

Impact Measurement of Numerical Flexibility on Psychological Contract of Oil Workers: The Nigerian Experience

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ABSTRACT:- The paper is an exploratory study that focuses on the implications of the numerical flexibility of employees on their psychological contracts among selected multinational oil companies in Nigeria. The Nigerian and international media have recently feature reports of strikes and industrial unrest in the oil sector as well as the conflict between the multinational oil corporations and the inhabitants of the environment where the businesses operate. The incessant conflicts and continuous agitations of labour occasioned mainly by job insecurity, lack of motivation, discriminatory remuneration, among others informs this study. The methodology adopted was qualitative with three hundred and forty-two questionnaires collected along with fifty-eight interview conducted. A subjective philosophy essentially drove the study with an epistemological undertone embedded with social constructionism. The NVivo software was used to analyse the collected data, and the result shows among others that the management of the multinational oil organisations has actively segmented the labour market into the core and the peripheral groups. Those in the core are more satisfied with their jobs, better motivated and enjoy good working relations with the management; whereas, the reverse is the case for the peripheral workers.

Keywords:- Labour Contracting, Employment relations, Flexibility, Psychological contract, Multinational corporations.

I. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenal wave of globalisation in the last two decades could best be described as extraordinary. Evidence abounds that business activities are now operated continuously and consistently with ease; especially with the shrinking together of countries including those that were hitherto perceived enemies. As the expansionary cruise of the global economy extends, the Nigerian economy is not left behind. The Nigerian economy witnessed nearly two decades of output and demand contractions in the face of increased volatility in inflation, currency devaluation, unemployment, and interest rates.

To analyse and understand management practices and organisational processes in a diverse country like Nigeria, we may need to consider at the outset the socioeconomic and cultural environment within which industrial enterprises operate. Such an understanding is useful because management policies and practices are influenced fundamentally by culture and deep-rooted belief system among Nigerians. Personnel and human resource management in Nigeria rely heavily on ascriptive norms, with personnel decisions being influenced by the personal relationship between managers and employees. Recruitment and selection are heavily influenced by relation rather than by an objective assessment of the suitability of the job applicant.

Modern organisations and the people in them are faced with a variety of challenges to meet the demands of competitive standards driven by the global economy. Emerging market trends fuelled by intense competition and a dynamic economy have radically altered the environment in which today's organisations operate. There have been sweeping changes in patterns of work and in the way work is organised within organisations. As [1] opined that, traditional approaches to work organisation based on hierarchy, formalised organisational structures, job definition, demarcation of activities and bureaucratic control have become less suitable in uncertain and unpredictable environments. One of the significant challenges for managers, therefore, is the management of uncertainty. In response, proactive organisations have developed continuous improvement strategies to improve productivity and ensure profitability. To adapt to these changes, organisations ensure that their objectives are met with the development and implementation of human resource strategies through effective human resource planning, and this has placed great emphasis on the concept of labour utilisation [2].

Employers seek to minimise costs and ensure the continuity of the production process while exercising a form of control over the workforce. One way this objective is met is through the use of flexibility. However, in conceptualising flexibility, various forms exist in practice within organisations, and common categories include functional, financial, temporal and numerical. The contemporary debate attempts to strike a balance on the extent to which flexibility functions as a means of managerial control through psychological contracts and

organisational improvement on one hand, and the use of flexibility as a tool for improving employees' work-life balance on the other.

Although the various forms of flexibility are not mutually exclusive, of particular significance to this study is numerical flexibility. The notion of numerical flexibility centered on the ability of the manager to bring in workers 'just in time' to furnish services the employers want them to fulfill and dismiss them when not needed. By doing this, the employer keeps a constant amount of workers whose activities and skills are core to the firms' needs. If numerical flexibility is utilized, it leads to financial flexibility and enhances the total quality management of the organisation. Numerical flexibility is achieved by using alternatives to conventional full-time employees, and this includes the use of agency, part-time, temporary work, casual and short-term contracts, freelance work and the externalisation of work through ad hoc sub-contracting and outsourcing [3, 4]. However, the very conceptualisation of numerical flexibility creates a 'core' group of employees on permanent contracts whose job security is assured. On the other side of the divide, however, are the 'peripheral' employees on precarious contracts whose skills and experience are called in only when needed. When such action is taken, some questions regarding the nature of the psychological contract, commitment, job satisfaction, motivation and morale of 'flexible' employees become subjects of discussion. These issues have informed the researcher's interest in this area.

Aim of the Study

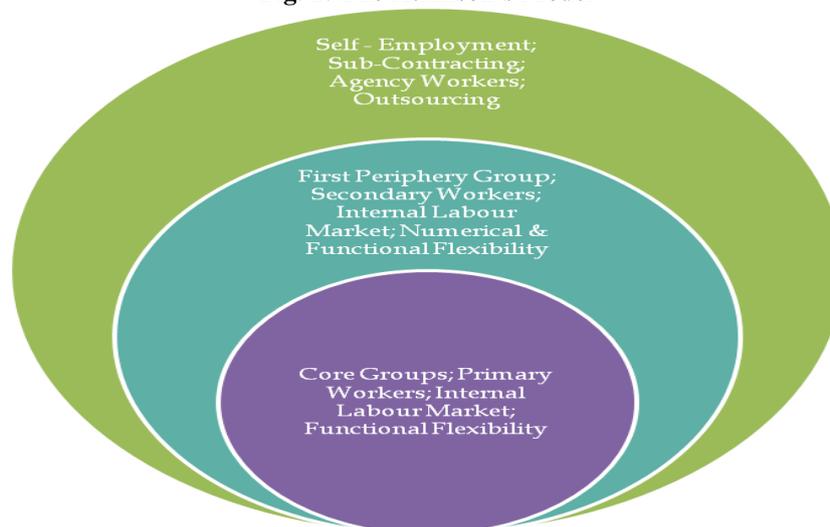
To critically measure the implications of numerical flexibility on psychological contracts of employees in the oil sector. This paper is relevant to the theme of this conference given the increasing clamour for workforce development, retention of human talent, equity and fair-play at work, social capital development and managing employee relations in the 21st-century business organisations.

II. NUMERICAL FLEXIBILITY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACTS

The growth of multinational companies has been a basis for the accelerated internationalisation process [5]. These MNCs are adjudged to have considerable influence in shaping global market conditions [6]. There is no gainsaying they contribute immensely to the provisions of employment opportunities, particularly in the developing world, albeit, with the tendency to exploit available cheap labour.

It was held that there is no dispute about the fact that labour-market segmentation is nothing more than one of the means through which employers have sought to entrench and extend their control over work process [7]. This is consistent with the views expressed by Atkinson [8] reflecting the fundamental principles of "dual labour market model." Furthermore, it was believed that employers have responded to the new trend in the labour market by seeking organisational flexibility viz: functional or internal flexibility which connotes the ability of employers to redeploy worker from one job to another [9, 10]. The second one is numerical or external flexibility which is an organisation's ability to determine the number of employees at any time depending on fluctuations in demand by using workers who are not their regular, full-time employees. The flip side of flexibility is insecurity, and there has been a general increase in job insecurity in the workforce. Thus, attempts to achieve flexibility by employers have led to the increased segmentation of their employees into core and periphery categories, thereby creating a division between organisational workforces.

Fig. 1: The Atkinson's Model



Source: Atkinson, 1984

Flexibility, therefore, was deployed as a psychological managerial control tool and ensuring the continuity of the production process, a view shared by [11]. With changes in social and economic conditions that have taken place in recent decades, the case for flexibility as was made in the early 1980s has given way to a contemporary approach. As [12, 13] argues, the business case for flexibility has changed from one of the negative connotations of psychological contracts to one in which employers and employees are actively seeking flexible working arrangements as a means of improving work-life balance, employee engagement, motivation, and commitment. With the workforce actively seeking flexible working arrangements, organisations seek to apply both the hard and soft approach to flexibility to maintain productivity and efficiency. Employers are now more conscious of ‘branding,’ and flexible working has come to be one of the tools for recruiting and retaining talent [14].

It was pointed out that numerical flexibility allows the organisation to expand or reduce labour supply in proportion to the demand for goods and services [10]. As a result of this, organisations can bring in workers in line with the ‘peaks’ and ‘troughs’ in the business process through what [15] refer to as hiring and firing. As has been stated earlier, it can be argued that numerical flexibility is the most apparent form of organisational flexibility since an organisation can respond to a boom by increasing the workforce and responds to a downturn by downsizing and redundancies. It was also argued that this approach allows the organisation to create a periphery group to buffer against uncertainty in labour market trends, to cope with peak and troughs and to cover the short-term absence [16].

Numerical flexibility has been used as a strategic tool by MNC’s in the Nigerian corporate environment over the years and is prevalent in the trans-national, multinational, private industry and informal sectors. This has intensified over the last few decades due to increased global competition and the quest for maximisation of profit [17]. For instance, between the late 1930s and 1960s, Shell managers had 100% autonomy regarding the number of workers they recruited and the areas to which they were segmented in the labour market. During this period, Nigeria was under British colonial rule. Revenue earned was split between Shell, the colonial government, and the UK. Even after Nigeria gained independence in 1960, many indigenous workers were still placed in the periphery of the firm while foreign expatriates dominated the core of Shell’s workforce. For instance, [18] points out that:

At the end of 1970, out of twelve people in management cadre, only one was a Nigerian and he was not involved in the technical process of producing and marketing oil. In the professional and technical positions, excluding accountants and medical personnel, there were twice as many expatriates as Nigerians. In the grade of supervisory staffs, the numbers were about even. The company has trained about three hundred and forty (340) graduates during the twenty-five years of activities in the country. This is for a company whose turnover last year (1970) alone exceeded four hundred million pounds.

Table 1: Casual/ Contract workers in the Nigerian Petroleum Sector

Company	No. of Workers on Permanent Job	No. of Casual/ Contract Workers	% of Workers on Causal/Contract	Total
African Petroleum Plc	300	376	55.6	676
Chevron	450	3000	87.0	3450
Comex Nig. Ltd	52	150	74.3	202
Consolidation Oil	300	600	66.7	900
Devtag Drilling Co. Ltd	96	300	75.8	396
Elf Oil	42	132	75.9	174
Elf Petroleum	199	550	73.4	749
Lighthouse Petroleum	58	105	64.4	163
Mobil Oil	NIL	492	100.0	492
Mobil Producing	492	2200	81.7	2692
National Oil	51	178	77.7	229
Nidogas	15	150	90.9	165
Nigerian Agip Oil Co.	211	1500	87.7	1711
NNPC	9000	3000	25.0	12000
Remm Oil Service	120	350	74.5	470
Schlumberger Group	250	1000	80.0	1250
Shell Petroleum Development	520	8000	93.9	8520
Smithnigeria	25	80	76.2	105
Tidex Nig. Ltd	65	120	64.9	185
Total Nigeria Ltd	136	534	79.7	670
Trans Pecan Sedco Forex	50	150	75.0	200

Source: Okafor (2007)

The concern of Shell managers to keep hold of control is linked to the excessive proliferation of atypical psychological employment contractual regime currently metered out to indigenous workers. This situation, which has led to the marginalisation of indigenous workers, has undoubtedly facilitated the structures of control as manifested in a two-tier workforce [19].

III. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This research was carried out using an inductive approach to explore the perceptions and attitudes of the employees on numerical flexibility while taking the significant themes that emerge from literature as the basis from which to begin the inquiry. A subjective philosophy drove this research with epistemological assumption embedded with social constructionism. The choice of the organisations used as case studies were dependent on some factors; the companies are the most significant employer of labour within the industry, and reports suggest a high level of industrial conflict resulting from the application of numerical flexibility in the selected organisations. While studies in other national contexts and industries have been cited, this research is being carried out in a new national, industrial and environmental context where in-depth research into numerical flexibility has not been undertaken.

The research was conducted in Nigeria with the visits to the headquarters, and regional offices of the three organisations investigated, namely: Shell, Mobil, and Chevron. As oil production does not take place everywhere in Nigeria but within the oil-producing regions, site visitation was made to different places as it relates to the organisations in question where most contract staff were given questionnaires and some subsequently interviewed. The participants were mainly those in oil production and exploration; and some contract staff involved in engineering, logistics, and other technical activities.

The methodology adopted was qualitative with three hundred and forty-two questionnaires collected along with a fifty-eight interview conducted. The NVivo software was used to analyse the collected data. Data collection was a massive challenge as the organisations claim to have a ‘total non-disclosure’ policy, and as such, employees were reluctant to participate in the survey. With the help of friends and family members, the researcher was able to gather the analysed data that took nine months of traveling across the oil-producing regions in the country. This paved the way for the researcher to appreciate the ramifications behind the positions canvassed by the participants/respondents in a broader context, and hence, informed the critical scrutiny of the study.

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Job Satisfaction and Motivation

One of the significant challenges facing line management and the HR function in contemporary organisations is the motivation of employees. It was suggested that a critical link between job satisfaction and motivation in one instance, and productivity and profitability on the other. While trying to explore the impact of numerical flexibility on job satisfaction and motivation, the research sought to ascertain the level of job satisfaction of employees [20].

A participant from the Shell ‘Meet and Greet’ unit claimed that:

‘I am only motivated to work as it is the only way to feed my family and pay my children’s school fees. The conditions surrounding my work are depressing and de-motivating, but my choices are limited’.

About 67% of the employees confirmed their dissatisfaction with their work, with about 29% expressing satisfaction, whereas the remaining 4% were indifferent. [4] points to a link between flexibility and declining motivation and morale among contract workers. The 2006 attitude survey by the PENGASSAN union in the Nigerian oil and gas industry revealed a high level of job dissatisfaction among contract workers, with 69% of workers surveyed expressing dissatisfaction with their work [21]. This corroborates the findings of this research and the critical analysis of the literature.

One could logically assume that job satisfaction should be a significant determinant of an employee’s ‘organisational citizenship behaviour’ [12:125]. When employees are satisfied, they are likely to talk positively about the organisation, help others and go beyond the standard expectations of their jobs.

A Mobil staff member in the Information Technology unit said:

‘I used to give my best when I joined this organisation five years ago as contract staff, hoping my condition of service will improve, or at least match those of my colleagues on permanent employment. This has not happened, as the margins between us widen and my spirit is dampened because it is a case of Monkey dey work, Baboon dey chop. I mean, we the contract staff do the work, while permanent staffs enjoy the rewards’.

Job satisfaction is influenced by the conceptions of fair outcomes, treatment, and procedures [22]. Thus, if an employee does not feel his/her supervisor is fair in the treatment being meted out to him/her, or the organisation’s procedures are perceived to be unfair, or pay policies are unfair, then, job satisfaction will likely

suffer. However, when an organisation's processes and outcomes are perceived to be fair, the trust will likely develop, and this will, in turn, lead to an employee's commitment [2].

Remuneration

Some authors [23, 14] have drawn a link between remuneration and job satisfaction. In Nigeria, employers in the oil sector are averse to sectoral wage negotiations and prefer to decide wages at the company level [24, 25]. One obstacle to sector-wide negotiation is the tendency for employers to keep information on wages confidential so that they have greater control over wage determination. Employees were asked to give an account of the disparities that exist between them (contract workers) salary and their colleagues on permanent employment. The responses showed that 80% of respondents believed that they were paid significantly less than their colleagues depending on the type of contract.

A striking comment from a Chevron staff in the Petroleum Engineering department was that:

'There is no equity in the reward system here. At least, you will expect that internal equity will ensure that more demanding positions or better-qualified personnel in the organisation are better paid. However, the reverse is the case. As a contract staff, you are bound to earn less, your educational qualification notwithstanding.'

For the pay component of a compensation programme to be appropriate, wages and salaries must be internally and externally equitable. The relative worth of jobs is determined through job evaluation techniques [26]. This ensures internal equity.

A contractor with Shell was confronted with the question of the disparity in salaries of permanent and contract staff, and she said:

'This is something beyond my purview as the third party often dictates what should be paid and only give us (contractors) a fee for the services provided – supply of labour. I agree that actual wage levels should depend on labour market conditions, legislation, collective bargaining, management attitudes, and the organisation's ability to pay; but that is not the case in Nigeria, as all of these factors come with challenges.'

Another staff of Chevron with Operations and Maintenance claimed that:

'I am heartbroken and often get devastated whenever my consciousness is jolted to the fact that those that do the same work with me in the same office earn a lot more than me and I am talking about a wide margin. What can be more annoying and depressing?'

It is argued that there is a continuing move away from policies of 'salary entitlement,' in which inflation or seniority, rather than performance, were the driving forces behind pay increases. Pay for performance is the new mantra [11]. Current performance is what counts, and every year performance standards are raised. According to [5], wages and salaries constitute about 60 per cent of the costs of non-financial corporations; employers have an apparent interest in controlling the costs. To achieve this, attempts are made to control staff sizes, payrolls, and benefits costs.

Job Security

Job security is arguably the most critical factor among employees in the peripheral margins of the case study organisation. Employment insecurity refers to that subjective awareness that workers have about the threat of losing their jobs [27]. The high state of job insecurity seems to be typical with peripheral staff.

A Mobil staff with the 'Meet and Greet' unit said during the interview:

'I am anxious on a regular basis given that my job is bedevilled with insecurity which makes the future so bleak and uncertain. I guess it is a calculated effort on the part of top management to always have us on red alert and it appears to be working for them as we continuously try to impress them.'

Another participant from Shell Dredging/Digging unit pointed out that:

'We are frequently sacked; sometimes workers are sacked and reappointed a few months later by the agency of another contractor. Some workers are fortunate that they work under different contracts that get renewed every year, many are less fortunate.'

Another participant in the Filtration unit of Chevron told me that:

'As a contract staff, you are always in limbo. On the one hand, you want to give your best to impress your employer with the hope of getting your contract renewed or better still, be converted to permanent employment. But on the other hand, you feel enslaved knowing the chances of getting converted to permanent employment is slim, especially for those of us who have been here for more than eight years.'

What then occurs is that the employee doubles productivity in the hope of gaining the approval of his/her line manager and being made a permanent member of staff. The manager, in that case, is thus using the employee's peripheral status as a tool of managerial control; this is in line with the views of [7]. This is a direct result of the nature of the national context, where individuals have been socialised into the concept of a 'job for life' [28]. This theme is also echoed in the work of [29] in their quest to examine the complexities of flexibility

in the Finnish and Canadian labour markets. Their reports show that the peripheral group of employees are most vulnerable as management tend to achieve flexibility through insecurity.

Employment Relations between Contract Workers, Management and Oil Unions

The interface between the union and management is another crucial factor. Labour unions are a vehicle by which employees cooperate to protect and promote their interests. For employees who are members of a labour union, their wages and conditions of service are unambiguously stated in a contract that is negotiated, through collective bargaining, between representatives of the union and the organisation's management. It is expected that where a labour union exists, it will influence many organisational activities [23].

Workers join the trade unions for the benefits that may accrue to them; these benefits include economic, social, educational and political benefits. However, in Mobil, Chevron, and Shell Nigeria's internal labour market, contracted workers find it difficult to be members of the companies' trade unions as some of the contractors made this known from the beginning, or where their contract covertly suggests so.

For example, the Operations Director of Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (PENGASSAN) pointed out:

'We are challenged in our attempts to unionise the contract workers as our efforts are often truncated by the management of these MNCs. This has continued to weaken us, and many attempts have been made to get the management of these organisations on our side. The fact that they (the user firms) threaten the contractors and by extension, the contracted workers do not help the matter at all.'

The PENGASSAN president argued that the increasing use of secondary workers in the oil and gas sector in Nigeria is the employers' most potent weapon in vitiating the viability of the union. To this end, the contract staffs also often question whether or not it is worthwhile joining the union, as a number of them believe this will threaten their jobs.

One staff member in the facilities engineering department of Mobil asserted that:

'It does not make sense to make myself vulnerable to the management who detest union membership. I have a year contract without any hope of renewal, and being part of the union can only jeopardize my chances of continued employment. I have more responsibilities to my family, and not the union'.

Another staff member of Chevron in the Subsurface (Reservoir Engineering) viewed it purely from a financial angle when he said:

'There is no point in joining the union when you are contract staff. Being a union member requires you to contribute financially on a monthly basis, yet my contract is only for a year without any assurance of renewal. Even when am lucky to get my contract renewed, my membership is terminated at the expiration of my contract, and I will have to start again all over, this is my understanding, and the question is what happened to my earlier contributions. What have I really benefitted? Yet, management frown at union members and their activities; so, why should I subject myself to cheap attack when I can avoid it'.

A number of the trade union leaders interviewed asserted that there are no clear laws that expressly encourage union activities for contract staffs, even when the policy statements to support the union's claims, they are often manipulated by the management of the MNCs. The Assistant General Secretary of NUPENG in Lagos said that:

'All we can do is to pick our battles wisely. The odds are many and difficult to combat as there are no definite laws supporting these (contract) workers. As I speak with you, we will be in court next week over some of the employees of MRS that were recently sacked. Some of them have been working with the organisation for over seven years, yet have only one contract which was given to them at the beginning stating that the contract is only for a year. We have had to go through unconventional means to get the staff on board as members, and now, we have to fight for them'.

"Yellow dog" contracts explicitly require that employees must not join a union as a condition of employment. This research found that 'yellow dog' contracts are typical in the oil industry in Nigeria, despite being technically illegal. The most famous type of contract is the "body shop" contract. In contrast to the service contract, the third-party company is not a technical service provider, but a labour broker, or a "body shop," which merely acts as paymaster for a group of casual employees working on the premises of a more prominent oil company. Variations in the terminology and structure of labour contracting/actualisation often make it difficult to determine who employs, pays, and manages casual workers [17].

V. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In practical terms, a significant limitation in the course of this research was the issue of access. At the midway point of the research, the case study organisations underwent some restructuring brought about by political and economic factors in the external environment which created a considerable challenge for some of the employees who had earlier consented to participate in the survey to withdraw. Another limitation was the

fact that the organisations usually presented sanitised data that did not reflect the accurate picture of events in the organisations.

It will be of interest to find out whether labour contracting is a manifestation of globalisation and the MNCs exporting their labour practices from their country of origin and imposing same on the host economies. From this research, it appears that the use of contracted labour has nothing to do with the skill of the employees but rather the need of the MNCs. It will be interesting to know if this is a general practice in the economy or limited to the oil sector, given the pivotal role it plays in the economy.

VI. PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

The main implication of the conceptual application of numerical flexibility relates to its incompatibility with gaining employee commitment to the organisation. Numerical flexibility creates a situation where labour is deployed to an organisation as and when required, to maximise short-term efficiency. It was argued that such organisations might have to cope with difficulties in recruitment and retention as employees who are perceived as 'peripheral' by the organisation begin to act accordingly by displaying a nonchalant attitude to work [4].

Secondly, there is a danger that the use of numerical flexibility builds a highly unskilled and untrained workforce for the future. This is because organisations are reluctant to invest resources in training peripheral employees since the rationale for engaging them in the first place is to save costs. It was suggested that because employers see their relationship with the peripheral workforce as relatively short-term, they see no inherent economic advantages for investment in training. This produces a one-sided relationship in which the employee is always at a disadvantage [29].

A third implication, closely related to the above, is the use of numerical flexibility as a tool for managerial control as put forward by [7, 30]. Employees on precarious and psychological contracts are always actively seeking security. By putting forward the ultimate prospect of being integrated into the core workforce, employers can exercise considerable influence over casual/peripheral employees [22, 14]. Over the long-term, this builds up work-related stress for the employees and has dire consequences for their long-term health and well being.

A fourth implication is the losses incurred by contract workers as enumerated by [17] to include: abysmal low wages in comparison to core employees, the absence of medical care or allowances, lack of job security or promotion at work, lack of pension, gratuity and other severance benefits. Also, there is evidence of lack of leave or leave allowance, jeopardised freedom of association, lack of death benefit or accident insurance at work, and the absence of negotiation or collective bargaining agreement in the workplace.

While these organisations continue to make huge profits, quality of work and life, in general, continue to drop for employees. This is fuelled mainly by the high rate of unemployment in Nigeria, and the standard assumption is that 'a hard or bad job is better than no job at all' [19]. The situation is made worse by the non-existence of any form of social security and the fact that the government seems reluctant to take on the giant oil firms that bring in the much-needed investment to power the state machinery.

VII. CONCLUSION

The findings from the research prove invaluable for effective management of human resources as employers seek to retain a highly motivated and productive workforce. This research has raised salient issues within the Nigerian oil sector with regards to the use of numerical flexibility. The evidence from this study strongly suggests that management in the case study organisation actively segments employees into the core and the peripheral groups with highly visible distinctions and no overlap. These distinctions are evident in the wide variations in terms and conditions of employment and opportunities available to those working in the same work environment and exposed to the same risks and in some cases, better qualified. This raises a serious dilemma, especially in a country like Nigerian with its attendant implications. It further raises ethical questions for organisations that claimed to be socially responsible and equal opportunity employer.

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