacrifices. Rather than accusing them, I think they must be commended, why am I saying so, Madam, during such periods a strikes and demonstrations, some of our leaders have to switch of their phones or even leave the homes or workplaces to avoid receiving threaten calls and messages or even personnel form the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI) or the Criminal Investigation Department of the Ghana Police Service (CID) arresting them; are these bodies not government institutions?. Now tell me, why such a person would go to bed with government and still feel threatened. If other union leaders do well I can answer for them but NAGRAT is a big False (Personal Communication, 2014).

On the other hand, there were some of the respondents who either strongly believe or somewhat agree to the statement that union leaders push membership to agitate for their own selfish desire satisfaction. This group constituted a total of 16.5% of the total respondent population. A respondent who would want to speak to the research orally reacted:
‘Madam Researcher, frankly speaking, our leaders sometimes pushes us the members to agitate to their benefit. See, we voted them to power; we knew than before voting for them and now look. They are riding in sophisticated cars and living in posh apartments in Accra and other places. Are we not all teachers? Where on earth did our leaders acquire such affluence with in this short time? If not from government or politicians, then where? They think we are fools, whenever their demands are not met by these politicians, then they turn to use members as baits. If not then what explanation can be given so many unresolved issues with our work. Tell me, why we always, almost agitate on the same issues and government seem not to be bothered. In fact, teachers we are fed up with our union leaders. Is a matter of time? When we get of evidence that our leaders and these politicians are bed mates, then you will all hear about us (Personal communication, 2014).

Again, the study reveal that, the timing of various labour actions in Ghana in general and by Nagrat at the educational sector in particular has nothing to do with which party government is in power at the time or not. To the members, their union has no sympathy or hatred for any political party to consider striking or demonstrating or not. To majority of the respondents the timing or labour actions can determine whether or not issues would be tackled with seriousness or not. Time is very crucial if victory is the aim. This view is able echoed by (J., Ghana's numerous workers strikes; a cause for concern, 2013).

The respondents revealed the various reasons explaining why most of these labour agitations tend to surface more with the coming into power of a new government. To a seeming majority of respondents new governments tend to be mostly listening to labour than previous government it voted to replace. May be to such respondents, new governments are listening as a sign to appreciating electorates for voting for than into power or in fulfilment of campaign promise of forming a listening government. To others, labour agitations surface mostly with new government assuring its position for no other reason than to make the new government aware of challenges facing labour in the early enough. Thus, in an interview with a National Officer of
NAGRAT, the respondent revealed that usually politician tend to pretend that they never were aware of issues concerning labour during the administration of their predecessors. Therefore, once labour “shake up” the system, an awareness created early more so inform the new government about labour issues early enough. With its development government cannot hide behind the issue of “we were not aware of issues”.

It was only a small percentage of respondents who, think that labour agitate with the coming of the new government as a strategy where union leaders use to put fear into new government to make them prioritise labour issues. In the researcher’s view politicians at different point in must stop this blame game of political opponents always been accused of being behind any form of unrest on the labour front and try to work towards a more dispassionate methods to prevent instability at the labour front.

With this the respondents gave out what they belief to be the main causes of labour unrest in Ghana’s education sector.

Various reasons explaining labour agitations in Ghana were identified by the respondents. Not surprisingly, majority of the respondents constituting about 32% identified unrealistic salaries and wages as the major factor accounting for labour agitations. It is confirmed from the results that better salaries and wages remain important motivation package for any organized labour unions. Also, it is important to note that, labour issues like salaries and wages when addressed properly brings into reality, the ability of government to see labour unions as partners (Personal Communication, 2014). For instance, Dr. Justice D. Yankson, an Assistant General Secretary of the Ghana Medical Association (GMA) addressing the Fair Wages and Salary Commission
(FWSC) argued in the light of labour issues that labour contract between the government and labour unions should be seen as a service rather than servitude (The Chronicle, 2013).

Also the results reveal empirically that about 24% of the respondents indicated poor condition of services as a contributing factor for labour agitations in Ghana. Thus, to such respondents a better condition of service would not only ensure an increase in output in terms of performance but the promotion of friendly relationship between NAGRAT and the government. However, although various governments continue to make promises towards the promotion of better condition of service for NAGRAT, there have not been any significant changes in the light of such promises. An informant in an interview with the researcher argued that with such a persistent problem, labour agitations would continue to be fuelled and heightened as long as NAGRAT as a labour union in the teaching profession continue to press home their demands. An instance was with the introduction of the SSSS pay policy in 2010. The current SSSS pay policy and the recent spate of industrial actions across the length and breadth of the country bring to bear the failed promises as a result of inactions of government and state institutions responsible for labour issues to force. Migrating workers onto the SSSS is an item on the Pay Policy. Other items included the harmonisation and standardization of the various categories of allowances to workers. However, upon migrating some classes of workers onto the salary structure, government, the Fair Wages and Salaries Commission and the National Labour Commission went into deep sleep. All attempts to wake them up proved futile. The implications are that some group of workers migrated onto the spine with various categories of allowances while others migrated onto the spine with nothing more than their raw salary, this was not what the workers were made to understand during the various conference and seminars on the salary structure as far as the year 2005. The policy was equal pay for equal qualification everywhere irrespective of
which agency or institution. The disadvantage group which included teachers’ cannot understand why the harmonisation and standardization of allowances which would have availed them the opportunity to argue their case and earn some allowances have not been address for well over three years. Again the Fair Wages and Salaries Commission deem it expedient to grant some categories of workers market premium which in some case exceed their salaries even before the determination of the guidelines for granting of market premium. Expectedly, some service classifications are denied the premium with teachers as part. How can one expect them to be silent? Is their work of educating the Ghanaian population not that important? What is the saying that education is the bedrock of every society relevance to Ghana? It is amazing how government and state institutions can play so many tricks with the lives of some group of workers and are quick to appeal to them to consider the plight of parents, pupils and student and return to work when they embark of strikes and forms of agitations. (Nabome, 2014)

In examining the politics of labour agitations in Ghana, results from the study notes that about 12% of the respondent identified high cost of living against low remuneration as another reason accounting for the agitations of NAGRAT. This is closely linked to the problem of unrealistic salaries and wages identified by majority (32%) of the respondents. It can be deduced from this empirical account from the study that, there is a significant relationship between cost of living and remuneration. Thus, just like any rational human entity, it is fundamental and logical to have expectation for better remuneration when the cost of living increases. Therefore, when such expectations are not met, the possibility of members putting pressure on their respective labour unions to push for such a demand becomes high. This, NAGRAT is not in exception.

To about 8% of the respondents, government does not seem to take labour serious until a form of agitation is resorted to. Thus, clearly labour protestations through demonstrations and strike
actions are the only viable channel through which the government and other state agencies heed to the demands of labour unions. For example through the numerous strike actions, the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) had to appeal to the government to be proactive in responding to the demands of NAGRAT and other labour unions in the teaching profession (Joy News, 2013).

It is important to note again that 7% of the participants noted inadequate logistics and equipment as a contributing factor for the agitations of NAGRAT. Since the availability of the necessary logistics and equipment are important independent variables in enhancing academic performance, teachers naturally and fundamentally would express their worry to the government if such basic academic necessities are not provided (Nagrat, 2014).

In addition to the above reasons, it is worth not discounting that about 7% of the respondents indicated poor employer-employee relationship to be a contributing factor underlying the agitations of NAGRAT. Thus, labour issues such as unrealistic salaries and wages, poor condition of services, high cost of living against low remuneration, negligence on the part of the government and inadequate logistics and equipment are not the only contributing factors for the agitations of NAGRAT but the need for cordial employer-employee relationship. It is fair enough for one to conclude based on this result that the existence of friendly and cordial relationship between the government and labour unions in general and NAGRAT in particular would ultimately provide the necessary condition for meeting their demands effectively.

Finally, respondents also expressed their views on the suggestion that was made by Dr. Tony Aidoo: his advocacy for the introduction of a Strike Pay Policy whereby unions would pay the salaries and wages of its members for the period they stay out of work during strike actions. This
Dr. Aidoo believes is the one time solution to constant labour unrest in the country Ghana as the unions would learn to appreciate the pain government or employers goes through when they have to find money to pay workers for virtually no work done over a period. The reason for the advocating of such strike policy may be that in Ghana, unions are not that resourced or strong financially to be in position to pay its members their full salaries and wages as long as they say out from work hence if implemented, for fear of such burden, unions would not strike at any little provocation but would rather negotiate while still working. Not surprisingly, a total respondent’s percentage of 68% responded negatively to such suggestion. An informant who shared this view, out of anger retorted:

Who does Dr. Aidoo thinks he is? How resourced are the unions to pay such a huge number of members? He should accept that the right to demonstrate or strike to express our displeasure as the workforce of this country is legitimate and therefore we would resist any attempt from any quarters to rob of our legitimate rights as citizens. We would not be intimidated in anyway. If the try to punish us we the seizer of our salaries, we would fight them with everything at our disposal (Personal communication, 2014).

On the other hand a total respondent percentage of 32% of 200 strongly agreed to the suggestion for the introduction a strike pay policy. In an interview with one of such respondents, he claimed that with the adoption of such a policy when they as teachers go on strike nobody can threaten them again. We can strike till governments solve their problems (Personal communication, 2014).

In critically assessing the two views as expressed by respondents, one can point out that whether or not this strike policy is introduced, it may further worsen the already precarious situation. If adopted, government and employers may be saved financially but unions may feel bitter and think that they are been victimize by their employers hence they would still demonstrate. On the other hand if unions are able to get the salaries and wages of their members paid then they would not return to any negotiation table to negotiate until their demands are met. When that happens
their effects may be disastrous on the country at large.

5.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed in detail the findings made during the study conducted to assess the politics of labour union agitations in Ghana’s fourth republic using Nagrat as a case study. It was discovered among other things that union leaders have no personal interest in pushing member to strike or demonstrate. It is important to note that the timings for agitations on the labour front during the time of study have no link to which party in government or not. Unions agitate when it becomes necessary to do so. Rather than parties blaming each other as instigating unions, governments, employers and unions must sit up to find a lasting solution to this constant rate of unrest to maintain a level of sanity to encourage growth and development.

The effects of labour unrest or agitations are devastating and need to be forestalled. In times of labour unrest, there is loss of productivity, hence the economy suffers. As is usually the case in Ghana, workers are paid even during the period of strikes. Such cost could be avoided if labour issues are properly handled even before it escalates into agitations of any form. In the educational sector, contact hours between teachers and student are lost and this can never be regained which may in the final state affect pupils and student performances.
CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The concluding chapter of the study presents the summary of key findings, conclusions in the form of some lessons drawn from the study, as well as the necessary recommendations in examining the politics of labour agitations in Ghana by using NAGRAT as a case study.

The main task of the study was to:

1. Bring out the main factors that accounts for the numerous labour unrest or agitations in Ghana’s Fourth Republic in the educational sector.

2. Critically examine to find out if there exist any politics between NAGRAT union leadership and government that seem to favour each party to the blind side of members.

3. To establish that if the timing of various strike actions has any link with a particular party in power or not.

4. To find out if Ghana is ready to introduce a Strike Pay Policy as advocated by Dr. Tony Aidoo.

6.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In finding answers to the research problem of this study which set out to examine the politics of labour agitations under the Fourth Republic of Ghana, the work based on a systematic, detailed
and in-depth analysis through the mixed method research approach arrived at the following findings.

In examining the politics of labour agitations in Ghana by using NAGRAT as the focus of analysis, the researcher considered the extent of engagement of respondents in the activities of NAGRAT as very crucial. It was revealed that members of NAGRAT as a labour union are highly involved in its activities and they see the membership to such an organised labour union as a conduit for aggregating, promoting and protecting their interest and general welfare.

On a fundamental note, the study identifies two main employed forms of agitation which are (1) demonstrations and (2) strike actions; through which members of NAGRAT express their labour concerns. However, in the absence of any other legitimate means of expressing labour agitations, resort to demonstrations as revealed by the study is considered to be the most employed form of labour agitation.

The research revealed that the leadership of NAGRAT does not gain anything by pushing members to agitate. Those leaders of the association are more concerned of the general welfare of their members and the promotion of better conditions within the teaching service than what they would gain by fraternising with politicians or employers to the disadvantages of their members. That is a core value of trade unionism, thus promoting and protecting the welfare of the worker population. This therefore implies that membership of NAGRAT trust in the sincerity of their leaders.

The study also revealed that varied and recurring factors account for the frequent agitations of NAGRAT as an organized labour union which are common under both the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP) regimes. The most dominant contributing factor
for labour agitation is unrealistic salaries and wages. Other recurring factors also include poor condition of services, high cost of living against low remuneration as well as inadequate teaching equipment and logistics. These factors, the work notes, explain the reasons for the unhealthy relationship between the various governments under the Fourth Republic of Ghana and NAGRAT as an organised labour union and perhaps other labour unions.

The work also noted three main reasons behind the inability of NAGRAT to achieve their demands which make the outcome of their agitations very futile most often than not. The first and most fundamental of all is the fact that both the NDC and NPP governments remain very irresponsible to the demands and plights of the union. Second, the National Labour Commission always side with the government of the day in playing its role as the national mediator of labour agitations. It is important to note from the account of the study that this made majority of the respondents to conclude that the National Labour Commission is highly ineffective so far as labour agitations are concerned. The last factor accounting for the fruitless venture of NAGRAT is its inability to follow the due process which affects the credibility and legitimacy of its agitations.

In examining the politics of labour agitations under Ghana’s Fourth Republic, the study also surmised that labour agitations in the form of demonstrations and strike actions are very predominant during electioneering years. The study in the light of this notes various reasons for the heightened labour agitations in electioneering years. The first and most dominant reason is the fact that governments become more responsive to the demands and pressing needs of NAGRAT as an organised labour union. Second, to make the government of the day unpopular and draw public attention. It is of much significant interest to note the issue of making the government of the day unpopular has seen both the NPP and NDC playing the blame game
depending on who is in power. Thus, the particular governments of the day continue to blame the opposition for been behind heightened agitations of organized labour activities in Ghana. Lastly resorting to labour agitation actions in electioneering years, the study notes provide the opportunity for NAGRAT to make inputs in political party manifestos.

Finally, the research revealed that the country may not be ready at this particular time for the introduction of any strike policy. The unions are also not that resourced to be burdened with such a policy.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

After carefully going through this research process under the topic “Politics of Labour Union Agitations in Ghana’s Fourth Republic: A Case Study of the National Association of Graduate Teachers”- Ghana, the researcher and the team arrived at the following conclusions.

In the first place, the research revealed that members of unions more especially those unions within the education sector, of which Nagrat is one if not the most dominant participate in it activities through various means which include the press, partaking in demonstrations, strikes, attending conferences of the union etc.

Fundamentally, unions always seem to use demonstrations and strikes frequently in getting their employers and government to hear them. This situation is very much unfortunate for a developing country like Ghana as such actions take workers of their duties which leads to loss of work done and even at the educational sector, loss of instructional or contact hours that can never be regained considering the fact that currently teachers and students always had to struggle to complete recommended syllabus with the stipulated time. Thus it can be concluded that the
country lacks better acceptable legal means that can be employed to resolve issues at the labour front. This must be seriously looked at by stakeholders of the labour front.

Again, the study revealed that such labour agitations that frequently occur on the labour front has not much link with parties in power. Labour agitate as and when they feel their rights is been trampled on and not because NDC or NPP is in power or not. On the timings that unions agitate, it was revealed that governments tend to be more listening during election period than at any time. This may be that governments for fear of losing impending elections chose to listen to workers. This timing also from the data gathered during this research has no link with which party in power or not in power. Therefore it can be concluded that the timings of unions actions so far as agitations on the labour front in Ghana is concern can best be effectively addressed during election years and when new government takes over. This bring to bear that governments use these accusations and counter accusations as a political propaganda to make the citizens of Ghana believe that unions are sympathisers of party A or B so that the citizens would not empathized with this unions to even understand their concerns.

Finally the study further revealed that union members and even leadership concluded that a strike pay policy may be good for other developed countries with developed unions and not Ghana for now. Therefore it is concluded the unions in the country are not ready for the adoption of such a policy around this time and therefore any attempt by government to introduce this policy at these period would be met with stiff opposition.
6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has worked out a comprehensive analysis and evaluation on the politics of labour union agitations in Ghana Fourth Republic using the National Association of Graduate Teachers’ as a case study. Based on the findings and conclusions made, the following recommendations have been suggested:

Demonstrations and strikes seem to be the only language government understands according to labour. This is an unfortunate situation especially for a country like Ghana. Demonstrations and strikes have the potential of taking workers off duties which can eventually lead to no work done thus retarding the country’s growth and development. Other well acceptable means such as dialogue must be employed by both parties to listen to each other. In sitting to talk, each party must not use intimidating language or gestures. The environment for such verbal exchanges must be neutral to each party as much as possible. Workshops aimed at finding other alternatives to strikes and demonstrations must be organised by the stakeholders within the employment and employee sector at regular times. Qualified resource persons must be brought from both within and outside the country with government full sponsorship to educated these parties concerned. With other alternatives employed, the strikes and demonstrations if even to be applied would be the last and final resort.

Also, that the main problem between labour and government has been mistrust. Unions feel that government intentionally allow labour issues to linger on until during elections year when may be for fear of losing elections they pretend to listen hence it tend to abandon this issue after elections. If the government is thrown from office after elections, the new governments always hide behind not having any knowledge of such labour issues. This must labour bring out the same issue time without number without any solution. A careful look at the causes of such
unrest, it was revealed that is always been the same issues such as salaries, unpaid allowances, failed government promises and MOUs’, etc. It is recommended that government must a matter of agency respect and fulfilled MOUs’ signed. Both parties must give a timeline for the implementations of such document signed and if possible make the Ghanaian public aware of such time lines. This may go a long way to make each party want to fulfill its part for fear of either losing election or losing sympathy of the Ghanaian population.

Again, governments and their political opponents must stop playing propaganda with labour issues. This blame game of union ‘A’ been supported by party ‘B’ vice versa must stop. Unions’ issues must be dealt with devoid of any party politics. Labour is the backbone of the nation’s development. Parties may come to power and go but unions’ remain to work with any party that forms the government of the day hence labour unions are more than any political party therefore labour issues must never be used by any political party whether in power or not to try to score any points that are politically motivated.

Finally, in as much as Ghana loses much money in paying worker during strike periods, the unions cannot support members now if the new pay policy been advocated is introduced. It might save the country money but it would further destroy the already bad relationship at the labour front which may have the tendency of creating political instability in the country. This can be avoided if governments collaborate with union leadership to find effective investment avenues available both within and outside the country where unions can invest over a period to be more resourced to face such challenges. Again these unions can also collaborate with sister unions that are more developed and resourceful in other developed countries in the case of teachers like the Federation of Canadian Teachers’ to tap into their experiences for the growth of theirs down
in Ghana here. The unions must educate their members well on this new pay policy before it is introduced in Ghana later years to come.
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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent,

This questionnaire is to solicit views on the topic: “THE POLITICS OF LABOUR UNION AGITATIONS IN GHANA’S FOURTH REPUBLIC: A CASE STUDY OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GRADUATE TEACHERS’ (NAGRAT, GHANA)” for the award of Master of Philosophy in Political Science at the University of Ghana - Legon. The focus of the research is to find out why there have been various forms of labour agitations led by their unions in the country and why most of these agitations normally seem to be more during elections year and when a new government is sworn into power over the last two decades, using the National Association of Graduate Teachers’ as a case study. The researcher would therefore be appreciative to you if you would spare a few minutes of your time to complete this questionnaire.

The researcher wants to state categorically that whatever responds given would be treated anonymous and would be utilized for this research purpose. This work is purely an academic exercise.

Instruction: Please tick (✓) where applicable and supply details where required.
SECTION A: BACKGROUND DATA

1. Sex? 1. Male ( )  2. Female ( )

2. Age?  1. 20-29 ( )  2. 30-39 ( )  3. 40-49 ( )  4. 50 and above ( )


4. Educational Background
   1. S.S.C.E ( )  2. DBS ( )  3. HND ( )
   4. First Degree ( )  5. Master's Degree
   6. Other (please specify)…………………………………………………………………………………

5. What is your current Grade/Position? ………………………………………………………………..

6. How long have you been a teacher?
   1. 1-5years ( )  2. 6-10years ( )  3. 11years and above ( )

7. Are you a member of any of the Trade Unions is your profession?  1. Yes ( )  2. No ( )

8. If yes, which of them?
   1. Ghana National Association of Teachers’- GNAT ( )
   2. National Association of Graduate Teachers’-NAGRAT ( )
   3. Coalition of Concern Teachers’ – CCT ( )
   4. Other (please specify)…………………………………………………………………………………

9. If NAGRAT, why did choose this association
   1. ………………………………
   2. ………………………………
   3. ………………………………
   4. ………………………………
10. Do you as member follow the various activities and actions of NAGRAT as a labour union?
   1. Yes  2. No

11. If yes, through what medium are you able to monitor the activities of your union?
   1. Press (    )  2. NAGRAT Bulletins (    )  3. Information given by delegates (    )
   4. Conferences of the Association (    )  5. Others (please specify)……………………………..

SECTION B: LABOUR ISSUES

12. In your own words, what is labour agitation?............................................................................................................................................
..........................................................................................................................................................
..........................................................................................................................................................
..........................................................................................................................................................

13. What are the various forms of labour agitations that are mostly employed in Ghana by unions?
   1. Demonstrations (    )
   2. Strike (    )
   3. Lockout (    )
   4. Other (please specify)………………………………………….

14. What do you think are the reasons for labour agitations in Ghana?(choose any 4)
   1. Unrealistic salaries and wages paid workers. (    )
   2. Inadequate logistics and equipments to work with. (    )
   3. Poor conditions of employment. (    )
4. Employers not responsive to employees complain and demands. ( )

5. Poor employer-employee relationship. ( )

6. High cost of living against low remuneration. ( )

7. Government does not seem to take labour serious until a form of agitation is resorted to.

8. Unions agitate for no important reasons ( )

9. Any other (please specify)........................................................................................................

15. Do these unions always achieve the reasons for the agitations?

1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( ) 3. Sometimes ( )

16. If yes, then why is it that these agitations keep repeating itself almost every other time?

1. .................................................................................................................................

2. .................................................................................................................................

3. .................................................................................................................................

17. If no, what are the reasons? (Choose any three)

1. Government not responsive to the plight of workers. ( )

2. Labour commission always side with government. ( )

3. Labour demands very unrealistic. ( )

4. Labour unions do not always follow the due process. ( )

18. Do you know that there is a commission that controls labour union activities in Ghana? 1. 1.

1. Yes 2. No
19. If yes, what is the name of that commission……………………………………………………………………... 

20. Do you agree to the statement that the National Labour Commission is effective so far as labour agitations are concern in Ghana?

1. Strongly agree ( )          2. Agree ( )        3. Strongly disagree ( )              4. Disagree ( )

21. Do you agree that most of these labour agitations usually occur during election year or when there is a change of government?

1. Strongly Agree ( )         2. Agree ( )          3. Strongly Disagree ( )         4. Disagree ( )

22. If you agree, why are most labour agitations in elections year?

1. Governments tend to be more responsive during election years for fear of defeat. ( )
2. Parties require inputs for their manifesto for elections. ( )
3. Unions want to make ruling government unpopular. ( )
4. Just mere coincidence. ( )
5. Others (please specify)……………………………………………………………………...

23. Why then do these labour agitations tend to surface more with the coming into power of a new government?

1. New governments are mostly listening to labour than their predecessors’. ( )
2. To make new governments aware of challenges facing labour in the country early enough. ( )
3. To put the fear of labour on the government to make them prioritize labour issues. ( )
4. Out gone governments mostly allow labour issues unsolved at the time of leaving office, therefore successive government always come to inherit such agitations (   ).

5. None of the above, just coincidence. (    )

24. Do you agree to the statement that labour agitations are more in a particular party’s time in government than the other?

1. Strongly Agree (   )            2. Agree (   )               3. Strongly Disagree (   )            4. Disagree (   )

25. It is true that union leadership pushes members to agitate for their own selfish gains from politicians.

1. Very True (   )               2. True (   )                  3. False (   )                     4. No Comment (   )

26. Are there any effects of labour agitations on the country as a whole?

1. Yes (     )                                           2. No (     )

27. If yes, are these effects positive or negative?

1. Positive Only (     )               2. Negative Only (     )            3. Both Positive and Negative (     )

28. It has been suggested the government should come out with A Strike Pay Policy whereby unions would pay the salaries and wages of its members for the period they stay out of work. Do you think this is the solution the country needs to solve this labour agitations problem once and for all?

1. Yes I strongly think so. (     )               2. No, I strongly refuse this solution. (     )