第 号

主 論 文 の 要

Work Quality in Nigeria's Form

論文題目

Work Quality in Nigeria's Formal Wage Employment, "Voluntary" Exit and Well-being in Informal Self-employment (ナイジェリアにおける正規雇用の労働の質と『自主』退職および非正規自営業者のウェルビーイング)

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論文内容の要旨

Summary of Dissertation

Transformations in work and employment relationships in the last four decades are increasingly casting doubts on the sustainability of the human development gains from the institutionalisation of workers' rights since the 20th century (UNDP, 2015, p. 179; World Bank, 2012, p. 8). Driving these transformations are the proliferation of informal employment and the failure of formal wage employment to meet many workers' aspirations for decent work and socioeconomic emancipation in several contexts. Surprisingly, while the quality of work in informal employment has often been the focus of research and policy advocacy, the quality of work in formal wage employment has received by far less empirical scrutiny, particularly in developing countries (Burchell et al., 2014, p. 460; Organisation for Economic Co-operation & Development [OECD], 2014, p. 122; World Bank, 2012, p. 85). This disproportionate focus presupposes that an inextricable link exists between the

legal entitlement to benefits that underpins formal employment contracts and effective access that meets workers' aspirations for decent work and socioeconomic security (see Canagarajah & Sethuraman, 2001, pp. 2, 46; European Commission, 2018, p. 53; ILO, 2014a, p. 47; 2017, p. 8; Perry et al., p. 180).

However, this assumption has created a void in our understanding of voluntary transition from formal wage employment to alternative employment in developing countries, particularly self-employment (see Duaquah at al. 2019, p. 4; Fields, 2019, p. 8), unlike involuntary transition (see Barchiesi, 2008; Lourenço-Lindell, 2002; Meagher & Yunusa, 1996). Therefore, this dissertation explored workers' experiences and perceptions of the quality of work in Nigeria's formal wage employment, reflected on how these experiences and perceptions drive voluntary transition to informal self-employment and assessed subsequent well-being prospects.

In view of the findings, the author argued that the predominant use of legal entitlement to benefits and resources as an autonomous proxy for work quality in the labour markets of developing countries should be re-examined due to its tendency to misrepresent the lived experiences and perceptions of workers. How this contradiction influences the transition of workers from formal wage employment to informal self-employment as well as the processes and mechanisms involved have been the focus of this dissertation. The study demonstrated that, not only does the use of legal entitlement to employment-linked benefits and resources to proxy work quality misrepresent the

experiences and perceptions of many formal wage workers, most self-employed informal workers interviewed in this study do not necessarily consider their work quality to be inferior (compared to their formal wage jobs) due to the absence of such legal entitlement. The dissertation also provides new evidence on the demographics of workers transitioning from Nigeria's formal wage employment to informal employment, thus calling into question the stereotypic notion that workers in informal employment are necessarily less educated (see La Porta & Shleifer, 2014, p. 114; Todaro & Smith, 2012, p. 328). This highlights the need for a transitory view of labour market preferences in response to the incentives thrown up by the social, economic and political contexts.

In chapter five, the author compared the experiences and perceptions of formal wage workers in Nigeria against the ideal-typical conception of formal wage employment as the harbinger of decent work with unrivaled capacity for socioeconomic emancipation. Important contradictions in the ideal-typical conception of work quality in Nigeria's formal wage employment, which make it analogous to the characterisation of vulnerable employment in dominant discourse (see ILO, 2014a, pp. 11, 37) were highlighted. Prominent among these contradictions were low and irregular salaries/wages, intensification of work-life balance challenges, widespread discrimination and low socioeconomic mobility prospects. Some respondents also decried the poor management of pensions, employee housing scheme and healthcare delivery services/health insurance linked to their formal wage jobs despite deductions from their salaries/wages to finance such social protection

interventions. These experiences created widespread uncertainty about the symbolic protective security that formal wage employment has been historically reputed for among a sizeable number of the respondents. Moreover, the widespread belief among most respondents that private social protection strategies provided better safeguards against potential socioeconomic insecurity tends to reduce the opportunity cost of quitting formal wage employment and it's related social protection. Therefore, the author argues for a shift beyond the analytical focus on legal entitlement to employment-linked benefits and resources to the functionings and capabilities that workers and their families derive from work.

On the other hand, qualitative evidence indicates that some aspects of the work quality in Nigeria's formal wage employment received positive assessments from most respondents. First, despite the potentials for disharmony arising from the widely shared experiences of office politics and discrimination in the allocation of rewards, most respondents reported having robust relationships with their colleagues. The opportunities to interact with people from diverse sociocultural backgrounds in the course of their jobs were believed to have strengthened their interpersonal relationships and networking skills, which remained useful even after quitting formal wage employment. Other aspects of work quality considered valuable by the respondents included the discipline associated with time management practices, diligence and acquisition of administrative and organisational skills. In addition, the opportunity offered by formal wage

employment to access soft loans and salary advance during financial emergencies were also cherished by most respondents for their roles in enterprise start-ups and expansion of existing ones.

This is particularly important given the constraints that budding enterprises face in accessing alternative financial services in developing countries.

Chapter six was aimed at extending the analytical frontiers of the voluntary exit perspective associated with scholars like Maloney (2004) and Perry et al. (2007) who reported that voluntary exit from formal wage employment to informal self-employment is often rewarded with improvements in workers' well-being in some Latin American and Caribbean countries. This study indeed found a positive correlation between voluntary transition and improved well-being of the self-employed. This finding aligns with the evidences reported by Folawewo and Orija (2020), Gutierrez et al. (2019) and Otchia (2021) from Nigeria, Bangladesh and Ghana, respectively, although the authors restricted their analyses to economic dimension of well-being (earnings). However, this study's finding that earnings increased for three-quarters of the respondents, but declined for one-third of them highlights the need to be more circumspect about the potential returns to voluntary transition from formal wage employment to informal self-employment. The difference in earnings notwithstanding, almost all the respondents reported improvements in multidimensional well-being, including educational attainments, autonomy, as well as improved family and social relationships due to the more flexible work schedules offered by informal self-employment. Other

contributors to the well-being of the self-employed were the satisfaction and feelings of fulfilment derived from the goodwill associated with self-employment and being largely in control of one's pace of socioeconomic mobility through personal efforts, knowledge, skills and creativity, unlike the subjective promotions process that employees in Nigeria's formal wage employment often have to contend with.

Perhaps the most important contribution of chapter six is the finding that voluntary transition from formal wage employment to informal self-employment may not yield appreciable well-being outcomes if not properly timed. Indeed, respondents who transitioned to informal self-employment before 2010 reported better well-being outcomes than those who entered after 2010. This difference was largely explained by a greater return to the educational attainments of respondents who transitioned before 2010 than those who entered after 2010. Another factor suggested by the author is the fact that respondents who transitioned before 2010 may have reaped positively from the remarkable growth of the Nigerian economy, which averaged 9.8 percent between 2001 and 2008, unlike the less impressive growth performance witnessed between 2009 and 2017 (see Saget & Yao, 2011, p. 75; CBN, 2016; 2017). Moreover, it would be recalled that longer years in informal selfemployment statistically raised earnings by ₹101 in Table 6.1. Therefore, respondents who transitioned before 2010 may have gained more industry-specific enterprise stability, as well as human and asset-based capital over the years to cope with the economic slump arising from the 2008 global financial turbulence and the 2016 economic recession compared to the relatively new entrants into self-employment after 2010. These findings indicate that incorporating time-based analyses into studies on the well-being returns to voluntary transition to self-employment may better account for fluctuations in well-being caused by changing social, economic and political contexts (see also Temkin, 2009, p. 150). The findings also underscore the need for workers contemplating transition from formal wage employment to informal self-employment to be more strategic about its timing and well-being prospects.

As expected, current formal wage employees were more divided in their perceptions about their well-being compared to self-employed informal workers who voluntarily left formal wage employment between 1990 and 2017. Nevertheless, the author believes that the percentages of current formal wage workers reporting dissatisfaction in their work quality and well-being across multiple dimensions represent a dent on the protective security that formal wage employment is often thought to provide. In view of these findings, chapter six made a number of contributions to the literature. First, the chapter demonstrated that the well-being returns to voluntary transition from formal wage employment to informal self-employment is significantly influenced by the educational attainments of the self-employed. However, it seemed that changing macroeconomic contexts also mediated the contributions of education to the overall well-being of the self-employed, giving a premium to those who transitioned before 2010, a period of relative macroeconomic

stability in Nigeria. These findings are in accord with some previous studies which report that persistent macroeconomic instability and widespread unemployment have continued to compel many highly educated workers in Nigeria's informal employment in recent decades. This has engendered stiffer competition and subsequent earnings decline (see Meagher & Yunusa, 1996, pp. 7-8; Treichel, 2010, pp. 84-86).

Second, by highlighting how informal self-employment helps to cushion dissatisfaction with formal wage employment and serves as a testing ground for entrepreneurship, the study provided new evidence on the process and mechanism through which workers' transition from formal wage employment to informal self-employment occur. Specifically, this enriches the literature on moonlighting and formal wage workers' strategies for managing poor work quality-induced vulnerabilities, particularly during periods of macroeconomic instability, as have become common in Nigeria since the 1990s. Third, the chapter highlights the limits of using years spent rather than the quality of experiences garnered in formal wage employment to estimate self-employment performance and well-being. Finally, by documenting the experiences of workers who voluntarily transitioned from Nigeria's formal wage employment to informal self-employment, the chapter provided contradictory evidence against the argument that voluntary transition is an exclusive preserve of more developed countries by scholars like Kucera and Roncolato (2008, pp. 325-326) and Margolis (2014, p. 8-9).

Chapter seven engaged with the dominant narrative in the literature on voluntary exit that tends to explain women's transition from formal wage employment to informal self-employment as the outcome of a voluntary cost-benefits analysis aimed at maintaining equilibrium between the demands of work and other domains of life, particularly the family (see Budig, 2006a; 2006b; Maloney, 2004; Perry et al., 2007). This assumption in turn suggests that women will necessarily derive greater well-being gains than men by "voluntarily" transitioning from formal wage employment to informal self-employment. However, the chapter found no evidence in support of the theoretical proposition that women derive better well-being returns than men by "voluntarily" transitioning from formal wage employment to informal self-employment, particularly in terms of income, flexibility in the use of time/work-life balance and opportunities for further studies/training. Generally, although the transitioning of men and women from formal wage employment to informal self-employment was rewarded with better average earnings, the earnings of male respondents were statistically significantly higher than those of females. Apart from the years spent in informal self-employment, there was no evidence that educational attainments and years spent in formal wage employment by men and women accounted for this difference. The author therefore, suggests that factors related to the different motives driving men's and women's voluntary transition from formal wage employment to informal self-employment may have contributed to the observed differences in well-being outcomes, as previously reported (see Dawson et al., 2009, pp. 13, 21;

Georgellis & Wall, 2005, p. 337; Vejsiu, 2011, p. 391). Indeed, while men were more likely to enter self-employment to enhance their socioeconomic mobility prospects, women were more likely to be compelled into self-employment by family-related (family formation, pregnancy and childcare) and domestic responsibilities as well as work-life-related health complications. Moreover, there was often a time lag between when women quit their formal wage jobs and entry into self-employment as a result of the aforementioned circumstances surrounding their exit decision. Consequently, the author cautioned against explaining women's transition from formal wage employment to informalself-employment as a reflection of their autonomous decision without considering the influences of social norms, institutions and the availability and quality of work-life balance infrastructure on their revealed preferences. These considerations are not only in tandem with the SDGs goals 5, 8 and 10, but also constitute fundamental prerequisites for ensuring that the labour market engagement decisions that women are making expand their functionings and capabilities rather than reproduce their historical disadvantages.