



COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND INDUSTRIAL HARMONY IN ORGANISATION

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ABSTRACT

The objective of collective bargaining is essentially for the negotiation about working conditions and terms of employment between an employer (organization) on one hand and the representative of workers on the other hand with a view of reaching an agreement. The focus of this research however, is on the effects of collective bargaining in achieving industrial harmony in organizations both public and private using The Federal Polytechnic, Bida as a study area. The objective of the study is to highlight the effects of collective bargaining on industrial harmony, to find out if there is a significant relationship between communication and industrial harmony. The study made use of both primary and secondary sources of data collection, use of questionnaire. Library, internet, ASUP Bulletins, literatures, and journals. The data collected from 200 respondents through Convenience Sampling Method (CSM) was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), and correlation analysis technique. The result of the analysis was used in testing the 3 hypothesis postulated and it was discovered that a significant relationship exists between collective bargaining (independent variable) and industrial harmony (dependent variable). The findings of the study were summarized and concluded. The study recommended that union leaders should try as much as possible to separate their personal interest and ambition from the collective interests of union members, management should also learn to respect and honor collective agreement in order to build trust and confidence in industrial relations process.

Keywords: *Collective Bargaining, Industrial Harmony, Employers/Employees, Management, Trade Unions.*

INTRODUCTION

Collective bargaining has come to be recognized as one of the major column of industrial democracy. It plays a vital role in creating and sustaining industrial harmony through early recognition of emergent areas of conflict and thereby taking

steps to remove them through dialogue and accord but the machinery of collective bargaining is often maltreated through non-adherence to the basic principles that guides the practice of collective bargaining. Collective bargaining is a process in which the representatives of Labor organization and the representatives of business organization meet and attempt to negotiate a contract or agreement which specifies the nature of the employee - employer union relationship. According to an ILO (1960), Collective bargaining is defined as "Negotiations about working conditions and terms of employment between an employers, group of employees or one or more employers' organization with a view to reaching an agreement. From the above, it can be gathered that collective bargaining; It is an instrument, It is a mechanism, It is a method. Collective bargaining which refers to the joint negotiation of terms of employment of their representative is also the life blood of trade union which constitutes joint agreement to deal with virtually all problems that might affect development of the organization. In essence, collective bargaining covers all arrangements in which employee do not negotiate individually but negotiates collectively through representatives. For instance, Academic staff union of Polytechnics (ASUP) because it is their representatives that will carry out their functions with genuine interest and manner.

Negotiation should not be left out between management and trade unions because while taking an agreement to be a room; negotiation will stand for the key to the room. These two processes are perfectly recognized in order to make collective bargaining perfect and bring about industrial harmony. Any negotiation that does not lead into agreement is regarded as an incomplete argument and can never bring about industrial peace. Hence, the need for this research works so as to identify the effects of collective bargaining in bringing industrial harmony in the Federal Polytechnic, Bida. There have been various strike actions in the past in the Federal Polytechnic Bida which led to carrying out this research work in order to present ways by which collective bargaining could help bring about industrial peace and harmony and reduce future strike actions in the institution. Moreover, Collective bargaining does not stop at negotiation, it extends to the stage of agreement which inevitably must be jointly signed by both parties, that is, representatives of workers or employees and Management.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

There have been strike actions over the years in Nigeria, for example, the ASUP one-year strike that took place in 2013 resulting in the loss of Labour time and little or no level of productivity. Due to poor relationship between the top management and the operatives, many organizations have not been able to enjoy industrial harmony for a

length of time. Most of the conflicts that has occurred in organizations has been linked to ineffective or breakdown of collective bargaining machineries. A lot of man working hours and revenue has been lost due to crises in organizations. It perceived that other parties (Union and Management) co-exist and collectively take decisions that affect both the organization and employees respectively.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this research are to highlight the effects of collective bargaining on industrial harmony in organizations. Specifically, the study aimed:

1. To examine how collective bargaining can help in achieving industrial harmony in Federal Polytechnic Bida.
2. To find out whether there is a relationship between collective bargaining and Performance in Federal Polytechnic Bida.
3. To know whether effective communication can help in achieving Industrial harmony in Federal Polytechnic Bida.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

To achieve the aforementioned objectives, the following hypothesis will be postulated and tested for its validity:

H1 - Collective bargaining has no positive effects on industrial harmony in the Federal Polytechnic Bida.

H2- There is no significant relationship between collective bargaining and Performance in the Federal Polytechnic Bida.

H3 - Effective communication during collective bargaining between management and union can lead to industrial harmony in the Federal Polytechnic Bida.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Collective bargaining is concerned with the relations between trade unions (representatives of workers) and management (representatives of employers). Bargaining is collective because chosen representatives of Labour and management act as a bargaining agent. According to Michael (1975), "collective bargaining is a process by which employers, on one hand and representatives of employees on the other hand attempts to arrive at agreements covering the conditions under which employees will contribute and be compensated for their services". In accordance with Article 2 of International Labour Organization (1998), the principle of collective bargaining is the process of determining the working conditions and terms of employment, regulating the relationship between employer and workers, regulating the relationship between employer organization and workers'

organization. Collective bargaining was first used in 1891 by Beatrice Webb, founder of Industrial Relations in Britain. It covers the negotiation, administration, interpretation, application and enforcement of written agreement between employers and unions representing employees; setting forth joint understanding as to policies and procedures governing wages, rate of pay, how to work and other conditions of employment. According to Dale (1959), "Collective bargaining is the term used to describe a situation in which the essential conditions of employment are determined by a bargaining process undertaken by representatives of a group of workers on one hand and one or more employers on the other". So therefore, in simple words, Collective bargaining is a process, technique or mechanism to protect the interests of the employers and the employees, to determine the employment conditions, to fix wages and salaries and also achieve the objectives of the organization. By collective bargaining, we mean "Good faith bargaining" and it means that proposals are matched with counter proposals and that both parties make every reasonable effort to arrive at an agreement. It does not mean that either party is compelled to agree to a proposal nor does it require that either party make any specific concessions.

According to Yoder et al (2002), Collective bargaining is useful for setting rules that govern the organization and so it is viewed as a means of Industrial jurisprudence and what this means is that collective bargaining represents a unique instrument for the management of Industrial disputes through the process which consists of advancing proposals, discussion of such proposals, receiving counter-proposals and resolving differences. According to Fajana (2000), "Endless negotiations in collective bargaining process without necessarily reaching agreements does not in any way suggest that collective bargaining has taken place". In this regard, it is easy to identify collective bargaining when the outcome is collective agreement which must be enforced by both parties. According to Lawal (2016), "while management and workers have their respective interests to protect during negotiations, they must always be guided by the knowledge that the survival of the organization is a primary prerequisite for their continued existence as management and workers". So therefore, for collective bargaining to be effective both management and union must learn to moderate their demands on each other and accord the corporate interest of the organization a priority.

Adekunle, Odunlami, and Ekpudu (2019) opined that collective bargaining can only be considered as a tool for achieving industrial harmony when it is associated with reconciliation, negotiation and accommodation. Another way for collective bargaining to be effective in achieving industrial harmony is when there is an avenue created for dialogue or communication whereas avoiding issues related to the employees' welfare leads only to industrial conflicts such as strikes and lockdowns.

Worker's education be intensified into the organization in order to build up internal union leadership and to improve knowledge amongst workers. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2017) asserts that collective bargaining can improve quality of the employment relationship between workers and firms, leading to more efficient allocation of resources, greater motivation and ultimately productivity. For collective bargaining to be effective in order to achieve the above mentioned as well as industrial harmony, the machinery or mechanism should be embraced out rightly. The processes of collective bargaining needs to be followed systematically in good faith in order to achieve industrial harmony in the organization. More so, trade unions like ASUP (Academic staff union of Polytechnics) and so on should be made more strong and responsible so that they are able to honor collective agreement.

Functions of Collective Bargaining

According to Ibrahim (2019), Collective bargaining is seen as an advantage to the different parties involved in organisational relationship and work functions between employers and employees. The following are the parties involved in collective bargaining, Workers or Employees (union represented), Employer or Management, State or Government Below are the functions of collective bargaining to the parties:

- 1. WORKERS:** Collective bargaining helps the workers to surmount the problems and weaknesses in the workplace. Since the management believes that every worker is weak and has a particular problem, collective bargaining serves as a function of helping the workers surmount these various problems which is through the fight for welfarism. The fight for welfarism is fought in a collective way with a representative selected in order to solve these problems and thereby making the workers appear strong.
- 2. STATE:** Collective bargaining helps to avoid conflicts that may arise in the workplace. It also helps the government in terms of avoidance or reduction of political instability. Collective bargaining helps to avoid wastage and loss of resources.
- 3. MANAGEMENT:** Collective bargaining serves as a major function of saving employers or management the cost of negotiating with each workers and union as they find it easy to negotiate with the representative of the workers.

Collective bargaining helps the administration of salary and wages easy. It also helps to generate industrial harmony and reduce dispute in workplace.

PROCESS OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

According to Thomas and Michael (2007), the following are the process of collective bargaining:

- 1. Preparation:** At the very first step both the representatives of each party prepares the negotiation to be carried out during the bargaining. Each member should be well versed with the issues to be raised at the meeting and should have adequate knowledge of the labour laws. The management should be well prepared with the proposal of change required in the employment terms and be ready with the statistical figures to justify its stand. On the other hand, union must gather adequate information regarding the financial position of the organization along with its ability to pay and prepare a detailed report on the issues and desires of the workers.
- 2. Discussion:** Here, both parties decide the ground rules that will guide the negotiation and the prime negotiator is from the management team who will lead the discussion. Also the issues for which the meeting is held are identified at this stage.
 - A. Proposal:** At this stage, the chief negotiator begins with an opening statement and then both parties put forth their INITIAL DEMAND. This session can be called Brainstorming, where each party gives their opinion that leads to arguments and counter-arguments.
 - B. Bargain:** The negotiation begins at this stage, where each party tries to win over the other. The negotiation can go on for days until a final agreement is reached. The employer offers its MAXIMUM LIMIT at this stage and the union can decide to reduce its initial demand a little. Sometimes, both parties reach an amicable solution soon but at times to settle down the dispute, third party intervenes in the negotiation in form of arbitration and adjudication.
 - C. Settlement:** This is the final stage of the collective bargaining process where both parties agree on a common solution to the problem discussed so far. Both parties have now reached an OBJECTIVE LINE. Hence, a mutual agreement is formed between the employer and employee which is to be signed by each party to give the decision a universal acceptance. During the course of this research work it is discovered that to get the dispute settled, management must follow the above listed steps systematically and give equal chance to the workers or their representatives to speak their minds. Non-adherence to these process has been what has led to the issues of strikes and lockdowns in organizations. Usually, disputing parties would be better to remain at the negotiating table than to head for strike actions. Yet many

negotiators fail to recognize this fact until it is too late. Now below are the believed causes of strikes and identifying them could help to proffer solutions which in turn would lead to achieving industrial harmony.

CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR A SOUND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Ibrahim (2019), gave seven (7) important conditions that are very necessary to the achievement of a sound collective bargaining. They include:

- 1. Desirable and Favorable Political Climate:** For effective or sound collective bargaining in an organization, it is important to have a favorable political climate. The government must be convinced that the method of arriving at the agreements through mutual voluntary negotiations is best for regulating certain conditions of employment. Therefore, positive attitudes of political parties is a must for the promotion of collective bargaining.
- 2. Joint Authorship of rules:** Unions and management must accept each other as responsible parties in the collective bargaining process. They both need to take part in making the rules that guides the bargaining process.
- 3. Freedom of Expression and Association:** There should be room for both parties to express themselves without fear or favour. There has to be emphasis on mutual accommodation and association rather than conflicts. So if the union and management have to look for a long-term relationship, they have to respect each other's rights.
- 4. Stability of workers union or association:** A strong and stable representative union is essential for collective bargaining. In order to have such a union, workers should have the freedom to unionize so they can exercise their right of unionization and form a union for the purpose of electing representatives for collective bargaining. A weak trade union that does not enjoy the support of majority of workers is not likely to be effective.
- 5. Avoidance of unfair labour practices from both parties:** For effective collective bargaining both parties should be willing to negotiate legally and thereby avoiding unfair labour practices. Both union and management should seek to enhance the interests of their members and not for personal interest.
- 6. Recognition by management and union:** There must be an acceptable and recognized bargaining event. These means that there must be recognized unions to negotiate the terms and conditions of the agreement with the management. Collective bargaining can only be effective when both union and management recognizes it as an important machinery for achieving industrial harmony.

- 7. Willingness to negotiate in good faith and to accept agreement that prevails or emerges:** Both parties should be willing to negotiate in good faith without seeing the other party as an enemy and also agreement reached should be accepted and enforced to the latter.

EMPIRICAL REVIEW

The origin of collective bargaining in Nigeria is traceable to the public sector and as Fashoyin (1999) recorded, this was as a result of the near absence of a private sector at the turn of the 19th century. However, despite the long history in the country, collective bargaining has not been effectively deployed to address the many problems plaguing the management and union relationship in the workplace. This is perhaps the reason why there has been incessant industrial conflicts leading to strike actions in Nigeria.

Fashoyin (1999) attributes this relative poor performance of the machinery and practice of collective bargaining in Nigeria's public sector to the uniqueness of the employer. The government of Nigeria has been described as out rightly insensitive to the plight of labour and as such remained socially deaf to the need for proactive collective bargaining. Contrary to this belief, the inability of union to prioritize their demands has led to the negative effect of collective bargaining. This research work is undertaken with the belief that collective bargaining is a process that is engaged in by both parties so if the employer which is seen as the government is willing to come and negotiate in good faith then the union which are the representatives of the workers should be willing to make demands for issue most pressing and which would lead to achieving industrial harmony. The justification for bargaining in society literally stands on the clear fact that conflict is an inevitable part of human existence and whenever it occurs, people need to find the best possible ways of settling such conflicts. Perhaps, this is why Chidi (2014) made it succinctly clear that over the years; industrial actions in Nigeria has greatly hampered performance and productivity in fast tracking of the expected socio-economic development of the country.

Similarly, adding substance to Chidi's argument; Fagade (2013) opines that industrial unrest continues to persist in the public sector in Nigeria due to mostly inadequate application or even outright neglect of the collective bargaining framework. This research work supports the claims of the above mentioned scholars, that the carrying out of collective bargaining process is not the only way to achieving industrial harmony. For industrial harmony to be achieved so as to increase work productivity, collective bargaining should be observed and practiced. However, it is clear from the

incessant strike actions in Federal Polytechnic Bida that the collective bargaining instrument has not been properly harnessed at least not proactively.

Inadequate application as opined by Chidi (2014) does not only hamper productivity but also brings about industrial unrest such as persistent strike, lockdowns and so on. So therefore, this research is set to discover the effects collective bargaining has on industrial harmony when it is being well applied and embraced out rightly by both parties involved. Makinde (2013) observes that most organizations in Nigeria have experienced a series of crises caused by poor understanding of the basic principles of collective bargaining and especially the communication of outcomes. Similarly, Chidi (2014) also highlights the fact that when the appropriate organ does not provide the required information, substitute communication develops in form of rumors, gossips and falsehoods. These in turn has the potential of generating misunderstanding in social relationship and conflicts within the organization. It is imperative that employers realize the potentials for communicating the outcomes of agreement derived from bargaining to improve industrial harmony and worker's performance.

Based on this research work, it is imperative for employers and unions to communicate outcomes of agreement to workers and management as well as ensuring prompt implementation of outcomes. Collective bargaining will only have effect if after an effective communication has taken place and then any unnecessary delay in the implementation of the agreement is avoided. Effective communication or dialogue with employers without any implementation of the outcome agreed upon during collective bargaining cannot help to ensure industrial harmony. So therefore, this research work is set to discover the effects of collective bargaining on industrial harmony which can only be achieved when effective communication and prompt implementation of outcome is followed by the parties involved, hence the need for this research in order to fill the existing research gap.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected from 200 respondents through Convenience Sampling Method (CSM) was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) in order to understand the correlation between the variables. Data collected are analysed below:

		CB1	CB2	CB3	CB4	CCB	CB6	CB7	IR1	IR2	IR3	IR4	IR5
CB1	Correlation Coefficient	1.00	.399**	-.010	.024	.346**	.196**	.107	.380**	.261**	.052	.364**	.099

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.887	.737	.000	.005	.133	.000	.000	.465	.000	.165	
	N	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	
CB 2	Correlation Coefficient	.399**	1.000	-.074	.484**	.460**	.379**	.195**	.429**	.407**	.203**	.468**	.265**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.299	.000	.000	.000	.006	.000	.000	.004	.000	.000
	N	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
CB 3	Correlation Coefficient	-.010	-.074	1.000	-.025	-.088	.114	-.132	-.101	.009	-.046	-.182*	.058
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.887	.299	.000	.729	.215	.108	.063	.157	.904	.518	.010	.412
	N	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
CB 4	Correlation Coefficient	.024	.484**	-.025	1.000	.316**	.113	.398**	.134	.128	.250**	.270**	.449**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.737	.000	.729	.000	.000	.112	.000	.059	.072	.000	.000	.000
	N	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
CB 5	Correlation Coefficient	.346**	.460**	-.088	.316**	1.000	.204**	.274**	.457**	.352**	.318**	.393**	.343**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.215	.000	.000	.004	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200

CB 6	Correlation Coefficient	.196**	.379**	.114	.113	.204**	1.000	.242**	.512**	.428**	-.019	.163*	.127
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.000	.108	.112	.004	.	.001	.000	.000	.790	.021	.074
	N	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
CB 7	Correlation Coefficient	.107	.195**	-.132	.398**	.274**	.242**	1.000	.253**	.130	-.041	.203**	.189**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.133	.006	.063	.000	.000	.001	.	.000	.066	.562	.004	.007
	N	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
IR1	Correlation Coefficient	.380**	.429**	-.101	.134	.457**	.512**	.253**	1.000	.500**	.061	.349**	.130
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.157	.059	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.394	.000	.067
	N	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
IR 2	Correlation Coefficient	.261**	.407**	.009	.128	.352**	.428**	.130	.500**	1.000	-.081	.351**	.211*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.904	.072	.000	.000	.066	.000	.	.253	.000	.003
	N	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
IR 3	Correlation Coefficient	.052	.203**	-.046	.250**	.318**	-.019	-.041	.061	-.081	1.000	.291**	.279**
	Sig. (2-tailed)												
	N												

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.465	.004	.518	.000	.000	.790	.562	.394	.253	.	.000	.000
	N	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
IR 4	Correlation Coefficient	.364**	.468**	-.182*	.270**	.393**	.163*	.203**	.349**	.351**	.291**	1.000	.374**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.010	.000	.000	.021	.004	.000	.000	.000	.	.000
	N	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
IR 5	Correlation Coefficient	.099	.265**	.058	.449**	.343**	.127	.189**	.130	.211*	.279**	.374**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.165	.000	.412	.000	.000	.074	.007	.067	.003	.000	.000	.
	N	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).													
* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).													

DISCUSSION OF RESULT

The researchers made use of spearman rank correlation which can be interpreted based on the following:

1. If the value of significance is greater than the Alpha which in this case is 0.05(2-tailed), then there is a relationship between the independent and dependent variables.
2. If the value of significance is less than the Alpha which in this case is 0.05 (2-tailed), then there is no relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

The researcher made use of a 2-tailed significance correlation which gave a result pf 0.165.

P.value > 0.05 which means 0.165 > 0.05

It therefore shows that there is a relationship between the independent variable (Collective bargaining) and the dependent variable (Industrial Harmony).

Testing of Hypothesis: The hypothesis on what the study is based on is stated below:

Hypothesis 1

H1 - Collective bargaining has no positive effect on industrial harmony in the Federal Polytechnic Bida.

Industrial relation 1 - correlation coefficient		- .101	
sig. (2-tailed)		.157	
N			200

Decision Rule: If P Value is less than alpha, the null hypothesis is rejected and if P-value is greater than alpha, the null hypothesis is accepted.

Interpretation - $0.05 < 0.157$

Based on the above null hypothesis and having examined and tested the dependent and independent variable, it can be concluded that collective bargaining has positive effect on industrial harmony. Hence, we reject the null hypothesis which states that collective bargaining has no positive effect on industrial harmony in the Federal Polytechnic Bida.

Hypothesis 2

H2 - There is no significant relationship between collective bargaining and Performance in Federal Polytechnic Bida.

Collective bargaining 2 - correlation coefficient		.484	
sig. (2-tailed)		.000	
N			200

Decision Rule: If P-value is less than alpha, the null hypothesis is rejected and if P-value is greater than alpha, the null hypothesis is accepted.

Interpretation - $0.05 > 0.000$

Based on the above null hypothesis and having examined and tested the dependent and independent variable, it can be concluded that there is no significant relationship between collective bargaining and Performance. Hence, we accept the null hypothesis which states that there is no significant relationship between collective bargaining and Performance in Federal Polytechnic Bida.

Hypothesis 3

H3 - Effective communication during collective bargaining between management and union has led to industrial harmony in the Federal Polytechnic Bida.

Industrial relation 2 - correlation coefficient		-0.081	
sig. (2-tailed)		.253	
N			200

Decision Rule: If P-value is less than alpha, the null hypothesis is rejected and if P-value is greater than alpha, the null hypothesis is accepted.

Interpretation - $0.05 < 0.253$

Based on the above hypothesis and having examined and tested the dependent and independent variable, it can be concluded that communication leads to the achievement of Industrial harmony. Hence, we accept the hypothesis which states that effective communication during collective bargaining between management and union has led to industrial harmony in the Federal Polytechnic Bida.

CONCLUSIONS

Collective bargaining is intended to be a mutual give and take between representative of two associations for mutual benefits of both associations in collective bargaining negotiations about the working conditions and terms of employment between an employer or more employer association on one hand and one or more representative of worker's organization on the other hand. In the case of Federal Polytechnic Bida, while it was agreed that collective bargaining is a veritable instrument for ensuring industrial harmony, the collective bargaining process as a tool for promoting industrial harmony has been overtaken by problems such as leadership tussle, political interests of union leaders and weak legal framework for successful implementation of collective agreement. Given that public policy provide the basis for the labour and management relationship, it is the responsibility of the union and management to organize themselves on how to relate with one another under the broad framework of objectives which each party seeks to achieve.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This study posits that there is no alternative to industrial harmony other than ensuring the principle of collective bargaining and having tested the hypothesis in chapter four with the conduct of proper interview; the following recommendations

were made with a view of achieving industrial harmony through collective bargaining.

1. The study therefore recommends, some degree of restructuring which is needed in the various trade unions operating in the country, importantly the level of agreement that is usually entered into between the worker's union and the government or any other agency.
2. On the other hand, Labour union should promote the principle of collective bargaining instead of embarking on incessant strike that would disrupt the economy and inadvertently affect productivity and by extension government capacity to meet their demands.
3. Union leaders should try as much as possible to separate their personal interest and ambition from the collective interests of union members.
4. It is also recommended that union members should undergo training to sharpen their negotiating skills in order to ensure that they are able to wrestle positive position from the collective bargaining process.
5. In addition, the integrity of Labour union leaders needs to be examined critically so that they do not betray or compromise the trust of union members.

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