Thesis

By

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY/ ANTHROPOLOGY UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA, NSUKKA

The unemployment trap : an investigation of the coping mechanisms of unemployed graduates in Nigeria cities

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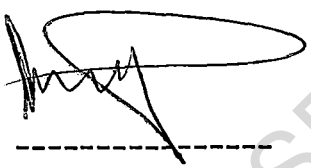
CERTIFICATION

Mr. Chike Fidelis Okolocha, a postgraduate student in the Department of Sociology/Anthropology and with the Reg. No. PG/MSc/PhD/85/3045 has satisfactorily completed the requirements for course and research work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.

The work embodied in this thesis is original and has not been submitted in part or full for any other diploma or degree of this or any other University.



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ABSTRACT

THE UNEMPLOYMENT TRAP.
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Because of the relative recency of graduate unemployment, existing studies on unemployed persons have been restricted to school leavers and unlettered persons. Moreover, in poor countries, the general impression that unemployment is not a serious problem for persons involved is prevalent. The rationale for such belief is that unemployed persons subsist on kinship support networks and a pervasive informal sector.

Going by the basic assumption that education is a most popular and dependable channel of modern upward social mobility which in turn tends to weaken attachment to kinship networks, the support mechanisms of unemployed graduates in the urban setting are examined. Their attitudes toward rurality, the challenge of self employment as well as their interaction patterns are also examined.

The method of triangulation is adopted and the basic tools are interview, the questionnaire and observation. Qualitative and quantitative analyses are presented.

Major results indicate that unemployed graduates tend to

display 'secondary disorganization' since new relationships established in the city to replace kinship ties are themselves weakened or relegated. They seem to be engrossed in attempts to balance the unequal social exchange relationships in which they find themselves. They also appear to have become isolated as both physical and social distances seem to have emerged between them on the one hand and between them and kinship networks on the other. In addition, they tend to distance themselves from ethnic or village associations in spite of the acknowledged functions of these bodies. Indeed unemployed graduates appear to constitute a group 'in itself'. The Bright Light theory is revalidated and poor feeding habits appear quite rampant among respondents.

Unemployment therefore seems to be quite a big problem for graduates involved and has perhaps promoted substantial disorganization of their social networks. Some suggestions for further research are offered.

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All the above share the credit of the successful completion of the entire study. However, I alone bear the responsibility for any shortfall for, after all is said and done, it is my work.

C.F. Okolocha.

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INTRODUCTION

I.A The Phenomenon of Unemployment: A General Overview

The most significant by-product of the process of modernization is perhaps the high concentration of people in urban centres. The demographic transition theory which summarizes the phenomenon holds that

(a) development releases population from rural agriculture to urban industry and, therefore,

(b) an ever increasing majority of the national population will reside in the urban sector.

For many countries, the process of the transition has had both salutary and tragic or dysfunctional consequences. Among the tragic effects is the problem of unemployment. This problem is especially grave for the emergent underdeveloped nations with their weak industrial base and material poverty.

The phenomenon of unemployment is an unwholesome but eloquent testimony of society's inability to maximize the utility of labour. Thus a veritable national asset is turned into a burden and the implicit advantages of increased productivity and consumptive capacity are foregone. Many scholars have attempted to catalogue the social consequences of unutilized labour.[1] For example, unemployment could translate into vagrancy, starvation, malnutrition, loss of status and

indebtedness. Moreover, unemployment represents unfulfilled aspirations which may lead to frustration, a situation which breeds a feeling of resignation, hopelessness and loss of confidence. On account of these the unemployed may become sociopathological. Extreme reactions may include mental illness, alcoholism, drug addiction and even suicide. The unemployed may also become ruthless and resort to all sorts of criminality and violence. Being politically volatile, the unemployed are capable of organizing resistance to constituted authority whom they hold responsible for their fate (Fanon, 1967; Gutkind, 1968 and Worsley, 1972). This assumption contradicts the view that unemployed people are conservative and docile (Weiner, 1967 and Nelson 1969; 1970).[2] However, they are usually more receptive of utopian promises from political demagogues and aspirants who may in actual fact have anything but a concrete and meaningful package of action for eliminating or, at least, obviating the problem. Indeed, Hitler's ascent to power is associated with the mass unemployment engendered by the Great Depression. According to Segal (1965), unemployment has been named as one of the reasons for two military coups d'etat in independent Africa. The phenomenon was also mentioned as a rationale for the military putsch in 1985 in Nigeria. Moreover, the massive unemployment consequent on the arrival of thousands of displaced Igbo in Eastern Nigeria following the pogroms of 1966 and 1967 aided Ojukwu in his mobilization of the people in the Biafran venture.

Therefore, in addition to the direct effects on the individual, unemployment could have dire implication for social order.

The effects of unemployment go beyond the above. Poverty, the gravest problem of the city (Banfield, 1968) is a direct result of unemployment. Notwithstanding known urban incapacity, the invasion of the city by rural populations has mounted, thereby exacerbating, at least in underdeveloped countries, an already hopeless situation. This influx into cities has been attributed, among other factors, to

(a) the concentration of modern employment generating factors and means of satisfying modern values and tastes in the city (Imoagene, 1976),

(b) rural-urban income differentials which are skewed in favour of the urban sector (Lewis, 1967), and

(c) the acquisition of western education which invariably raises the expectations of a recipient and routs him from the village (Callaway, 1967 and Adegbola, 1976).

Indeed, up to the 1970s, the employment of the educated elite was not a problem in Nigeria since the economy expanded faster than labour. The First National Development Plan (1962-8) gave only a passing mention to employment issue. However, the Second Plan (1970-4) gave more prominence to the problem in the sense that it contained a proposal to create 3.3 million jobs within the plan

period with the following distribution:

(a) agricultural sector: 1.1 million

(b) small-scale non-agricultural sector: 2 million

(c) medium to large-scale industrial sector: .210 million.

The document also contained a proposal to reduce the rate of unemployment from two million to 1.25 million in 1974. Notwithstanding these targets, unemployment was still regarded and treated as a residual issue and the rate was only 1.7% in 1972 (Falae, 1971 and 1972). Very importantly, generous offers were made to foreigners to take up employment in various capacities and the situation was such that the recruitment of foreign personnel was subjected to abuses.

If unemployment was hardly a problem in the seventies, it was not solely because of the low figures. The structure was such that whatever form of unemployment that existed was limited to unskilled, low skilled and manual labour. Even so, unemployment was only a seasonal affair in many cases. Weeks (1974) has suggested such novel terminologies as pseudo-unemployment, crypto-unemployment, semi-unemployment, neo-unemployment, proto-unemployment and dis-unemployment to describe such irregular unemployment. To these we may add regular but related terminologies as disguised or invisible unemployment, implicit unemployment, de-employment, hidden unemployment, open unemployment, involuntary unemployment and underemployment including its variants like disguised and open underemployment. This catalogue is not exhaustive.

The 1970s saw the end of the genial employment situation. For multifarious reasons principal among which are

(a) liberalized educational opportunities,

(b) increase in population size,

(c) capital intensive technologies,

(d) the slow rate of growth of the productive sector of the economy,

(e) the aforementioned massive rural-urban disparities and the consequent population drift into the urban sector (Foster, 1968; Singer, 1971; Eedle, 1973; Leys, 1974; Friedmann and Sullivan, 1974; Okediji, 1976; Berry, 1975 and Huq et al., 1983),

(f) the current alleged world-wide depression; and

(g) the fall in the international market prizes of crude oil,

labour supply has leapt ahead of the absorptive capacity of the economy in the 1980s. For underdeveloped countries unemployment is, to use the dramatic slang, guestimated to account for at least 25% of the total labour force.[3] For Nigeria, a guestimated 30% of the total labour force is unemployed. In addition to the factors thus far enumerated, this upping is perhaps due to

(a) the desiccation of new employment opportunities and

(b) the unprecedented waves of retrenchment of all classes of labour which began in 1975 but reached new peaks

in both the private and public sectors of the economy in the 1980s.

The latest official unemployment rate for Nigeria is 7.4% although as we can deduce from Table 1.1, the figure suffers from, among other things, the deficiency of all averages by underestimating the true urban rate and overestimating the true rural rate.[4]

Table I.1 National Unemployment Rates 1985-7

Survey	Composite Rate (National) %	Urban Rate %	Rural Rate %
June 1985	4.3	8.7	3.0
Dec 1985	6.1	9.8	5.2
March 1986	6.3	9.1	5.6
June 1986	6.1	11.0	4.9
Sept 1986	5.3	10.0	4.1
Dec 1986	5.3	9.1	4.6
March 1987	4.5	8.7	3.5
June 1987	6.0	10.6	4.9
Sept 1987	7.4	12.2	6.2

Source: Federal Office of Statistics (1988)

The notoriety of the present unemployment situation is however, not limited to sheer numbers. The new structure reveals a scandalous ubiquity of high level manpower in the unemployment pool, a development which has alarmed government and the general public alike. Several ad hoc measures have consequently been put

into motion to arrest the situation. The general alarm is not surprising for, although in comparison with other categories graduate unemployment is quite low, the resources expended in training this sector of the labour force is colossal (Sanyal et al., 1983). The focus of the 1987 federal budget on the unemployment problem and especially the inauguration of the Directorate of Employment are a synthesis of various anteceding policies to combat the problem.[5]

I.B The Research Problem

The action perspective has expectedly dominated social research in Africa and the underdeveloped world in general, a fact readily borne out by a cursory glance at relevant publications. This development, not altogether unexpected, need not be construed as compromising the vocation of science. The trend dates back to the 1930s when Lynd championed a refocussing of the attention of sociologists on the question of the uses of their science.[6]

Although this thesis is not strictly a prescriptive adventure in the spirit of applied sociology, it focuses on a crucial social problem of the times in which we live. One fundamental assumption is that employment is a crucial component of development. Indeed, the rapid increase in the absolute number of unemployed people is a clear indication of the

fact that development is not occurring (Seers, 1969; Ul Haq, 1973; Myrdal, 1974; Meier, 1976 and Nugent and Yotopoulos, 1979). The failure of the First Development Decade declared by the United Nations is a direct result of increasing unemployment despite rapid economic growth during the period.

Existing studies on unemployment have examined various issues. On a general note, we can say they have been restricted to

(a) the enumeration of the absolute quantum of unemployed persons,

(b) the effects of unemployment on the individual and the society,

(c) policies for solving the problem, and

(d) the effectiveness of benefits paid to unemployed persons.

Further, although these studies recognize the existence of unemployment in the rural sector, increased urbanization has been unanimously acclaimed as the principal purveyor of the problem. In fact, the focus on urban unemployment has obviated attention on the equally depressing issue of rural unemployment. This development is perhaps due to the reality of dual economies which relegate the rural sector to a pariah status. However, the focus of this study on the urban sector need not be construed as an easy way out. Let us examine why this is so.

The influx of people into urban areas from the countryside has been examined in terms of 'push' and 'pull' factors. Concerted

and deliberate concentration of the 'good things of life' in the urban sector has ensured the ever increasing abandonment of the rural sector for it. The reasons earlier mentioned for the movement into the city are principally economic but there are also psycho-social factors.[7] Moreover, migration is known to be selective of age, sex and other social characteristics. For example, from a relatively recent study, Adegbola concluded that 'all available evidence point to a positive correlation between the level of completed education and the propensity to migrate to cities' (1976:50). We may, therefore, logically deduce that the new class of unemployed people, that is, graduates, which are of concern to us in this thesis 'naturally' regard urban residence as a prerogative in view of their high standards of educational attainment. In any case, this development is not strange as it is mainly in the cities that suitable jobs may be found. Our focus on the urban sector may, therefore, be considered an empiric imperative.

Existing studies on unemployment have tended to follow two discernible theoretical schools of thought. One of these holds that the urban unemployed in poor countries survive on support from both formal and informal networks in the city. At the informal level, the networks include sibs and fellow villagers and also voluntary organizations comprising persons from common village, clan or ethnic group.[8] Because of these support mechanisms, it is

atimes suggested that we cannot apply the term unemployment in poor underdeveloped countries with any meaning (Weeks, 1974).

The second theoretical strand predates the former. Popularized by the Chicago School which, in turn, is well represented by Wirth (1938), it highlights the distinctive features of urban existence. These among others include impersonality of personal relationships in view of increased populations, 'the superficiality, the anonymity, and the transitory character of urban relations', 'the substitution of secondary for primary contacts', the declining significance of the family and kinship, the erosion of the traditional basis of social solidarity and increasing social isolation. In essence, the urbanite is no longer part of the kin-based social organization and is largely independent of it.[9] This theoretical orientation has not attracted a large following in Africa and other underdeveloped regions. While allusions have been made to it, Lukhero (1966) and Imoagene (1977) have suggested that the new elite in urban Africa cultivate new social networks which replace earlier structures.

The most obvious shortfall in existing studies is the general impression to the effect that unemployment may not be a serious problem to the unemployed in view of the acclaimed support networks. The general picture that urban dwelling involves only a physical distance or separation of the individual from his rural kinsfolk needs some reexamination. Such an exercise will help us ascertain

the extent to which the blasé personality presaged by the Chicago School has emerged in Africa. The other gap in existing studies pertains to the limited scope. The focus betrays the impression that unemployment is a problem of primary and high school leavers, unlettered and unskilled persons. Even though graduate unemployment has attained alarming dimensions in Asia since the early seventies, only passing attention is given to the phenomenon beyond mere enumeration.[10] For Nigeria, social research efforts are still largely concentrated on matters relating to rural life, urbanization, economic development strategies, education and more recently, women studies. It is now time to go beyond this stricture and seek a fuller understanding of social currents in the society. Further, it is probable that existing studies assume that the coping mechanisms or support networks of unemployed graduates in the city are not different in any significant way from that of their less educated counterparts, an assumption which is yet to be proven through empiric research.

Public policy options in these countries atimes point to the need to halt or at least slow down the 'over-rapid' expansion in education so as to check unemployment. This curious approach interpretes education along strictly instrumental lines and removes focus from the failure on the part of public policy to implement employment generating ventures. Unfortunately, this approach has gained followership in Nigeria and many other

underdeveloped countries especially under the structural adjustment programme of the nineteen-eighties.

The aforementioned lacunae in existing studies are even more notable in Nigeria where, as stated above, social research efforts are still largely concentrated on matters relating to rural life, urbanization, economic development issues, education and, more recently, women affairs. More specifically, outside the bulletins issued by the Federal Office of Statistics, there is as yet to my knowledge, no sociological study of unemployed graduates. This pioneering research effort transcends the strictures of earlier studies and focuses on our proposal that on account of their high education, unemployed graduates need not be lumped together with less educated unemployed labour. In the underdeveloped world where unemployment benefits are yet to be introduced, it is now imperative to investigate their support mechanisms in the city especially in view of the reality of their increasing numbers.

I.C Specific Primary Objectives

This thesis is a study of the human factor in national development with a focus on the lot of a relatively recent category of unemployed people. It is based on the premise that the coping of support mechanisms of the unemployed school leaver and his unlettered and unskilled colleagues in the city may, in some aspects, be significantly different from those of unemployed

graduates. Education, a most reliable channel of social mobility in modern society, is known to raise the aspirations of its recipients. Unemployed graduates, being potential members of the 'senior service' may indeed see themselves as belonging with their employed and more fortunate counterparts. In view of the social distance between the unemployed school leaver and the unemployed graduate, the coping mechanisms of the former may not have much appeal for the latter who may then fail to utilize them.

The primary objectives of this research effort may, therefore, be specified as follows:

(a) to determine the sources of support for shelter, food and basic existential income among unemployed graduates in the city;

(b) to determine if acceptance or resistance of government calls for unemployed persons to move to rural areas varies with reasons for wanting to live in the city;

(c) to determine whether or not unemployed graduates are making use of channels established by government to tackle unemployment and identify what efforts they are making toward self employment;

(d) to determine the level of interaction among unemployed graduates and ascertain if there is an emerging formal interest group of unemployed graduates.

I.D Secondary Objectives

Several other objectives are immediately related to the primary objectives enumerated above. For example, it will be interesting to discover the disciplines of study of unemployed graduates and examine how this may be related to unemployment. Unemployment has often been blamed on inappropriate educational curricula. On this score, unemployed persons are blamed for pursuing non-science and non-technical disciplines. Sanyal et al. (1983) has lent credence to such opinion when they concluded that a majority of unemployed graduates in Sri Lanka hold degrees in arts disciplines. It is quite evident that recent bias against the humanities by Nigerian governments is informed by such ideas.

Another secondary objective which relates to the experience of unemployed graduates is their length of stay in the job market. This is likely to have major impact on the life of applicants along the direction of total resignation to job seeking efforts.

Thirdly, we hope to determine how the results obtained in pursuance of both the primary and secondary objectives bear on existing sociological theory and see what divergencies that may exist.

We may conclude this specification of our objectives by emphasizing that the study is an effort in applied sociology. Extensive empirical analyses of issues reaised in the above two

sections are undertaken in later chapters. However, only a limited prescriptive synthesis is ventured in view of the nature of our research problem which consigns the study to an exploratory exercise. By shedding more light on the social currents in our society, this research makes a concrete contribution to sociological knowledge.

I.E Sociological Significance of Study Objectives

If, as it is now widely accepted, development concerns human beings, then the significance of a study on the human factor in national development is self-evident. Such a study ipso facto falls squarely within the purview of sociology.

A most distressing fact is that unemployed graduates are deprived of the opportunity to contribute in any meaningful way to the development process. That in itself questions the very fact of whether development is actually occurring. This we have earlier mentioned. Now, since welfare cannot be assured through formal employment, it becomes important to investigate how unemployed graduates ensure or maintain their own welfare.

The ongoing onslaught on the problem of unemployment in Nigeria, perhaps a result of the phenomenon of graduate unemployment, betrays the crisis dimension it has reached. The attainment of the objectives highlighted in the earlier sections

will contribute to a greater understanding of the social processes and behavioural patterns of a class of people who should be in senior positions but are deprived of the opportunity. Ultimately, this understanding ramifies into the society at large.

Because of the relative recency of graduate unemployment in the country, the phenomenon has not received due attention in social research. The present study therefore fills an important gap. Present effort by government is perhaps a product of the phenomenon's potential for social unrest and its dire implications for national development. At the instrumental level, we may surmise that an understanding of the coping mechanisms of this nascent group is not only essential but imperative as the knowledge will be invaluable in the formulation of policy to help them. In this sense, this study may be regarded, at best indirectly, as part of the general effort to curb unemployment. Indeed, it is a study of the informal social security networks which have generally escaped the attention of policy makers and researchers alike. As governments in this and other underdeveloped countries do not operate any form of unemployment benefits, it will be interesting to identify the coping networks of unemployed graduates.

But the significance of this study transcends strictly instrumental objectives. For example, the prospects that graduate unemployment may be with us for a long time in view of present and foreseeable political and economic development patterns is enough

reason to investigate how unemployed graduates manage to survive at the moment. Finally, this study is a contribution to general sociological knowledge and, more specifically, the theory of unemployment. This is to the extent that it will enable or enhance formulation of theory on the issues investigated.

I.F Theoretical Issues

To the extent that our subject matter concerns contemporary social problems, the entire study is an exercise in the field of sociology of social action. However, at a lower level of abstraction, two theoretical strands are identifiable pertaining to studies on urban job seekers. The more popular of these is the social equilibrium model represented by the functional orientation which sees unemployed people as being firmly anchored in kin-based relationships thereby making life in unemployment more tolerable than otherwise. The second orientation, the social disorganization or conflict model, gives prime of place to the destabilizing influences of city life.

These two orientations need not be seen as being mutually exclusive for, to be sure, although traditional familial relationships are somewhat fundamentally weakened in the urban setting, yet they are largely extant. This study is a synthesis

of the two orientations.

Because of the aforementioned comparative unpopularity of the disorganization model with regards to poor countries, we should expatiate on its development and general principles. Thomas and Znaniecki (1927) are perhaps the first modern theorists to examine the theme of social disorganization.[11] They averred that with modernization or, we should say, urbanization, 'we' attitudes are substituted with 'I' attitudes and the family is, in that process, weakened. Variants of this argument were made by earlier scholars like Toennies, Durkheim and Weber.[12] However, it is to the Chicago School epitomized by the seminal essay of Wirth (1938) that we owe a doctrinnaire synthesis of the social disorganization approach. The School has painted a largely negative and bleak picture of the urban sector and urbanites themselves. Urbanity became synonymous with the crises of poverty, crime, poor sanitation, social isolation and segmentation among others. A dichotomy was entrenched: the rural sector was described in romantic epithets and placed in mutual exclusion to the city, the veritable home of vice.

As Dike (1979) has declared, the position of the Chicago School is very highly implausible in Africa. Our position in this thesis is that the extreme position represented by the Chicago School is nearly as untenable as the equilibrium model which emphasizes the exclusive support functions of traditional networks and questions the applicability of the label of unemployment to jobless

people in poor countries. This mid-way position is however, not novel. It is derived from the old functional-conflict theoretical polarity. The functional equilibrium represented by dependence on traditional networks suffers the notable disability of not giving due recognition to the disorganizing influences of urbanization. On the other pole, the extreme position represented by the Chicago School is also deficient in the sense that it does not recognize the stabilizing and supportive roles and resilience of traditional and familial relationships for urbanites.[13] Unemployed graduates in the city may recognize and indeed subsist on traditional kinship networks, yet the disorganizing influences of modernization have weakened the import of these networks.

The argument may be carried further. It could be imagined that the general economic adversity and increasing poverty which have resulted from our national development efforts will have adverse effects on the support roles of traditional networks for unemployed graduates. Indeed, the nature and size of help which may be received from kinship networks are directly proportional to the relative economic well being of the benefactors. We may, therefore, logically assume that well-to-do relations are in a better position to help out. Further, the alienating quality of high education deserves special mention. As the most popular channel of upward mobility in modern society, education may alienate its recipients not only from traditional occupations and vocations,

but also from traditional kinship obligations and prerogatives. Education may in this regard be conceptualized as a socially disorganizing agent. Lukhero (1966) and Imoagene (1977) recognized this disorganizing influence of education. We may therefore surmise that on account of their high education, unemployed graduates feel estranged from kinship networks and may, therefore, not depend on them especially as a substantive source of support in the city. It is thus clear that the validity of the disorganization model cannot be assailed but, as earlier noted, it is not in mutual exclusion to the equilibrium model.

I.G Summary

In this chapter, we have presented general preliminary information on the entire study. In this process we gave a general overview of the phenomenon of unemployment and then focussed on areas of interest to us. The research objectives were itemized and the import of the research project highlighted. These were then followed by the theoretical implications of the study objectives. Our conclusion on the latter is that what appears to us from our statement of problem is that the bipolar theoretical strands of social equilibrium and disorganization do not appear to mutually exclusive. In the next two chapters we continue and conclude our consideration of background materials.

[1]Early examples include Elderton (1931), Gilboy (1937 and 1938) Marsh, Fleming and Blackler (1938) and Komarovsky (1940). More recent examples include Falae (1972), Lauterback (1977), Dynarski and Sheffrin (1987) and Sampson (1987).

[2]In an integrative analysis Gutkind (1975) attempted to present some views and propositions partially in support and partially in opposition to these views on unemployed people and the urban poor in general.

[3]According to Singer (1970) this figure includes underemployed people but excludes those in disguised unemployment. Disguised unemployment refers to a situation in which skilled people, having lost their job, engage in odd jobs to eke out a miserable living (Meier, 1976:145).

[4]The figures were arrived at through limited labour surveys by the Federal Office of Statistics (FOS). For example, the sample for the September 1987 was made up of 2,107 urban households and 2968 rural households (see FOS, 1988). Early in 1987, the Minister of Labour, Employment and Productivity guestimated an unemployment rate of 7% which would give a total of 3.5 million unemployed people from a labour force of 48 million (African Concord, 1987). Is there a chance that the percentages refer to the annual unemployment growth rate and not the overall employment rate?

[5]Increased concern with the problem of unemployment led to the redesignation of the Federal Ministry of Labour as that of Labour, Employment and Productivity during the Third National Development Plan (1975-80). In 1986, the Committee on Strategies for Dealing with Mass Unemployment (COSDMU) was set up by the federal government.

[6]Lynd (1939) was reacting against the value-free science of social action proposed by Weber (see Gerth and Mills, 1958). Davis also lamented in his presidential address to the American Sociological Society that prevailing trends showed that sociology was 'becoming more theoretical, more scientific, and less preoccupied in the field of social action than formerly' (1940:171). The extreme of the Weberian thesis is represented by Lundberg, a neopositivist who insisted that science must not be contaminated by moralistic evaluations that would render impossible the objective perspective of the social world (Lundberg, 1947). Today the controversy has all but died down in sociological literature, and in the underdeveloped world, science is meaningless when stripped of its instrumentality. An almost lone voice emerged recently (Nicholson

1983) urging, in the spirit of Lundberg, that social science should be pursued as natural science.

[7]For various views on rural-urban migration, see, e.g., Imoagene (1967b), Amin (1974) and all the readings in Odumosu et al. (1976).

[8]Work on this theoretical orientation include Imoagene (1967a), Miracle (1970), Mabogunje (1970), Hutton (1970) and King (1974).

[9]Wirth was not the pioneer in this perspective. Maine in a book first published in 1861 observed that the movement of society has been uniform in one sense, namely, that dependency on the family had gradually dissolved and this has been replaced by individual obligation (Maine 1960). Other seminal essays differentiating between rural community and urban society include Durkheim (1947), Simmel (1950), Toennies (1957) and Weber (1958).

[10]American underemployed Ph.D's have concerned Solmon et al. (1981).

[11]Thomas was already professor of sociology when Park arrived at Chicago university and subsequently became the most popular exponent of the Chicago School. The quartet of Small (head of sociology department when Park arrived), Thomas, Park and Burgess (co-author with Park of The City, a seminal work on the Chicago orientation) 'captured the energy and imagination of several generations of graduate students' (Hughes, 1979:208).

[12]Toennies (1957, trans.) observed that rural values are replaced with individualism in the city. Durkheim (1947, trans.) differentiated between the 'mechanical solidarity' of ruralites and the individualistic 'organic solidarity' in the city. Weber (1958, trans.) asserted that the large number of inhabitants in the city brings about impersonality and anonymity in social relationships.

[13]Recently, the assumptions of the Chicago School came under a very systematic attack (see Harvey, 1987).

CHAPTER II

CHAPTER II

II.A. Social Structure and Unemployment. A Review of Literature

IIA.1. Introduction.

Existing literature on the coping mechanisms of unemployed persons in the city is limited not only in terms of the number of studies but also with regard to the focus which has been on school leavers and uneducated people. On the other hand, the existing studies on unemployed graduates are general and bear no relationship to how they manage to survive. In view of the paucity of literature, the present study may, more than anything else, be classified as an exploratory exercise.

But the paucity of literature obtains yet at another level. As we pointed out in the earlier chapter, the school of thought holding that unemployed people have various support networks in the city has been quite popular and has attracted quite a few studies. Lesser attention has been paid to the celebrated disorganizing influences of urbanism. The implicit assumption is that these influences are somewhat limited to the western industrial world where kinship ties even in the rural setting have, in any case, not been as close and extensive as in Africa. It is noteworthy that because of the existence of formal structural

arrangements, the survival of unemployed people in western countries is invariably ensured. These arrangements are usually in form of social securities which include insurance benefits and the popular unemployment dole. There are, therefore, virtually no precedents in the west on which the present study may be modelled.

With the above considerations in mind, we start our review of existing literature with a short review of unemployment as an economic concept. A historical sequence is adopted in this exercise. We follow with studies based on the social equilibrium orientation and end with a focus on the social disorganization model. Attempt is then made, by way of a summary, to highlight the current state of knowledge.

IIA.2 Unemployment As An Economic Concept

(a) Early Research

Employment and unemployment have remained almost exclusively economic concepts since the crystallization of modern social science. That sociologists and other social scientists have left unemployment to the domain of economics is perhaps a result of the old school which considers development an exclusive economic process.

On the theoretical front, non-Keynesian and Keynesian formulations dominate economic literature on

unemployment. In what follows, our first concern is the non-theoretical issues. Thereafter we turn to the theoretical matters. The focus in this subsection is on literature up to the sixties.

Jackson (1910) may be said to blaze the trail in modern unemployment literature. His main theme is the role trade unions could play in curbing unemployment. Knowing full well that political activity could hamper the cooperation between government and unions in the use of the latter to stem unemployment, Jackson suggests that unions should confine themselves strictly to trade functions. It does not appear as if this is probable. In a later prescriptive study, Clay (1929) suggests that, in view of their employment generating potentials, the root of the cure of unemployment lies in export industries such as coal, textiles, ship building, engineering, iron and steel. Graham (1932) and Cheadle et al. (1934) also suggest that idle productive equipment be used by unemployed people to provide their own needs. Further prescriptions have been given by Dennison et al. (1938), the editors of The Times (1941), Lorwin (1941), Langer (1943), Hagen and Kirkpatrick (1944), Berkovits and Atkins (1946) and Hanson (1947). The spirit and substance of these prescriptive studies is captured by Hagen and Kirkpatrick in their conclusion that full employment will depend on 'good fortune' and 'extremely wise social engineering'.

The issues of unemployment insurance and the administration of unemployment relief have received due attention over the years. Since Britain invented unemployment insurance in 1911, western countries have adopted it in turns. In Britain itself, administration of unemployment relief has been quite dynamic. For instance persons unemployed as a result of the World War I were given doles from the treasury's out-of-work donations. This was operated from 1915 up till 1921. Persons who had employment insurance received 'unconvenanted' benefits (1921-31), 'transitional' payments (1931-5) and payments from the Unemployment Assistance Board from 1935 onwards. Unemployed persons outside the above categories were given assistance from the Poor Local Relief system (Burns, 1941). Feis (1921), Davison (1929), Gilson (1931), Bakke (1934), Huntington (1939), White (1939) and Clark (1941) are the other pioneers in the literature of assistance to unemployed persons. Feis, Davison, Gilson, Bakke and Clark examine the problems associated with unemployment insurance, unemployment benefits and employment exchange. From these works, one is left with a clear impression that the structures for curbing unemployment or ameliorating its effects have not been quite effective. Davison's additional suggestion that the public works programme approach cannot stop unemployment confirms the ineffectiveness of measures recommended and adopted for solving the problem. White's study is a comparison of unemployment insurance in Britain, Germany and

the United States of America. Huttington, on the other hand, gives us a history and the socioeconomic characteristics of families that applied for unemployment relief in the five years following the western economic collapse of 1929. It is pertinent to add here that unemployment relief has led to further questions. As Burns has observed '... the discovery that the sum of money necessary to assure (a minimum living) standard to an unemployed man may be in excess of that earned by many workers in full employment acts not solely as argument to reduce unemployment assistance, but becomes also a challenge to remove the social inadequacies of the wage system' (1941:366). This observation is still very apt today.

The sheer numbers of unemployed people have expectedly attracted the attention of economists. Slitchter (1929) has, for example, demonstrated the absolute increase in the number of unemployed persons in the 1920s. His estimate is that in America, about 2.3 million jobs were lost in factories, agriculture, mining and railroad in the period 1920-9. Although employment rose in other sectors during the same period, the population increase of 13.6 million in 1920-8 more than wipes out the growth in these other sectors.[1] Biggers et al. (1938) also estimated the total number of unemployed persons in the United States to be between 7.8 million and 10.8 million. We should, however, point out that all these figures cannot be reliable and may therefore be more of underestimates. For example, Biggers et al. depended on unreliable

voluntary unemployment registration figures which were the only data available to them.

Other scholars went beyond the above issues and focussed on the causes and theories of unemployment. Morris (1911) and Rowntree and Lasker (1911), for example were particularly concerned with the causes of unemployment. According to Morris, these include seasonal declines in advertisement which give rise to seasonal idleness in the newspaper industry and also the seasonal demand for certain products which leads to irregular demand for labour, a view also shared by Burchardt (1944). But Rowntree and Lasker believe that the problem lies with the ill preparedness of youths for jobs. These and other reasons have been synthesized into economic theories which we now turn to. As earlier indicated a dichotomy has entrenched itself in these theories so that one may talk either of Keynesian or non-Keynesian theories. This is because with the publication of Keynes' General Theory in 1936, a new approach was introduced which, to this day, still occupies a prominent role in economic theory.

The non-Keynesians may be said to have been championed by Pigou a conservative economist of the classical mould of J.B. Say who, over a generation, continuously put forward his argument that unemployment is a function of maladjustment between wages and demand for labour (Pigou 1913, 1933 and 1945). His direct deduction from this interplay is that unemployment can be eliminated if

wages are adjusted up and down with the demand for labour. This position is adopted by Bibby (1929), Burchardt (1944) and Walker (1950). Bibby, for example, argues that unemployment is a product of the extent to which wage rates are too high to enable them be paid out of available wage fund. He suggests that adjustment should not be made oftener than every eighth week and contends that a 5% wage cut will absorb 10 per cent of the unemployment rate. The idea of wage redistribution is also recommended by Kalecki (1944).

The International Labour Organization has lent credence to the narrow economic theories of Pigou, Bibby, Burchardt and Walker. In a report presented to the International Labour Conference in 1929, it propounded a hypothesis to the effect that unemployment fluctuates with changes in the prize level. Simply put, the argument holds that unemployment declines when prices rise as the value of money declines and, conversely, unemployment increases when prices fall as the value of money rises. In this sense, inflationary pressures reduce unemployment because excess labour will be mobilized in production to reap more surplus value from weak money (ILO, 1929). Evidence from Nigeria in recent times does not bear out these assumptions. Moreover, the decline of the dollar in 1986-7 did not give any respite to the unemployment rate in the United States of America.

Indeed, non-Keynesian assumptions seem very curious. For

example, the fluctuation of wages of unskilled and casual labourers in Europe has not resulted in the reduction of unemployment among such personnel. Further, Pigou's theory that the perfect mobility of labour lessens unemployment seems contrary to developments even in advanced industrial countries. Evidently, unemployment is acute among migratory workers, especially the unskilled category. Migratory workers are particularly susceptible to seasonal unemployment. We are also incredulous regarding Bibby's (1929) and Kaliecki's (1944) hypothesis that high wages can cause unemployment. Their position which amounts to an apology for low wages runs contrary to our considered view that a meaningful standard of living cannot be maintained when wages are very low. Considering that wages are usually adjusted to meet inflationary trends, any reduction will automatically translate to lower standards of living. When wages cannot meaningfully meet costs of living, we are not certain if we can validly say persons involved are employed. As a matter of fact the ILO, in a statement somewhat paradoxical to its earlier stand, recommends that 'the ultimate object of policy is not just to provide more jobs but to provide work which is socially productive and yields enough income for a reasonable standard of living' (ILO, 1970:15). This position may be compared with the views of King (1974) and Gutkind (1981) which we shall consider subsequently. However, downward wage adjustment has been abandoned in theory and practice since the rise of labour power.

Non-Keynesian unemployment theory, as we can deduce from the above, is a handmaiden of monetarist free market economics. But while promoting or rationalizing capitalism, it has proven to have little explanatory or predictive power. Indeed Keynes and Keynesians assert that since private enterprise has failed to sustain demand, the solution to unemployment lies in public investment and other policies directed toward increasing consumption and discouraging private savings. Therein lies the revolution of Keynesian economics. The kernel of Keynesian theory is that the way to keep down the level of national unemployment is to keep up the level of national expenditure (Joseph, 1944). Indeed according to Hanson, perhaps the most notable Keynesian theorist in the nineteen forties, full employment and the price system are incompatible in the sense that the profit motive destabilizes employment (Hanson, 1947). But the most categorical assertion of the Keynesians belong to Fairchild who wrote that

> Free enterprise and full employment are, in their very essence, as incompatible as oil and water. The only basis on which the two could get along nominally together would be that government should take away all profits and use them to supplement wages in which case 'enterprise' would not consider itself free and, indeed, there would be no basis for it. The price and profit system has run its course and outlived its usefulness as a result of its very characteristics (1946:276).

Other notable Keynesians who elaborated on the basic assumption of

the school in the period include Stead (1942), Harris (1942) and Beveridge (1945).

Having briefly looked at the positions of the non-Keynesian and Keynesian theorists on the problem of unemployment, we should now end this section by considering other theoretical matters. One of these is the trade union theory of unemployment which was taken up by Smelser (1919). The assumption is that the amount of work done is of fixed quantity. This theory explains why some unions restrict output and the recruitment of new members and apprentices in addition to regulating overtime. These steps may very well check idleness among union members but they have no effect on the overall rate of unemployment in the society. Another theory is the technological theory of unemployment. This theory stipulates that technological innovations release purchasing power which is directed at new goods which in turn require labour to produce. In this manner, according to Hanson, '... the increase in purchasing power is the result of labour reabsorption and not the cause. Labour saving techniques redistribute purchasing power but do not of themselves create additional purchasing power. The increased purchasing power of other groups is exactly off set by the decreased purchasing power of the displaced workers. What these technological developments set free is not purchasing power but productive power' (1932:25). Hanson's reasoning tallies with Taylor's (1933) assertion that 'over rapid mechanization' in

in industry, 'over saving' and 'over investment' in plant facilities account for rising unemployment rates. We might therefore re-christen the theory as the technological theory of unemployment, not employment. However, Lonigan (1939) believes that falling employment rates cannot be explained by displacement by machines because falling costs of production should lead to increased employment in consumer goods, recreation and services. The problem lies not with machines but with the rise of management to power and the high costs of protective programmes for labour.

We can confidently say the above represents a general summary of early research on the problem of unemployment as an economic concept. To be sure, there are a few works which have been left out but they are easily categorizable among the various writers considered above. Let us now turn to more recent research.

(b) Recent Research

Economic studies on unemployment since the late sixties have not diverged in any significant manner from the trend in the earlier period. This subsection consequently occupies minimal space. What is probably novel in recent times is that unemployment research has become routine in western economic thought. This trend has resulted in such academic 'trivia' as whether it takes longer to find a job once unemployed in the United States of America or Sweden (Barret 1975 and 1977; Axelsson et al. 1977).

A looming issue has been the question of what explains unemployment in times of increasing rationality and advancement in both managerial and technological capacities in modern polities. Views have been quite divergent and disagreements often acrimonious. For underdeveloped countries, economic growth strategies since the nineteen sixties have been blamed for rising unemployment and other maleficial legacies. But in the west, no such general consensus has been reached. This is well exemplified in the discussions on British unemployment rates which we should now consider in some details.

The controversial impacts on the British employment and unemployment rates of three major economic development policies enacted in 1965 and 1966 literally ignited the bellicose mood of economists. These were the Redundancy Payment Act (1965), the National Insurance Act (1966) and the Selective Employment Tax, SET (1966). While the Acts were designed to cushion the deprivations suffered during unemployment through cash payments, the objective of SET was to transfer manpower from the services sector to manufacturing which, as a growth sector, had greater employment generating potential. Specifically, under SET, all firms were made to pay a weekly rate graduated according to sex and age for every employee. Further, manufacturing firms received a premium on each employee and also rate refunds. No such concessions were given to the services sector and construction

employees. In essence, SET greatly subsidized employment in the manufacturing sector until premiums were withdrawn after the devaluation of November 1967 except in select areas known as developing areas. On account of the severity of the controversy on the issue of unemployment benefits (hereafter UB), we shall direct more attention to them than SET.

Gujarati (1972) is one of the more prominent figures in the controversy. Going by his reasoning, it does not appear as if there was any worsening of the unemployment rate in real terms since the Acts induced an artificial increase in the register of unemployed. UB removed the pressure on unemployed persons who then found thier status more affordable. Thus emerged voluntary unemployment and insurance-induced unemployment in Britain.

In an effort which indirectly validates Gujarati's neo-classical macro-economic thesis, Spindler and Maki (1975; 1979) attribute the rise in unemployment in Britain after 1966 to voluntary decisions by persons to remain in unemployment because of the introduction of UB in December, 1965 and earnings related benefits along with SET in 1966. So popular is this explanation that numerous economists have applied it in their analyses. Notable disciples include Sleeper (1970), Welch (1977), Claussen (1977), Keifer and Neuman (1979) Hamermesh (1979), Nickell (1979) and Topel (1983).

This legion of macro-economic theorists has not conferred total acceptability on the assumptions associating rising

unemployment rates with UB. For example, in a reply to Gujarati, Taylor (1972) opposes the former's contention and demonstrates that there was a real 'shake out' of labour in 1967-8. In a separate disagreement with Gujarati's thesis, Foster (1974) avers that the rise in unemployment was a result of not only the introduction of redundancy payments legislation which encouraged employers to shake out older, less efficient workers but also a result of demographic change which led to an abnormal increase in young inexperienced labour. Evans (1977) opposes this viewpoint and attributes the rise in unemployment to the earnings related unemployment benefits which increased the propensity to register because of the greater rewards accruing therefrom. (This is a position earlier taken by Gujarati (1972)). The true unemployment situation therefore may not have changed. Parikh and Allen (1982), apparently in an effort to resolve the seeming impasse, assert that no one approach may adequately account for the rise in unemployment rate in the period under review. To them, both the introduction of UB and SET contributed in various ways to a real rise in unemployment.

A fresh dimension to the controversy is introduced by Cubbin and Foley who argue that UB played a neglible (or even negative) role in generating real unemployment in Britain. To them, the rate of unemployment rose because of changes in permanent income. By this monetarist explanation, the fall in real incomes contributed to a fall in demand and therefore a fall in production and a rise

in unemployment.

Such monetarism did not concern Sawyer (1979) who, in an attack which prompted Spindler and Maki to defend their original thesis, adduces novel reasons to explain British unemployment rates. According to him, a vast majority of people do not receive earnings related supplement which was introduced from 1966. Therefore, such benefits cannot be said to have induced any rise in unemployment. This view is shared by Creedy and Disney (1981). Further, Sawyer asserts that over a fifth of unemployed people were actually not receiving UB at all. As such, there cannot also be any question of people being encouraged to stay in unemployment because of UB. But to conclude, Sawyer resorted to the monetarist argument of Cubbin and Foley noted above, namely, that unemployment rose as a result of deficiency in demand, a non-Keynesian position also adopted by Plessner and Yitzhaki (1983).

However, Junaker (1983) goes beyond simple monetarism and presents us with a pot-pourri of explanations. Although he agrees with Cubbin and Foley that increased UB since 1966 do not have any significant effects on the level of unemployment, he does not believe the problem can be explained by monetarist assumptions. According to Junaker, unemployment rose in response to structural changes. The first change is the acclaimed decline of the industrial sector relative to the services sector (the so-called de-industrialization of Britain). Another structural change is what

has become known as the micro-processor revolution. Finally, Junaker also points to the increase in female participation in labour, a phenomenon largely restricted to the services sector. The paradox of the latter development is that unemployment became more of a problem for men who, in any case, form the vast majority of the labour force. The decline of the industrial sector therefore resulted in redundancies despite the rise of employment in the services sector. SET was designed to redress this decline in the industrial (manufacturing) but, as Sleeper (1970) points out, that mission was futile since manufacturing not only failed to increase employment but actually diverted some 40,000 redundant manufacturing employees from alternative employment in other sectors into unemployment. Such was the direct negative but inadvertent result of the subsidization of employment.

In another contribution to the controversy, Abraham (1983) suggests that the problem has to do with the greater number of unemployed persons per job which grew from 2.5 in the mid nineteen sixties to 4.0 in the nineteen seventies and then 5.0 in the late seventies.

A totally new interpretation of the increase in the unemployment rate in Britain comes from Cable and Finlay (1978) who claim that imports from underdeveloped countries have depressed demand for products of British industry, a situation which affected production adversely and induced redundancies. This hypothesis hides

the fact that the bulk of imports from underdeveloped countries is made up of raw materials and intermediate products.

It is important to note that Cubbin and Foley (1977), Sawyer (1979) and Creedy and Disney (1981) are not lone neo-conservative voices that have risen to counter the liberal prescriptions of Keynesians. The most popular perspective in this neo-conservative tradition is perhaps the so-called Phillips Curve which emerged with the seminal work of Phillips (1958). The main principle is that the higher the wage inflation, the lower the unemployment rate. If an economy therefore finds itself operating at a zero rate of wage inflation, the unemployment rate will be significantly positive. In the classical formulation, with inflation unemployment is said to increase briefly before beginning to decline and conversely, with deceleration of inflation, unemployment briefly decreases before beginning to rise. It would seem that inflation is something to be wished for if a decline in unemployment is to be achieved. Indeed, one may be encouraged to share this belief in view of the assiduous efforts by many governments in the underdeveloped world to pander to monetarism through structural adjustment programmes. Significantly, Friedmanites including Grossman (1974) and Benoit (1975) have countered the assumptions of the Phillips Curve. Grossman, for example, proposes that while in the early stages wage inflation results in lower unemployment rates, the situation is, with time, reversed so that a rise in

unemployment ensues. Benoit, on the other hand, points out that since 1950, the cost of living in the United States of America has increased yearly even with recession and cheap raw materials. Specifically, he points out that in 1973-74, wage inflation sky-rocketted along with high unemployment rates. We can further confound Phillips and his followers by adding here that American unemployment rate has fallen from 11% in 1982 to 5.4 in 1988 along with almost insignificant growth in prices and wages. In Britain, the unemployment rate witnessed a fresh surge in the decade 1971-81 when prices rose by 264% and money supply (a measure of aggregate demand) rose by 292%. The significant fall in the unemployment rate since the advent of Thatcher has been a result of consistent opposition to reflationary and inflationary pressures.[3]

What are we to make of the above babel of voices? The clear picture that emerges is that economic theory on employment and unemployment is as perplexing as the economies which generate unemployment. This confusion is also evident in the divergent views examined in the previous section on early research. However, there are recent studies outside the controversial viewpoints. For example, Lauterbach (1977) tries to differentiate between the economic, sociological and psychological meanings of unemployment, a matter which will concern us in the second half of this chapter. He also gives definitions of underemployment and hidden unemployment. Oswald (1983) examines the relationship between labour

unions, wages and unemployment while Broadberry (1983) gives a summary of the views of 'old' and 'new' optimists in unemployment literature. Bould (1980) on the other hand points out the role of unemployment in retirement of older workers. There are also prescriptions similar to those examined under early research. For example, Benoit (1975) suggests that the way out of unemployment lies in the production of more goods so that supply surpasses demand and also assurance through control and taxation that after-tax income and demand do not rise too quickly especially for items not essential for national welfare. The latter prescription is patently neo-Keynesian. But Tobin (1972) has earlier asserted that Keynesian and post-Keynesian approaches to the issue of employment generation are not readily applicable to newly modernizing economies. We are thrown back into the controversy which we have left behind. However, Tobin's prescription is quite curious for it appears that underdeveloped countries, by nature of their exploitative link with imperialist metropoles, need more government intervention in the true Keynesian spirit than developed countries. In another prescriptive study, Bennet and Phelps (1983) suggest urban public works, employment subsidy, import tariffs, export and devaluation as appropriate to create employment.

The above represents the economic conception of employment and unemployment including the various policies adopted by government to combat the malaise and aid the unemployed in coping with

their lot. In our view, the different positions adopted by different economists and the ensuing contradictions and confusion amply lend credence to the popular label of economics as a dismal science.

One noteworthy deduction from the controversies is that simple government intervention in the true spirit of Keynesian economics cannot be a panacea as the UB Acts and SET have amply demonstrated. The failure of monetarist measures expose the inherent weakness of the liberalism of Keynesian doctrine. Unemployment, it would seem, is a sine qua non of the free market system (Hanson, 1947). No amount of Keynesian tinkering of this system will eliminate the phenomenon. That unemployment has endured the acclaimed economic growth of America and Britain in the eighties is enough evidence of this. The controversy among economists ought to be seen in terms of defective policy. It is only logical to expect defective theory from defective policy.

We are therefore constrained to argue with Fairchild that 'the hard, relentless, irresistible forces of social evolution are carrying the world inescapably in the direction of collectivisation' (1946:276). This is hardly a novel idea. But in the face of increasing popularity of monetarism and deregulation following the advent of the political economy of Reaganomics and Thatcherism, we admit that our return-to-labour recommendation is, indeed, bold. However, we insist on it since under free market

production, labour will remain a 'variable cost', which must either promote profit or stand the risk of being dispensed with. In these terms, free market economic activity tends to seek as much profit and as little labour as possible. With collectivisation, labour becomes a 'fixed' rather than a variable cost. Output becomes a function of social needs and demands, not private profit. In economic parlance, we imply here that collectivised production will not respond to diminishing marginal returns to labour the way free market production does. Our position, therefore, is that the profit motif is the root of unemployment which requires a thoroughgoing social structural reorientation to contain.

IIA.3 Unemployment And Sociological Theory

(a) The Social Equilibrium Model

The basic assumption of this model is that unemployed persons in the city have various support networks principal among which is kinship. Such networks considerably mitigate or even completely obliterate whatever suffering the uncertainty of joblessness might engender. Indeed, as we earlier observed, the wholesome effects of these support mechanisms have led to the argument that we cannot meaningfully talk of unemployment in Africa where these mechanisms predominate. Quite a number of scholars have adopted this theoretical orientation.

Mabogunje (1970), for example, recognizes that although reliance on the network of kinship relations represented by the extended family persists and remains relevant on specific occasions, their overall significance for city dwellers becomes increasingly diffuse. Kinship networks are replaced by voluntary associations as the mechanism for adjusting to and coping with the new conditions of the city for the immigrant. These organizations which comprise of migrants from the same 'village area, clan or ethnic group' afford the new arrival the opportunity 'to maintain links with his rural origin' (Mabogunje, 1970). Voluntary associations, on this account, can, therefore, be hardly differentiated from extended family connections. Indeed, members of these organizations often see themselves more or less as a family and refer to each other as 'brother' or 'sister' as the case may be. Many of them actually have some form of blood relationship especially when the organization is of people from a common village. We should add here that beyond origin from a common village, a common language is an equally strong bond between urbanites.

Miracle (1970), however, laid emphasis on the role of extended family relationships. According to him, the strength of obligation to family, lineage, clan and 'tribe' reduces the hardship of unemployment. Like Mabogunje, Miracle recognizes the support functions of urban based and also rural based kinsmen but leverage is hinged upon the relative position of the

benefactor . '... where the relevant kin group has an average per capita income above the bare minimum needed to sustain life - and I would vigorously argue that in most of Africa a majority do - affinal obligations seem large and strong enough to greately blunt, if not largely prevent, much of the potential hardship resulting from unemployment' (page 19). Miracle is not oblivious of the fact that the kin-based relationships he has in mind are not unchanging. In fact he notes that unemployment may pose a greater hardship especially in the light of the emergence of social structures which place less emphasis on mutual aid to kinsmen. But, apparently because of his faith in the potency of traditional structures, Miracle fails to go beyond them even while recognizing the mitigating influence of social change in his analysis. Mabogunje may then be said to have gone farther by identifying the new structures which are taking over from the old.

Weeks (1974) in a related analysis reached a conclusion very similar to Miracle's. He credits the extended family with providing a dole for its unemployed members thereby filling a vacuum which would have been created by government's inability or unwillingness to pay allowances to the unemployed. Weeks recognizes the important fact that no poor country operates a system of providing benefits to its unemployed.[4]

In analyzing some of the consequences of rapid urbanization in Nigeria, Imoagene (1976) observes that parents are obliged to

support their jobless children in towns in view of worse prospects in the village. 'The fathers... especially if they are farmers, are usually anxious to liberate their sons from insecurity, low returns, hardwork and inferior status to which they imagine themselves condemned. Such fathers feel insulted if anyone advising them suggested that their unemployed sons should return home and take to farming' (Imoagene, 1976: 181). These fathers go to great lengths to support the sojourn of their wards in town. According to Imoagene, wives and relatives are usually not as patient. This latter category soon puts pressure on the migrant to return to the village or accept less prestigious jobs. Is rural-ward linkage affected when the migrant succeeds in obtaining a job in the city? In another study, Imoagene provides an answer. To him, the links with old ties and customs continue to obtain. But this is not so with all categories of 'social climbers'. The link with tradition is stronger among those whose occupations are in some sense insecure or hazardous. Those who feel more secure in their occupations are wont to apply social closure and cut off old social ties including those with extended kin (Imoagene 1977). The mutable nature of the relationship with old ties is therefore recognized. Mabogunje and Miracle have earlier highlighted this mutability in their works reviewed above.

It is to Dike (1979) that we may credit the doctrinnaire statement of the theoretical orientation that urbanites in Africa

are inevitably linked to kin-based rural support relationships. In disagreeing with the behaviourist interpretation of several scholars, Dike asserts that 'urban Africa is predominantly inhabited by men and women with rural upbringing and there is a continuous and strong symbiosis between rural and urban life (1979:23). He went to conclude that 'within a national group the customary tenets prevalent in the rural area tend to predominate in the urban area'(1979:25). Quoting earlier contributors such as Millassoux, Lloyd and Uchendu, Dike debunks the dichotomy between urban and rural Africa and deposes that the behaviourist 'melting pot' theory which upholds the dichotomy is unrealizable in Africa. Even the urban voluntary associations are seen as a carry over from rural modes of living. For example, according to him the Isusu Union is a concept derived age group farming associations in the rural setting. It would follow from Dike's analysis that urban-based unemployed Africans stand to benefit from the symbiotic relationships with their kin who may be based either in the rural or urban area. This position tallies with Miracle's (1970) notion that obligation to family, lineage, clan and 'tribe' reduces the hardship of unemployment. The onslaught of western modernization has, in Dike's opinion, failed to weather African cultural heritage in any significant measure. This bold assertion may be regarded as a synthesis of earlier but identical ideas put forward by Banton (1958), Fraenk (1964), LeVine (1966), Lloyd (1967) and

Aronson (1970). The principal theme of these earlier writings is that when Africans come to the city, they still retain the ethnic identities and loyalties which antedate their urban presence in spite of their new educational, economic and political statuses. A definite continuity is seen to subsist with the migrants' erstwhile rural life, a thesis which Dike upholds strongly. The strength of traditional identities is clearly recognized by Onwuejeogwu (1986) who actually recommended an ideology of 'communal-individualism', an ideology based on indigenous cultural heritage, as panacea to present political instability and economic backwardness which is derived from the unsuccessful imitation of the western models.

The dependency status of the unemployed person within the family group has also been found to lead to reduced job search efforts (Mann and Smith, 1987), a conclusion similar to the notion considered in the previous subsection that redundancy benefits generate disincentive effects with respect to job hunt efforts of the unemployed (Gujarati, 1972; Spindler and Maki, 1975; 1979).

The above, in addition to our earlier section (I.F) where we considered theoretical issues, represent studies hinged on the support functions of kinship ties in the coping efforts of unemployed urbanites. Other scholars find no conclusive evidence to suggest a continued prime role for kinship networks while some categorically assert that such networks have been weakened or

destroyed by urbanism. Let us now turn to the social disorganization model.

(b) The Social Disorganization Model

The assumptions and theoretical works in this model have been examined in chapter I. Our concern here therefore is not to repeat the exercise but to consider specific research efforts which have been informed by the model. A popular issue is the actual effects of unemployment on the affected persons. The ideas of early scholars like Elderton (1931) have been reviewed. Other early authors include Gilboy (1937 and 1938), Marsh et al. (1938), Bakke (1940a and b), Komarovsky (1940) and Mowrer (1942). More recent contributors include Dynarski and Sheffrin (1987) and Sampson (1987). Among the myriad effects highlighted in these studies are indebtedness, general ill health, loss of confidence, authority and status, violence and personal and family disorganization. But what is more important to us is the coping mechanisms adopted in the destabilizing situation. Gilboy (1937) says unemployed persons resort to odd jobs and are helped by gifts and, of course, government relief. They also naturally reduce their expenditures. This theme is repeated in the first article to appear on unemployment in the American Sociological Review (Gilboy 1938).

However, we must turn to the underdeveloped regions since,

as we have seen, the issue of coping with unemployment in developed countries revolves around the problems associated with government unemployment doles. Works on the social disorganization model in Africa and other underdeveloped regions include Lukhero (1966) Imoagene (1967), Hutton (1970), the International Labour Organization (1972), Hart (1973), King (1974) and McGee (1976). Although Lukhero's study was not specifically of the unemployed, his findings have implications for their existence in the city. In a study of urbanites in Harare, Zimbabwe, Lukhero found that the idea of a sustained support relationship with old mechanistic networks no longer has a basis in the face of organic and contractual urban existence. In his words, 'members of the new elite ... have different social networks. They appear to have left behind their former friends in favour of other people occupying similar positions in society. Mr. C. finds it difficult to sit down and talk with his kinsfolk as he used to do before he moved into the elite group and this is true of other cases too'[5], (1966:133). This position which is radically opposed by Dike (1979) upholds the standpoint of the Chicago School which conceptualizes urbanism as a disorganizing phenomenon. We recall that among the legacies of urbanism which have been enumerated by Wirth (1938) are the

(a) substitution of secondary for primary contacts,

(b) weakening of the bonds of kinship and

(c) undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity.

African urbanism may, in this sense, be seen as responding to the disintegrative forces of large population aggregates, high densities, heterogeneity and the demands of modern living in towns. If this is so, the urban unemployed will largely be denied the support which they ought to obtain from old, especially kinship, networks. Such a situation will make their existence very precarious.

Imoagene's (1967a) findings in his study of urban immigrant adjustment are quite interesting in that they do not fully endorse or fully discard the disorganization approach. First, he found enough evidence to assert that clan unions in towns aid immigrant adjustment. But so do, according to him, length of stay and higher education. Length of stay is said to be most significant for the adjustment of non-literates. These findings suggest that connections with traditional networks (in this case through membership of clan associations) and modern variables (like education) help immigrants in their adjustment to urban life. The highly literate or educated adjust more easily than non-literates who may therefore need clan associations more than the former. We may wish to compare this view with Adegbola (1976) who says education alienates the recipient from the rural setting and its traditional trappings. It stands to reason that the role of clan associations for the adjustment of unemployed graduates may easily be over-emphasized. In another study Hutton (1970) reached conclusions which are

comparable to Imoagene's in the sense that unemployed school leavers were found to adopt a variety of mechanisms to cope with their predicament. Despite common assumption that unemployment predisposes individuals to criminal behaviour, Hutton was unable to link increasing crime with unemployment. But she asks a pertinent question: what options do unemployed persons have in the face of lack of food, shelter, bus fare and prospects in town? She goes on to consider the options under three heads: housing, food and income. Under housing some of the unemployed were found to stay with relatives and friends. Others stayed in temporary huts on someone's land or on friend's market stalls. Some had no permanent sleeping places. Those who stay with relatives usually obtain food from their hosts while others fetched food from rural homes, savings, casual labour and begging. 20% of the total study sample did not have regular food. For money, many were found to depend on gifts from hosts or parents when they visit home, casual labour, friends, relatives or sale of possessions. From these findings it is at once clear that the coping mechanisms of unemployed school leavers is a mixed bag of various strategies which defy neat classification. But it is evident that support relationships with kinsmen are not sufficient for survival in the city.

In its study of the employment situation in Kenya, the ILO (1972) shifted focus to 'employment' in the informal sector, a task to which Hart (1973) also draws attention with respect to

Ghana. The contention is that informal sector employment is not only productive but also profitable, thus rejecting the common argument which classifies informal sector employment with under-employment. ILO's assertion has not gained a conclusive acceptance. For example, in another study of the unemployed in Kenya, King (1974) came to the conclusion that wages are so low in the informal sector that the difference between working and not working is not very marked.[6] Employment, therefore, needs not be just any job. In fact in an earlier report referred to in section IIA.2(a), the ILO itself, recommended that 'the ultimate object of policy is not just to provide more jobs but to provide work which is socially productive and yields enough income for a reasonable standard of living' (1970:15). This conception of employment is negated by the Directorate of Employment in Nigeria in one of its recently introduced programmes, the special public works programme. Under this programme, the Directorate pays out stipends which are anything but sufficient to meet the basic requirements and dignity of those engaged in it. As King has noted, there is a level of expenditure beneath which it becomes difficult to look presentable to employers. Oblivious of the implications of underemployment and low pay, the Anambra state government has gone ahead to introduce the Volunteer Service Scheme which is modelled after the federal programme. With regards to the informal sector, the returns are so low that it becomes difficult to give the label of employment to activities

there. However, we consider it as one of the coping strategies for unemployed persons in the city outside the popular kinship circles.

In King's study referred to above, it is reported that in many instances, jobseekers feel awkward about receiving aid from their employed former schoolmates. A preference is usually shown for older relatives and, whatever be the case, they all carry out household chores while their hosts are away at work. This swings us back to the prime role of kinship networks. But King adds that jobseekers suffer psychological difficulties. For example they are practically excluded 'from the company of all but the less educated girls, and also (have) difficulty in maintaining meaningful contact with their old school friends' (King, 1974: 55). King's analysis stretches the two poles of the models. On the one hand, we see that kinship networks are extant while on the other, we notice the alienating qualities of unemployment in the city.

In a Southeast Asian study, McGee among other things followed up the theme of the coping responses of the urban poor. The most significant response is the minimization of expenditure through curtailment of wants, toleration of low nutritional standards, acceptance of substandard housing and inadequate provision of utilities and services, minimization of transport requirements as well as cutting social overheads and curtailing recreational activities. McGee also points out that although fertility rates remain

high, family sizes of the poor remain smaller in logical response to their predicament. Moreover, the poor seek credits from various quarters, engage themselves in odd jobbing and encourage as many members of the household as possible to seek work. McGee's definition of the urban poor encompasses the unemployed. Admittedly, his findings are routine but they represent a departure from the emphasis on dependence on traditional kinship networks.

Perhaps we should conclude this review of the social disorganization theoretical model by considering the approach of some quite eminent western anthropologists. From their separate contributions, the recurrent trend that is very easily discernible is the position that we should look at urban social relations (including ethnic relations) in the context of the city itself (Eipstein, 1958; Mitchell, 1960; Gluckman, 1960, 1961, 1965; Mayer, 1965; Cohen, 1969). In other words, urban social reality in Africa needs not be seen as a continuity of rural mechanical solidarity. If unemployed persons in the city approach others from the same ethnic area or village for some form of help, the event should be seen in the urban context. It may not necessarily follow that such social intercourse would occur if the interactors were in their home village (or ethnic area). Further these help seekers certainly do not restrict or even give priority to persons with common root. Rather, the urban poor are very instrumental, giving priority to whosoever is perceived helpful, ethnic background

notwithstanding.

We can deduce from the various works reviewed above that, as earlier pointed out, the social equilibrium and social disorganization theoretical models do not exist in mutual exclusion to each other. Further substantiation of this synthesis will be embarked upon when we present both the qualitative and quantitative data in later chapters of this thesis.

IIA.4 Current Trends In Unemployment Research

We now summarize our survey of literature by highlighting current trends in research. The most notable departure from the former emphases has been the recent increasing interest of sociologists in unemployment research. Right from Gilboy's[7] (1938) article in the American Sociological Review, that journal has gradually warmed up to unemployment. The new presence of sociologists in unemployment studies is shifting emphasis away from the somewhat abstract preoccupations of economists. Another trend which has continued from earlier times is the quantification of absolute unemployment. Huq et al. (1983) and Sanyal et al. (1983) have quantified graduate unemployment in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka and have come out with a picture indicating a skewing in favour of graver problem for non-science and technology graduates. The shift away from abstract economic analysis received a big boost with

the birth of the journal Manpower And Unemployment Research In Africa in 1968. Unfortunately, however, the journal had to fizzle out in the seventies.

A current trend which we can decipher from our review is the dimming of the theoretical dichotomy between the social equilibrium and social disorganization models. Harvey's (1987) critical reexamination of the assumptions of the Chicago School is a major contribution to this trend. This study is itself a modest addition to the new trend.

II B The Present Study

In section I.C of the earlier chapter, we specified four primary objectives of this study. These are, first, to determine the sources of support for shelter, food and basic existential income among unemployed graduates in the city. Second, to determine if acceptance or resistance of government calls for unemployed graduates to move to rural areas varies with reasons for wanting to live in the city. Third, to determine whether or not unemployed graduates are making use of government established channels to tackle with unemployment. Fourth, to determine the level of interaction among unemployed graduates and determine if there is an emerging formal interest group of unemployed graduates.

If these objectives are achieved, we should be in a

position to make both practical and theoretical statements about the group of interest to us. For example, it would become possible to determine whether or not unemployed graduates are removed from the mainstream of the day to day life of other citizens. This will in turn help us determine to what extent the polar theoretical perspectives considered earlier obtain.

In what follows, we present an analysis of various hypothetical formulations on the objectives of this study. First, we may hypothesize that unemployed graduates rely more on non-kin than on kinship support networks. The null of this hypothesis is that unemployed graduates rely more on kinship than on non-kin support networks. These two sides of the hypothesis represent the polar ends of the theoretical arguments which we have already presented. Interestingly, both the hypothesis and its null have been proven by different scholars in different situations using school leavers as the population. A most interesting dimension is introduced by Imoagene (1967a). His finding is that education is the crucial variable in the process of immigrant adjustment in the city. His deduction is that the higher the amount of education, the less the immigrant is wont to rely on kinship networks in the adjustment process. If we extrapolate Imoagene's deduction to the hypothesis under review, what are we to make of the assumption? The most logical direction of thinking would be that unemployed graduates will belong to the group of

persons most alienated from kinship networks. Such reasoning gives strength to the social disorganization school of social change. We may also like to recall Adegbola's (1976) summary of current trends in his assertion that education is one of the veritable factors that trigger off migration from the rural setting. These assertions seem quite plausible and arguable and are in agreement with Lukhero's (1966) contention that the new elite in urban areas are alienated from old networks. But it does not take cognizance of Dike's conclusion that kinship chains are not severed in any significant manner by the 'disintegrating' forces of social change. Dike's contention is best summarized by the concept of the 'urban villager', that is, the urbanite who maintains strong links with his rural origins and actually pays frequent visits 'home'. Strictly speaking, it is evident that rural links are hardly totally severed. The most casual observer will not fail to notice very heavy traffic during weekends and public holidays when people troop to their 'village homes' from their 'urban homes'. The latter could actually be described as a place of temporary exile. Some villages now organize annual carnivals to coincide with Yuletide when their sons 'abroad' are all expected to come 'home'. In a reply to Wirth's disorganization thesis, Bascon (1955) asserts that urbanization does not affect kinship ties in the town. As far as Bascom is concerned, the definition of urbanization should best be restricted to large

agglomerations. Wirth's characterizations of urbanism need not be universal.

If both hypothesis and the null can be upheld given earlier statements the crucial and independent variable in the hypothesis is education. This is the opinion of Imoagene. Our concern then is to examine the hypothesis derived from Imoagene's study of immigrant adjustment. The chief research question in this regard has to do with the role education plays in the overall efforts of the unemployed graduate to cope with life in the city. Another question relates to the commitment of unemployed graduates to urban residence. Answers to these questions will improve on existing studies which have been either general and speculative or restricted to school leavers and uneducated people.

Following from our objectives of study, we may also hypothesize that unemployed graduates fail to respond to government measures to combat unemployment. This is an exploratory hypothesis which we can only make at the end of the study. However, we can make certain clarifying statements relating to it. Unemployed graduates are admittedly part of the new elite whose destiny has come to be associated with the Nigerian nation. Unemployment among them could then be adjudged as evidence of failure of the ruling classes to achieve the desired goal of development. This postulation is borne out vividly by government's concern over graduate unemployment. One may deduce from such concern that government

is uncomfortable about graduate unemployment. And there is no doubt whatsoever that it is the factor of unemployed graduates that has catalyzed government into action for, to be sure, the unemployment of school leavers and uneducated people is by no means a new phenomenon. In fact unemployment in terms of the latter categories came up for a passing mention in the Second National Development Plan document.

Unemployed graduates are usually regarded as a volatile group, at least potentially, which may react in various ways unpleasant to the government. Although general unemployment correlates with crime, there is as yet no study directly associating graduate unemployment with crime. This may be as a result of methodological difficulties associated with such studies. But we can assume that criminality among unemployed people, graduate and nongraduate, is a logical consequence. The above considerations and the fact that the nation can ill afford idle high level manpower make graduate unemployment a matter of great concern to the ruling classes.

Because graduates belong to the most enlightened group in the society, their idleness has become a topical issue. Our research question with regard to the formulated hypothesis is whether any apathy on the part of unemployed graduates is a direct or indirect function of perceived government failure. This question derives from the school of thought which blames unemployment on ineffective

government policies. University students are known to be among the most vociferous and fearless opponents of government. Products of this system are very likely to blame their condition on government policy or lack of it. In this connection, mention ought to be made of the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) scheme under which a stipend of two hundred Naira is paid out monthly to two hundred graduates in each state engaged in the programme. It is unlikely if anyone is expecting that this should be seen as employment or an alternative to it. Having received the same two hundred naira (exclusive of other allowances) as Youth Corpers, it would be quite ironical to turn around and receive it as all-inclusive salary under 'gainful' employment.[8] Our hypothesis is therefore concerned with the attitudinal dimensions of the coping efforts of unemployed graduates in the city. Indeed, apathy towards government which is reportedly implementing measures to extenuate or extirpate unemployment is hardly a conducive disposition among a group of people who may be looking forward to employment from the same government.

The null of this hypothesis, namely, that unemployed graduates respond positively to government measures to combat unemployment, is equally interesting. It would go without saying that if this were so, the problem of unemployment would diminish and ultimately disappear as government envisages. This dimension could also lead to the conclusion that unemployed graduates are mobilizable to

achieve social goals mapped out by government. But this may not be so. We may deduce from a positive response that the dilemma of unemployment could be responsible for the favourable disposition. In other words, unemployment would be the determining factor since, ordinarily, the population under study belong to the critical segment. The null is actually a very difficult hypothesis to pursue because it does not appear plausible to suggest that graduates whom we consider to belong to the critical or pressure exerting segment of the wider population, could turn out to be supporters of government policy especially as the results of policies are anything but evident.

Another alternate hypothesis is that there is no appreciable interaction or group consciousness among unemployed graduates. The chief research question here is whether any level of consciousness has emerged among unemployed graduates as a group. In allusion to marxian class analysis, the object of the hypothesis is whether unemployed graduates could be regarded as a class (group) 'in itself' (an sich) or a group 'for itself' (fur sich). As a group in itself, they would merely form a statistical category whose members remain largely unaware of their common destiny. They could also possess self consciousness but fail to aggregate this for a common cause. Two strands of thinking may be abstracted from such a situation. First is the extent to which the existence of unemployed graduates as a group in itself could explain any apathy

toward government and its measures to combat their unemployment. Or is it that their lack of consciousness is responsible for any support of the measures? In other words, would they oppose the measures if they were a group for itself? A third but subsidiary line of thought is that lack of consciousness is a function of unemployment. If this is actually so, it would logically follow that employed graduates possess group consciousness. Perhaps, it is impossible to undertake a thorough and meaningful investigation of these lines of thought given our set objectives. But they point to possible correlations which must be borne in mind.

The null of the hypothesis is that there is appreciable interaction and group consciousness among unemployed graduates. In this regard, we may begin to talk about their existence as a group for itself, that is, they consciously identify with themselves and think in terms of their common interests and what actions to take to improve their lot in competition with other groups. Some lines of thought are also possible here. For example, if unemployed graduates form a group for itself, would they adopt the postulate of our second hypothetical formulation and identify themselves with government programmes to combat their unemployment? In other words, are unemployed graduates mobilized in support of government measures? On the other hand, can any apathy toward government measures be interpreted in terms of a conscious attempt by unemployed graduates to protest the measures? Yet another possible implication

is that group consciousness among unemployed graduates is a function of their unemployment. In this sense, it should be expected that employed graduates will lack consciousness. As with the possible lines of thought suggested in the earlier paragraph, these ideas lie beyond the specified scope of the present study but an awareness of them is quite essential.

Some other hypotheses are derivable from the secondary objectives stated in section I.D of chapter I. One of these is that graduate unemployment is not a function of course of study. The assumption of this simple formulation needs some amplification in view of popular assumption to the contrary which we shall consider shortly. That the tertiary educational sector turns out more non-scientists and non-technological manpower is a statement of an obvious fact. It should follow from this then that in the event of unemployment, we should expect more unemployed hands from the arts and humanities than in sciences and technology. In terms of absolute numbers, we can talk of more unemployment among graduates of arts and humanities. In fact Sanyal et al. (1983) reached such a conclusion. One would be more guarded in making a relative statement since this would imply taking stock of the relatively larger numbers of arts and humanities graduates. It will not be a great surprise if a conclusion is reached to the effect that relative to absolute numbers, unemployment is higher among graduates in the sciences and technology than those in arts and humanities.

But the null of our hypothetical formulation has attracted a huge following especially in official circles. The claim is often made to the effect that unemployment is attributable to inappropriate curricula. One often hears of the educational system being oriented toward white collar employment. Another dimension to this complaint has been about engineers confined to airconditioned offices. This sort of reasoning has led to the introduction of a new policy on education which has placed emphasis on technical education. Indeed government preference for scientific and technological education is popular knowledge. One is almost led to believe that unemployment will be checked by technological skills; that is, technological manpower can generate employment for itself. Popular as this notion is, it has attracted critical responses. For example, Foster (1968) holds that there is no evidence to associate 'literary' curricular in African schools with desire for white collar occupations and disdain for manual labour. His conclusion is that 'curriculum change is not a solution for unemployment among school leavers since expectations are largely the result of factors operating outside the context of the school' (1968:19). In a similar reaction, Weeks (1972) has come out with what he appropriately labelled the 'vocational school fallacy'. According to him, teaching agriculture, home economics, commercial, technical and other practical courses will not keep school leavers on farm. Education, therefore, does not cause unemployment. Foster's and

Week's reactions were made with data pertaining to school leavers but their conclusions could be extrapolated to cover graduates with, perhaps, no appreciable change in significance. In fact Eedle (1973) has observed that producing highly educated and skilled young people does not guarantee that jobs will automatically be generated to meet their needs. Noting that India at that time logged about 60000 unemployed engineers, Eedle concludes that '... technical education ... does not of itself create jobs - except for technical instructors ' (1973:43).

Under the above considerations, our hypothesis will at best throw only a subsidiary light on the matter. Our concern will be to compare the ratio of unemployed graduates in science and disciplines with those in the arts and humanities. The emerging picture of disciplinary affiliations of our respondents will assist us attempt making definitive statements on the hypothesis. But it already appears that our line of thought is biased in favour of the hypothesis even at this outset. Indeed, the vocation of science precludes such biased predisposition especially when data have not been considered. Popular opinions may very well be right more so if it is possible to back them up with facts and figures as is the tradition in empiric sociology. Without doubt there is a lot of flesh in the argument that technological manpower especially when coupled with entrepreneural skill is better equipped to start industrial, productive and employment generating projects. This is

the sort of controversy we tackle after presenting our data.

A second subsidiary hypothesis following from our secondary study objectives is that unemployed graduates do not have a long unemployment history. This formulation is not oblivious of our earlier observation that graduate unemployment is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Our time frame is therefore relative to this recency. The central issue therefore is that relative to their entry into the labour market, unemployed graduates do not have a long unemployment history. We are now left with a definition of long unemployment history. Arbitrarily we assume that any respondent unemployed for twelve months and over (that is after National Youth Service for those liable) has a long history of unemployment. The arbitrariness of this time period is reduced when we consider that our respondents may grow more despondent after one year in unemployment when a fresh batch graduates are discharged from National Youth Service into the labour market. Later in this chapter, we define the effective period of unemployment to be one week after entry into the labour market. The purpose of quantification envisaged in the hypothesis under review is twofold. First, it appears plausible to suggest that the length of stay in the job market will affect the general disposition of the applicant. For example, is there a chance that length of stay affects group consciousness positively? Or has it any relationship to disposition toward government measures to combat unemployment? To expatiate,

a possible line of thought is that the longer one stays in the labour market, the more apathetic he gets. It is also possible that the length of stay in the job market leads to more self isolation and dejection. These are all possible interrelationships which could arise. Secondly, with our quantification, it will be possible to attempt an estimate of the gravity of the unemployment problem.

The null of this subsidiary hypothesis influence the twofold objectives we have just considered. In other words, if respondents do have long unemployment histories, then we can go ahead to examine how this has affected their lives and attempt to estimate the gravity of the problem from the perspective of our universe. Moreover, if the null is correct and unemployed graduates actually have long histories of unemployment, then it would appear as if their fate may more or less be likened to that of unskilled school leavers who are not readily or easily placeable in employment. In this case we should reach the conclusion that the problem of graduate unemployment is probably more serious than envisaged so far.

To summarize, we have attempted in this section to hazard the tasks ahead in the main body of this thesis where data and findings are presented and analyzed. Social science is such that numerous and even opposing explanations are possible even with the same data especially when theoretical orientations vary. It is left for the researcher to show which of the propositions are

significant from his theoretical point of view. As much as possible, the probable directions of divergent views have been highlighted and the analytical positions which we adopt in the examination of data and presentation of findings are guided by the general principles contained in our statement of problem and consideration of theoretical issues.

This study being more of an exploratory exercise will aim more at formulating substantive hypotheses than testing them. Therefore the hypothetical formulations examined in this subsection are basically working guides for analysis. Our objectives will be accomplished if in the last pages we are able to come up with substantive and theoretical statements on the coping mechanisms of unemployed graduates in the city which are supported by empiric evidence.

IIC. Operationalization of Concepts

(1) The Social Psychology of Coping

To cope simply means to manage a stressful or problematic situation successfully. But, as Menaghan (1983) points out, coping has been used as an umbrella concept encompassing a wide range of variables. For example, in social psychological literature, distinction is often made between

(a) coping resources, that is, the generalized attitude and skills considered advantageous in the prevailing

situation,

(b) coping styles which refer to the strategies defined as typical for approaching problems and

(c) coping efforts which are the specific actions taken in a given situation to reduce problem or stress.

Stress in itself refers to a situation whenever environmental opportunities constrain the satisfaction of individual needs (Fletcher and Payne, 1980; Lazarus, 1981; Stagner, 1981 and Menaghan, 1983). The stressful situation relevant to this study is urban unemployment. And the effectiveness of the coping mechanisms considered above depends entirely on their perceived helpfulness in reducing the stress of unemployment.

Views have converged on the point that more education increases the capacity of individuals to cope with stressful conditions (Shanan et al., 1976; Kohn and Schooler, 1978 and George, 1980). In agreeing with this, Kessler and Cleary conclude that the upwardly mobile are less affected by undesirable life events and 'they have the sort of personal characteristics - feeling of self esteem, confidence and perserverance - that are the stuff of competent problem management' (1980:472). This view may be compared with Imoagene's (1967a) argument that more educated persons stand a better chance of adjusting to urban conditions than uneducated persons who tend to rely more on kinship networks.

In this study, our conception of coping conjoins with the above.

In other words, our assumption is that higher education as a coping resourse puts an unemployed person in a better stead to cope with the stress engendered by his predicament. We shall conclude later that high education is a factor which explains some of the patterns in the coping strategies or mechanisms of school leavers and graduates.

(2) Unemployment

Unemployment may be defined as a state of worklessness. But as Seers rightly observes 'unemployment is ... notoriously difficult to define in non-industrial societies' (1972:28). This is due to the notion that unemployed persons usually have many support networks in these societies and may therefore not qualify to earn the label. Moreover, the unemployed in Africa are said to earn considerable income through informal 'employment' (ILO, 1972 and Hart, 1973). Callaway has tried to overcome these encumberances to the identification of the unemployed. According to him, an unemployed man is one 'who is over the age of 14, who is not continuing his education full time, who is neither incapacitated nor elderly (over approximately 60 years of age), and whose earned income during the previous nine months was insufficient to meet personal (not family) imputed food costs' (1967:199). The facts in this definition largely agree with the official definition in Nigeria. Here all those below 14 years or above 55 years of age fall outside the labour

force. If people outside official age limits are willing and able to work, they do not feature in unemployment statistics. Further, the mentally and physically incapacitated (e.g., lunatics, cripples and beggars), students and trainees, members of the armed forces and full-time house-wives fall outside the unemployed. For someone to be unemployed, the reference period for inactivity in Nigeria is one week. In some other countries, the period ranges from one to two days and several months. Finally, one can only be unemployed if he is actively seeking work.[9]

For the purposes of this study, the official definition is modified as follows: The unemployed graduate is one who is actively seeking employment, has been unemployed for, at least, one week and falls within the 19-55 years age bracket.[10] Unemployment is also occasionally referred to as open unemployment. This subsumes closed unemployment. Similar and related terms such as disguised unemployment and implicit unemployment to which we have earlier referred are not used in this study. The definitions of these novel terms may be found in Falae (1972), Weeks (1974) and Meier (1976).

(3) Graduate

In a limited sense, a graduate is someone who has been conferred with a university degree. However, in this study, the term 'graduate' refers to whoever qualifies to enlist for the National

Youth Service Corps scheme. This could in fact be taken to be the official definition of the term graduate in Nigeria. Specifically, only those who have been conferred with, at least, a first university degree and the higher national diploma will be considered. There are also certain professional qualifications which are regarded as equivalents of the university degree or the higher diploma. Holders of such qualifications fall within our definition.

In a catch-phrase which has rapidly established itself, unemployed graduates have earned the label of people afflicted by the 'diploma disease'.[11] This is a product of recent times which have witnessed the entry of people with diplomas (and degrees) into the unemployment pool.[12]

IID. Summary

The three sections above form part of the preliminary statements and materials with which we began in chapter I. These are concluded in the next chapter.

In the first section we examined the interplay between unemployment and the overall social structure which generates and condones it. Studies stretching from the turn of the century up to the present time were examined and, because employment and unemployment have been largely economic concepts, a focus was placed on the economic interpretation of the phenomena. We followed this

with a review of sociological studies. In the second section attention was placed on the present studies and probable hypothetical formulations were discussed. The chapter was then rounded off with the conceptualization of the key concepts in the study.

In chapter III, we turn to consider the methods adopted in the entire research.

Notes.

[1]These include the professions, the building trades, public utilities, hotels, clerical work, highway transportation, the distributive occupations, the repair trades, some forms of personal service and bootlegging (Slichter, 1929).

[2]As stated in our first chapter, the appreciable economic growth achieved in underdeveloped countries, especially in the Latin American subregion, during the First Development Decade was accompanied by rising unemployment, poverty and political unrest. It soon became clear to Presbich, the then Secretary to the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) that the growth strategy which was characterized by import substitution industrialization cannot be an appropriate development strategy. The Brazillian 'model' which has emphasized export industrialization has also proved inappropriate. For various views on these issues, see, for example, Dos Santos (1970; 1973), Furtado (1973), Lipton (1977), Myrdal (1963), Baran (1957), Frank (1967) and Amin (1974).

[3]See The Economist (1988).

[4]A proposal in 1966 to pay £2 per week through an Unemployment Assistance Council to unemployed persons in Nigeria did not come to fruition. See Gutkind (1981).

[5]Gutkind concludes similarly: 'Many unemployed men, particularly those in the age group of 18 and over prefer to seek out friends rather than relatives' (1981:252).

[6]Gutkind (1981) also reveals that returns in the informal sector are so low that unemployed people soon abandon any engagement there.

[7]Gilboy was an economist.

[8]Monthly allowance paid out to corpers has now been increased to ₦250 while the NDE stipend is unchanged.

[9]Because the minimum age for admission into academic programmes in tertiary institutions of learning is 16 years, we take 20 years as the minimum age for entry into the labour force for graduates. Considering that an extra year is required for the Youth Service programme, this minimum appears optimistic, though no less realistic.

[10]For these details, see Falae (1972). We should add that this official position has been quite dynamic. The retirement age for judges has, for instance, been raised to 65 years. For university teachers, it was raised to 65 years and then reduced to 60 years. Further, to all intents and purposes, the phenomenon of full-time house wife is now a misnomer.

[11]Diploma is used in a generic sense to include degrees and diplomas.

[12]See, for example, Dore (1976).

CHAPTER III

THE METHOD

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THE METHOD

III.1 Introduction

The data presented in this thesis were collected over a period of nine months beginning with a pilot survey in June 1987. The main field survey began in August and terminated in February 1988. This amount of time and the relatively limited scope of study afforded us the opportunity to follow up the initial questionnaire and also administer intensive interviews.

In what follows, we present detailed descriptions of the various components of our method and attempt to give scientific justifications for procedures adopted.

III.2 Scope And Setting Of Study

Unemployment among urban dwellers is a pervasive phenomenon in the western and underdeveloped worlds. Among the reasons which we have already considered for this phenomenon is the high concentration of populations in the urban setting. Education, as we have observed, tends to uproot its recipients from the rural homes (Adegbola, 1976). This is not altogether unexpected in view of the numerous advantages of the city over country. We should, therefore, logically expect that unemployed graduates will naturally

cluster to the city where opportunities for formal employment and satisfying new values are concentrated. The choice of Enugu and Onitsha[1], two cities in Anambra state which form the empiric universe for this study, was determined by purposive and pragmatic scientific expedience. First, Enugu is the capital and Onitsha the largest urban agglomeration in Anambra state. They therefore jointly command a lion's share of formal employment opportunities in the state. Second, Enugu is the oldest urban centre in the state and it ranks with such old regional capitals as Ibadan and Kaduna (and even Lagos) as a 'primate' city.[2] Onitsha on the other hand is said to be the largest market city in West Africa. Indeed Enugu and Onitsha occupy the commanding heights in the distribution of employment generating establishments in the state and will also rank high on a nationwide classification. Among the prime establishments and infrastructural facilities in the two cities are the two vehicle assembly plants and airports[3], manufacturing plants, banks and other service and commercial interests. Unemployed graduates are, therefore, expected to flock more to Enugu and Onitsha than anywhere else in Anambra state.

On the above empirical grounds, it is hoped that our findings can be validly extrapolated to cover other or similar urban centres in Nigeria. The heuristic universe for this study is therefore the urban setting in Nigeria.

III.3 The Sample

The original sampling plan designed for this study entailed taking all unemployed graduates from the existing sampling frame, that is, the register recently compiled by the Directorate of Employment (NDE), Enugu. The register was compiled following a federal government directive that all unemployed graduates should register with NDE. This way, it was believed that the problems of unrepresentativeness, inadequacy and bias arising out of inadequate listing of cases in the universe would not have arisen. This optimism was quickly discarded during the pilot study when it was discovered that the register does not reflect the total number of unemployed graduates in the state since some did not bother to register. Further the NDE has no provision for amending its register whenever anyone in the register obtained employment or moved out of location. Newly employed persons themselves did not bother to rectify NDE records. Again many addresses in the register were incomplete and therefore useless for our purposes.

More worrisome is that outside the NDE register, no other organization kept a record of unemployed people, especially graduates. The Labour Office, the supposedly government employment exchange is anything but functional and records are lacking. The National Youth Service Corps employment

scheme also has nothing to show in terms of records of potential employees and there is no evidence of any success on the part of the NYSC officials in locating jobs for any former Youth Corper in Anambra state.

Under these circumstances, it became very difficult to find official supplementary sources to locate our potential respondents. But the problem of incomplete and unsatisfactory sampling frames is not a peculiar one (Moser and Kalton, 1972). Indeed anyone familiar with social research in underdeveloped countries is more likely than not to understand and appreciate the problems of data gathering.[4] With the absence of official supplementary sources, it became imperative to adopt other means of reaching unemployed graduates in our universe. Very importantly, it was not possible to follow Kish's prescription for tackling incomplete frames (Kish, 1965) since it would have been quite hypocritical to restrict ourselves to the available frame and pretend it is representative. We therefore had to supplement the existing frame with a quasi-probability sampling procedure, namely, the accidental sampling approach (Selltiz et al., 1971). Contrary to popular assumption, accidental sampling is not altogether scientifically unreliable. Accidental samples would be inappropriate for scientific studies interested in estimating population values. But our concern in this study transcends such narrow endeavour. Our aim is to study the relationships that exist between variables, not

population values. This methodological combination of probability and non-probability samples is borne out of the imperative to combine what is practically feasible and what is theoretically desirable. It is also part of the triangulation approach to which we shall turn shortly.

The total study sample was derived through the following procedure. The number of registered unemployed graduates reached a new peak of 719[5] in August 1987. This was due to the influx of a fresh batch of unemployed graduates at the end of the 1986-7 NYSC service year. Of these 41.6 per cent and 19.2 per cent respectively put down Enugu and Onitsha addresses in the NDE register. The two cities therefore, at least in terms of the NDE register, account for a total of 60.8 per cent of all unemployed graduates in Anambra state. Were the true total of unemployed graduates in the state known, we would have been in a position to estimate the scale of underestimation (or overestimation) of the ratios.

Because of incomplete addresses, questionnaires were sent to 415 (or 95.0 per cent) of the registered unemployed graduates in Enugu and Onitsha. At the end of the first month of survey, returns totalled only 23.1 per cent of the total, a meagre 96 questionnaires. No conclusive assumptions of this low rate is possible in view of the nature of the sampling frame used. A fresh batch of questionnaires were dispatched to the non-responding

cases and, by the end of second month, total returns improved to 46.0 per cent. At the end of the survey 54.5 per cent of the mailed questionnaire were returned. Ordinarily, this is not too impressive a return given the high educational status of the respondents. But our assumption is that the return is quite good because of the following: First, some respondents may have obtained jobs during the period. The questionnaire will be inappropriate to this category. Second, it is possible the questionnaire did not actually get to some respondents because of postal problems. Others may have changed addresses since the respondents by their nature are highly mobile geographically. If all these variables influenced the returns in varying degrees, then the issue of respondent apathy is reduced to a residual matter.

Through the accidental sampling procedure, a total of 215 questionnaires were distributed in Enugu and Onitsha. Total returns for both cities came to 75.3% at the end of the survey. From both sampling procedures, we obtained a grand total of 388 questionnaires out of which three were incompletely filled out. Our study sample therefore came to 385.[6] Forty of this total (that is, over 10%) were interviewed. A final advantage of our application of accidental sampling is that it became possible to beef up the presence of female respondents to 8.8% of the total sample.

III.4 Triangulation Approach

Triangulation is 'the combination of methodologies in the study of same phenomenon'[7] (Denzin, 1978:291). Although 'graduate training usually prepares us to use one method or another as appropriate and preferred, but not to combine methods effectively' (Jick, 1979: 602), the combination of methods is now widely recommended and accepted in view of its strengths and the weakness inherent in single method designs.

The 'between (or across) methods' variant[8] (Denzin, 1978: 302) of triangulation is adopted in this study. In other words, different distinct methods are applied in our validation. The first stage of our application of triangulation was the stage of sampling where, through scientific expedience, we combined the probability and quasi-probability procedures to ensure a more adequate, representative and unbiased sample. Triangulation also came for application at the data collection stage where the questionnaire, the interview and observation methods were combined to obtain more reliable data. Used singly these methods would yield data which may be less than adequate in view of their respective known shortfalls. Because of the bent (especially in modern American sociology) for quantitative research, reliance has been placed almost exclusively on the questionnaire thereby

sacrificing depth which the interview yields. The depth achieved in this study is a direct result of the combination of different but complementary methods. The restriction of the questionnaire is adequately compensated by the freedom inherent in the interview procedure. Thus far, we have portrayed triangulation as an efficient approach in social research having helped us obtain a better sample and also collect a more reliable and far reaching data.

But perhaps the most important application of triangulation comes up at the stage of data presentation and analyses where we combine the qualitative and quantitative methods. Rather than consider both approaches in mutually exclusive lights, they are used in a complementary format. The quantitative analysis is enriched, in our mind, by the qualitative method which, in turn, portrays a closeness to the real situation in the universe of study. The complete picture envisaged by the application of the interview will be totally sacrificed if the analysis does not contain a fair amount of detail outside statistical tables. Indeed, materials obtained through the interview approach can hardly be meaningfully used in the same way as data from formal surveys (Moser and Kalton, 1972: 301).

In conclusion, it is pertinent to emphasize that the results presented later in this thesis are derived from a combination of various methods to validate our procedures at different

stages. Herein lies the critical advantage of triangulation in social research.

III.5 The Survey Instrument

As part of the triangulation approach outlined above, the questionnaire was combined with the interview in the collection of data. Both were standardized. The development of the questionnaire began with the conceptualization of the entire research and a draft was subjected along with the research proposal to jury validation. This was followed with a pilot study after which the final document was prepared. Amendments on earlier drafts are discussed under the section on pilot study.

The research indicators and questions in the questionnaire were evolved from a variety of sources. These were

1. previous studies on the coping efforts of school leavers especially Lukhero (1966), Imoagene (1967, 1976, 1977), Hutton (1970), King (1974), Adegbola (1976), Dike (1979) and Gutkind (1981);
2. general literature on unemployment;
3. the faculty seminars at which the research proposal was presented;
4. informal discussions with academic staff and graduate students;

5. the pilot study; and

6. personal experience and observation.

The questionnaire is separated into five groups of indexes each directed toward specific research objective.

1. Personal data index. The focus is on the biographical data and unemployment history of respondents.

2. Social support index. Attention here is on the various sources of support principally in terms of food and shelter.

3. Self employment index. Likert scale[9] items are used here to elicit information on respondents' attitude toward self employment.

4. General disposition index. Again Likert scale items are introduced over a relatively wide range of respondents' lives and views.

5. Urban commitment index. The concern here is to determine the totality of rural abandonment by respondents.

Most of the questions are closed although respondents had the option of making comments where necessary. This is particularly so with the Likert scale items which carry an additional column for comments. In many instances, respondents are required to specify their responses. With the interview, it became possible to supply 'open answers' to closed questions because of

the freedom inherent in the approach. A few open-ended questions were also introduced in the questionnaire to explore the feelings of respondents which may be impossible with closed questions. The combination of open-ended and closed questions has been recognized as a most efficient approach in data gathering (Selltiz, et al., 1971:263). This combination approximates perfectly to the 'within-method' variant of triangulation.

III.6 Specification Of Indicators

A total of fifteen questions are contained in the personal data index. Not all these enter the final analysis as some bear only indirect relationships to our research objectives. Their inclusion is only necessitated by a need to have a complete data on respondents. Eleven of the questions relate to biographical data. These include matters of sex, age, marital status, number of children, nationality, state of origin, local government area of origin, educational qualifications and awarding institution and also religion. The other questions relate to work experience since NYSC and unemployment history.

The index of social support is made up of thirteen questions. Respondents are required to indicate their hosts, sources of income and meals. Questions in this index are

designed to elicit information on the dynamics of social support in the city. A typical example is the fifth question which seeks information on respondents' host prior to the current one. The two questions following this seek information on who the former host was and the reason for leaving him. There are also questions designed to find out the respondents' position on some 'typical' sources of social support in the social equilibrium tradition. Typical sources which have received wide recognition are town unions and persons from respondents' home village.

Six Likert scale items make up the self employment index. These items are designed to measure respondents' perception of DFRRI self employment programme and the prospects of establishing own enterprise.

The general disposition index contains sixteen Likert scale items which are designed to measure respondents' sociopsychological comportment and response to their predicament. These questions relate to their assessment of

1. the phenomenon of unemployment especially with reference to causative factors;
2. societal reaction;
3. their dependency status; and
4. the Nigerian Association of Unemployed Graduates.

Other questions in this index have to do with relationship with host, their gregariousness or isolation and respondents'

contingency plans. All these will assist in the determination of the stressfulness of unemployment among graduates.

With respect to the urban commitment index, six questions are included to tap respondents' view of rural areas and rural living, agriculture and the activities of DFRRI. These will also determine their overall commitment to city dwelling.

Recognizing that 'variation between positive and negative items forces the respondent to consider each item carefully, rather than to respond automatically to them all in the same way' (Moser and Kalton, 1972:362), both negative and positive items are used in the questionnaire which is reproduced in Appendix B.

III.7 The Interview

A total of forty respondents (or 10.4 per cent of the sample) were subjected to a guided interview. The principal aim was to achieve a richer understanding and dig deeper into our subject matters as specified in the questionnaire. The difference between the interview and the questionnaire was not format but in depth. Respondents were asked specific questions and given the opportunity to develop their views at length. The questions in the questionnaire served as a general guide.

To ensure comparability, all the interviews were

personally conducted by the researcher, an approach adopted on two grounds. The first was to avoid the problems of interviewer unreliability and bias. Using multiple interviewers would have introduced these problems notwithstanding the fact that the instrument is structured and standardized. We also recognize that the level of education of respondents is such that there would hardly be any need for interpreting or reformulating any questions during an interview. Therefore, interviewer bias and unreliability were not really big problems in the first instance. The second ground for relying solely on the researcher for the interviews was pragmatic but also scientific in view of the advantage of comparability mentioned above. And this was the limited finance available for the study.

III.8 The Pilot Study

A pretest of the measurement instrument was carried out among unemployed graduates in Nsukka whom we consider almost perfectly similar to the final respondents the only difference being that Nsukka is a smaller urban agglomeration. No difficulty whatsoever was encountered in interviewing the respondents once they were located and they were quite willing to answer questions and talk. Therefore, respondent apathy was absent. The pretest respondents were

located through the accidental sampling procedure which was also found useful in locating respondents during the main survey.

Following the pretest, the measurement instrument was revised as follows: Under the personal data index, questions on sex and religion were added. With regards to the social support index, questions on membership of town unions and the home town of hosts were added. These were in addition to the scaling of respondents' attitude toward support from his home village and the town unions. The questions under self employment index were reorganized into six items as specified in subsection III.6 above. Formerly the index was subsumed under five closed questions which did not completely reflect all the choices open to respondents. Similar revisions were made under the general disposition index. These were enlarged into sixteen Likert scale items.[10]

Furthermore, to ensure reliability of the study instrument after the initial pretest, the split-half statistical technique was applied. Using the Spearman-Brown formula[11], a high reliability of 0.88 was achieved. After the pilot study, it was evident that the research instrument possessed face-validity. This was quite expected as there was no problem of inability of respondents to comprehend language medium. The measurement instrument was also subjected to content validation with a jury of sociologists, psychologists, political scientists and social

anthropologists at a special faculty seminar.

With the above steps completed in the pilot study, we had quite a reliable and valid instrument for the main study.

III.9 Data Limitations

One fundamental limitation of this research act is the question of an inadequate sampling frame discussed in section III.3. This forced us into the expedience of applying a quasi-probability sampling approach as a supplementary technique. However, given the technical difficulties of the frame, our final sample appear to be the best possible. This is because of the other measures adopted to compensate the inadequate frame. It would seem, therefore, that our rigorous procedures led us to a sample which would not have been substantially different from that from a better sampling frame.

A further limitation is probably the scope of study. This is to the extent that the empiric universe is limited to two cities in one state. But, given the qualities of the cities enumerated in section III.2, this limitation does not affect the present study in any damaging manner. Indeed, it is our hope that our findings can be validly extrapolated to cover other cities in Nigeria or beyond. We may have to await further studies to see whether there are cross-cultural differences in the coping mechanisms or support networks of

graduates in the city.

Bearing these caveats, we now turn to the consideration of our research objectives with the benefit of data at hand.

III.10 Summary

In presenting the methods adopted in this research, we started by spelling out the scope of the entire study and describing the setting. This was followed by a detailed presentation of our sampling procedure. One significant issue raised here was the question of the inadequate sampling frame which we had to supplement with a quasi-probability procedure. In a way, this anticipated the triangulation approach which we adopted in the study. For the purposes of this study, the triangulation method consisted of the 'between methods' approach since different methods were adopted for validation. After describing the study in instrument, we presented an analysis of the indicators in it before going to consider the interview. Thereafter, we dwelt on the pilot study, during which our study instrument was pretested. The chapter was then rounded off with a consideration of the data limitations.

This chapter marks the end of our presentation of background information and materials for the entire study, an exercise which began in our first chapter. In chapter IV, we begin the analysis of data collected following the procedures presented in this chapter.

Notes

[1]Enugu, located $7^{o}30'$ East and $6^{o}25'$ North is in the north eastern corner of the state while Onitsha is located $6^{o}70'$ East and $6^{o}15'$ North is in the southwestern corner.

[2]A primate city is one that is so disproportionately large that other cities become secondary.

[3]The vehicle assembly plant (Eddy Motors) and airport at Onitsha are yet to be completed.

[4]See, e.g., Obikeze (1979) and O'Barr et al. (1973)

[5]This figure does not include those who have been offered apprenticeship or those engaged in the public works programme.

[6]A numeric summary of the sampling procedure is presented in Appendix A.

[7]Triangulation has gone by other labels such as multiple operationism, multimethod or multitriat approach (Campbell and Fiske, 1959; Ukaegbu, 1982).

[8]This is to be differentiated from the 'within-method' variant (Denzin, 1978:301) which involves the use of multiple techniques within a given method.

[9]The ordinality of Likert scale questions is considered an advantage. Further, the scale to some extent reasonably explains distances between scale positions of respondents.

[10]See questionnaire in Appendix B.

[11] $$rw = \frac{nrp}{1 + (n-1)rp}$$

where rw = stepped up reliability
rp = correlation between the two parts.

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDIES

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDIES

IV.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we begin the presentation and examination of data. Our main concern, however, is the analysis of the coping mechanisms of a subsample of urban unemployed graduates with data gathered through the intensive guided interview approach. The aim here is to have a wider idea of the total life of the unemployed graduate in the city through a focus on their patterns of shelter and feeding. Of course, it is possible as with the questionnaire to compartmentalize attitudes and life activities and arrive at generalizations on aggregates of these, but the integration achieved with the interview is more far reaching and less superficial.

As stated in section III.7 above, the questionnaire served only as a general guide for the interview. It in no way restricted the views of respondents. In essence the interview was structured only to ensure standardization.

The following analysis reflects the nature of the interview and, more specifically, the existential dimensions of the respondents. The qualitative analysis thus presented in this chapter anticipates the quantitative variant that is to follow in the next. It enriches the various subject matters and actually forms a basis for the quantitative data. Furthermore, this procedure offers us the invaluable opportunity to compare

a subsample with the total study sample.

Separating the qualitative from the quantitative analyses of data as we have done in this study is just one possible approach in triangulation. We can validly present the two simultaneously with the quantitative data illustrating or exemplifying the qualitative data. But because of the interviewee primacy in the interview situation, it is only logical to treat or examine the qualitative data first. The rich integrated data is therefore presented before the compartmentalized and somewhat impersonal data in the quantitative analysis. Our separate analyses offer us the chance of discovering potentially significant factors which may be chosen for closer assessment and also the possibility of giving prominence to respondents rather than the investigator's notions of relevance (Ukaegbu, 1982).

IV.2 Dimensions And Attitudes On Sources Of Support

IV.2a. Shelter

Food, clothing and shelter constitute man's primary or basic needs. In philosophical parlance, they constitute the natural and necessary needs of man. Their satisfaction is a necessary and sufficient basis for assessing the standard of living. If any of the three indices is not satisfied in any appreciable measure, then the standard of living is low. On

this count development would be regarded as, at best, depraved or deficient and degrading.

For adults who have completed education and training, employment is perhaps the surest way of maintaining a reasonable standard of living and independence. Being unemployed, the jobseeker is most often obliged to live with someone else. This is largely unproblematic when parents or close relations, especially older male relations, are resident in the same city. When such persons are not available, accommodation may become quite some headache. In fact, the problems may arise from various interrelated factors. For example, for males, living with married and unmarried female relatives may, for a variety of reasons, not be a particularly exciting first option. This may be probably due to an abhorrence of a subordinate status in a male dominant society. However, our data do not present us with much opportunity for detailed consideration of this proposition. Living with younger relatives may also not be a prime option probably because subordination inherent in such an event especially if we consider that the society is in some sense gerontocratic at the formal and traditional realm. But subordination may not be all to it. Self esteem is a related factor which has loomed very large. Although our data do not support any aversion to living with younger relatives, esteem is still an important intervening factor. According to Nnamdi Okoye[1], a thirty-year

old respondent in Onitsha who has already stayed three years in the job market:

> I am quite comfortable with my friend and I'd rather continue to stay with him until I get a job and rent my own accommodation. My elder sister stays in this town with her husband but I can't stay with them. I don't want to cause any trouble between them. They have invited me to stay with them but I will stay here. My host is quite good to me and we have been friends for a long time. In fact I have no reason to consider leaving him until I can afford a flat of my own. If he gets married, I will certainly look for alternative accommodation.

From this response, it is obvious that interpersonal relations constitute a crucial variable in the life of dependants. Care not to 'cause trouble' is another way of abhoring having to depend not only on a sister but also on the husband. It may also be a genuine concern not to introduce any strain in the sister's marriage. In the words of the same respondent who graduated in Philosophy,

> It is possible that they (that is, sister and husband) asked me to come over to their place because they feel obliged to do so. The husband may not really want me and my presence could irritate him. I don't want anything to disturb my sister's marriage. I visit them quite often and I eat whenever I go there. Actually, I am not very close to the husband although I can say we are friends somehow.

Here we notice an undertone of commitment to kin-based relationships. Therefore, although the respondent is reluctant to take

up accommodation with his sister, he is not oblivious of the obligation of the sister to see to his welfare. The considerations surrounding Okoye's aloofness may have conditioned the position of another respondent Emmanuel Azike, a twenty-seven year old graduate of Crop Science who presently stays in the boys' quarters (bq) of an uncle in Enugu. Azike was almost two years old in the job market at interview time. According to him, only very rare appearances are made in his host's main house and this is because of his wish not to incur madam's (uncle's wife's) wrath in any way. An earlier invitation to stay in the main house was politely turned down. Azike claims he makes little or no demands from his host's family outside his meals which are regularly brought to his room in the bq. According to him, his continued stay with the uncle is borne out of practical expedience. His presence in the compound is a constant reminder to the uncle-host to see to it that the nephew secures employment. Moreover, food is assured and he (that is, respondent) always accompanies the uncle on occasional weekend trips to their home village where cash reinforcements are obtained from parents. Very interestingly, Azike, who hopes to find a job soon, has other relatives and friends in Enugu with whom he could stay but there is no satisfactory reason to convince his uncle-host and the parents at home to effect change of residence. Indeed such a move will amount to a direct indictment of the uncle who is

the father-figure in town. The implications of such a development may be quite far reaching. A family feud may not be a remote event. We thus find a situation where a respondent is obliged to an accommodation, his personal wishes and idiosyncracies notwithstanding. An ideopraxist is in this sense culturally eliminated, bringing to the fore the strength of kinship networks.

We are not puzzled by this situation. The evidence supports the social equilibrium model suggesting that strong extended family relationships and obligations continue to subsist in the city.[2] On the other hand, we can also discern a trend toward estrangement from kinship links. In this connection, the economic status of respondents appear to be the determining variable. Economic dependence and independence have alienating qualities. This does not appear paradoxical as we shall see. On the one hand, respondents apparently detest their status which obliges them to stay with someone else. Therefore while empirically we can say that the fact that respondents stay with relatives bears out the social equilibrium theory, this cannot be the case judging by their attitudes, ambitions and projections. Many respondents have been quick to point out that on obtaining a job, they will set up an independent accommodation. In other words, on attainment of economic independence, the aspiration of moving away from relations will be actualized. Could this be more

of a desire to become independent than to leave a relative? Going by the views of respondents, it may be more of either factors. What is certain is that both factors are at work. Indeed, the responses which we have so far recorded show clearly that Nnamdi Okoye, for example, is less rabidly desirous of establishing an independent household of his. Do these deductions tally with the earlier finding by Imoagene (1977) that persons with secure employment apply social enclosure and cut off kinship ties while the link with tradition is stronger among those with insecure or hazardous employment? If we consider that relatives who are well off and especially those who, in addition, are more elderly routinely play host to young unemployed relatives, the thesis of social enclosure is at best very tenuous. To be sure, economic independence correlates with the establishment of independent homes. But that in itself attracts other job-seeking relatives and therefore independence seeking relatives. This is the sense in which economic dependence and independence can have alienating qualities. As a job seeker and therefore an economically dependent person, you are obliged to share someone else's accommodation, a situation which is alienating because of the unwholesome status. On the other hand, a job may necessitate moving away from former host, that is, at least, physically alienating the job beneficiary from the host. We therefore uphold that the economic functions of kin-based

relationships cannot be in question as pointed out by theorists in the social equilibrium orientation. However, the economic disability of respondents has been conceptualized as the sole phenomenon that has obliged them into residing with their present host. According to Emeka Okoroafor, a twenty-five year old Enugu-based Microbiology graduate who has completed one year in the job market and is currently sharing an uncle's flat,

> If I am employed, nobody will expect me to stay with my uncle. Right now, I am looking for an accommodation of my own in the hope that I will soon get a job. Immediately I get any offer, I will have to borrow some money to pay for my own accommodation which may just be a room at least for some time. If I take a flat, I have no property to furnish it so I think it's better to take a room. I do not feel at ease here at all. There is no privacy and I share a room. I am always cautious about what I do and what I don't do. I even prefer my hostel accommodation in the university where I had more freedom.

But here again we see a phenomenon which may be easily restricted to an economic category ramifying into noneconomic spheres thereby taking steam off the assertion that economic disability may be the sole variable trapping some respondents to the accommodation they share. Restriction of freedom was a recurrent intervening variable mentioned by many respondents. Being adults, a certain amount of privacy and freedom cannot be regarded as superfluous or an indulgence for our respondents, their current predicament

notwithstanding. Yet staying with elder relatives involves a substantial loss of freedom hitherto enjoyed and possibly taken for granted in the institutions of higher learning. A greater measure of freedom was guaranteed respondents who lived in the bqs of relatives' dwellings and those who stayed with friends. For those in bqs, the issue of disturbing others in the household, as pointed out by respondents, is minimized. In the view of Chima Abah, a twenty-eight year old Enugu-based Mass Communication graduate who stays in the bq of an uncle's (actually a more distant relative) house, this is the singular advantage of the bq. He describes his experience as follows:

> The boys' quarter is very convenient for me. I do not have to share the facilities in the main house and irritate anyone. My friends visit me and can feel free here (in the bq) without caring whether my uncle is at home or whether visitors are around. My uncle knows my girl friend but I can't imagine sharing a room with her in the main house. I can go out at any time I want without disturbing anybody. The gateman opens up for me whenever I come back late and nobody is woken up. Whatever I want, I go up to the main house to get.

Such considerations give additional strength to earlier considerations enumerated. But there are other noteworthy related issues. For example, in addition to the relative age of host, their gender and marital status appear quite significant intervening variables. As we have already observed, elderly male relatives-father figures - are preferred hosts. Age mates who

are also quite amenable to the life styles of respondents are quite suitable hosts. But younger persons or age mates who are married are not. This view was corroborated by Nnamdi Okoye who would look for alternative accommodation if his present host gets married. The reasons for such predisposition are not far-fetched. Younger persons may not be able to conveniently bear the economic burden of playing host to respondents who may also abhor subordination in whatever form to a younger host. Ifeanyi Onyenwe, a twenty-six year old graduate of Physics who was only four months old in the labour market in Enugu, shares this disposition. In his words,

> I prefer to stay with my present host because he is more or less a father to me. I spent all my holidays here when I was a student. There is a close relation with whom I can stay in this town but right now he is struggling to stand on his own. He was himself unemployed for about three years and he has just set up an advertising business. Staying with him will be an extra burden but I visit him very often. His place is my second home here.

Onyenwe's host is maternal uncle. As before, however, economic considerations are not operating in isolation or in exclusion. To the idea of relative economic instability of younger hosts must be added the closeness or affinity and intensity of the relationship. For affinity pushes comparative youth and economic stability or instability of hosts into a background. Certainly this is the case of Okey Ezeashi, a twenty-nine year old

History graduate staying with a younger brother at Onitsha. The host had recently established a soap manufacturing enterprise. Ezeashi saw it as his lot to stay with his brother rather than a comparatively better placed uncle because

> He (that is, present host) is my younger brother. We grew up together and we are used to ourselves. I help out with his business and I don't feel bad receiving money from him. We wear each other's clothes and shoes and if I don't find a job soon, we shall look for money to expand his business. I am really not interested in business but I cannot go back to school now because there is no money. I want to work for some time before going back to school. If my brother's business succeeds, he will sponsor me for a master's degree. This is our plan and our parents approve of it. We have an uncle who is our guardian and he is helping a lot to see I get a job but I have not thought of staying with him. If my brother gets married, I will have to make alternative arrangements but he has no such plans for now.

Again the primacy of kin-based relationships is brought to the fore. But so also is the position of single persons as preferable hosts although Ezeashi's opinion would make such preference seem skewed in favour of male hosts. Sampling error could be liable for this skewing, however. Many respondents actually have female hosts but these were mostly married people staying with husbands.[3] The only case of respondent with a spinster hostess was that of George Animam, a twenty-five year old geography graduate who has been in the unemployment pool for over one year in Enugu at

interview time. In fact, Animam may be classified as the de facto owner of the apartment, at least in a symbolic sense. The respondent sees himself as a protector of his hostess, who is an elder sister. This anticipates the positions of female respondents to which we shall turn shortly. Elaborating on the protection offered to the hostess, Animam points out that

> Since my sister is not married, my stay here neutralizes the negative image of single girls who stay on their own. I personally think it is more respectable to have me here than to just stay alone. If you consider security, you know a girl staying alone in a flat cannot feel too safe. With me around, there is more confidence. If I get a job in this town, I will continue to stay here but the difference is that I will make financial contribution to the running of the house. I have a feeling that it is my sister who will have to move away whenever she gets married in the future.

We notice a measure of obligation on Animam's part to stay with his current hostess from his views. The only other option open to him was to move in with a friend, an idea which was not considered in view of the availability of the sister. Would our respondent change hosts if another person with similar qualities with present one becomes available? A negative response was given to this probe. On account of the issues of security and respectability for the sister, Animam feels he would leave his hostess only when a job is secured outside Enugu. Respondent also volunteers that had they an uncle or some other close and

agreeable relation around, the sister would probably not be staying alone. Besides, leaving the sister-hostess would not only be economically undesirable, the ire of parents would have to be contended with. The strength of kin-based relationships is thus brought into prominence by an essentially economic handicap occasioned by unemployment. This is so even though we know that Animam hardly had another choice of residence. Were it otherwise, the respondent would have, at least, thought of a possible alternative accommodation. But, unlike in the earlier case, we may not talk of any preference of spinsters as hosts. According to Animam, his hostess herself was forced into staying on her own as she could not find a host in form of a relation or, for that matter, a husband. We may like to compare Animam's lot with that of Daniel Eze, a thirty-one year old graduate of Microbiology who also has a diploma in Medical Laboratory Technology. Eze, a former employee of a large government hospital in Enugu, presently stays with his fiancee whom he intends to wed in August, 1988. As at interview time, Eze had logged in over two years in the labour market and the proposed wife was very noticeably pregnant. Eze had to move over to the fiancee when it became impossible to keep his own apartment due to financial constraints occasioned by loss of job. Eze's misfortune has been taken in good faith and according to him, there will be no question of seeking alternative accommodation when a

job comes by. From Animam and Eze, we notice the strength of both consanguine and affinal kinship. Also apposite to the foregoing analysis on the cases of respondents with hostesses is the matter of Romanus Iwueke, another twenty-five year old respondent. A Botany graduate, Iwueke had just finished National Youth Service and stays with his mother, a widow. The second of five children, the respondent does not contemplate changing residence soon. In his words,

> I don't think I'll leave my mother even in the next ten years. This will depend on when I marry but I have no plans now. My elder brother stays abroad and my junior ones are all in school. I don't feel awkward staying here at all. This is my home and I'll continue to stay here after obtaining a job. I owe my mother the duty of staying here to help her. She is working hard to see to the eduction of my brothers and sisters. I run a lot of errands for her and I am now the man in the house. I wish I can get a job soon so that I can help out more. My mother is really trying for us.

The man-in-the-house syndrome, we recall, first featured in the case of Animam. In all, it is clear that if there is any preference for elders (male) hosts as evidences suggest, the same is also true for hostesses although it is unnecessary to overemphasize the latter line of thought in view of the nature of our sample. All that may be suggested, therefore, is that there is a preference for elder hosts especially if these are related closely in one form or another. Moreover, there is no case in

the total sample suggesting a male respondent staying with a hostess with whom he has no form of affinal or consanguinal kinship.[4] It is also deducible from our data and our analysis thus far that future marriage of host or guest will adversely affect the tenure of the guest. Existing marriage, in varying degrees, also influences the decision to take up residence or the actual tenure of respondents in hosts' residences. Exemplifications of these are the cases of Nnamdi Okoye and Emmanuel Azike whose attitudes and positions have already been recorded. For Okoye, a wish not to interfere in elder sister's home influenced his preference to stay with a friend. This respondent is quite alive to the fact that kinship dictates that he ought to have stayed with the sister. Her marital status therefore becomes an important intervening variable. For Azike, there is a wish not to incur host's wife's wrath and this makes the bq a very convenient and isolating accommodation from where only occasional appearances are made in the main house.

But there are other contributory or subsidiary variables which define the destabilizing effect of marriage as an intervening variable. One of these is our crucial independent variable, education. The other variable is biological age. Attainment of high education and, at least for Okoye and Azike, the respective ages of thirty and twenty-seven years are sufficient grounds to establish independent homes. Education and relative age are in

this light the real factors which make marriage (of real and potential hosts and also respondents themselves) a destabilizing variable.

We therefore have an interplay of forces or variables trapping respondents to their present residences although economic factors, as already pointed out, appear to loom very large. The theoretical underpinnings of the trends so far are anything but unidimensional. We must, however, turn to the somewhat novel position of female respondents on the question of shelter before finally falling back to the theoretical question.

In contradistinction to the multifaceted responses or views and attitudes of our male respondents, the female respondents did not seem to resent, in any identifiable manner, their obligation to stay with relatives. As a matter of fact it seemed quite 'natural' and expected for female respondents to stay with relatives. According to Chinyelu Ekpechi, a twenty-five year old Linguistics graduate who stays with a maternal uncle in Enugu, the present residence is about the only choice open to her. For this respondent who has already spent one year in the unemployment pool, there is no question of contemplating moving out to stay alone on any grounds. On finding an employment, as she is soon hoping to, Ekpechi will continue to stay with the uncle. On the possibility of a transfer for the uncle, our respondent would make arrangements to stay with a friend. That would be on

the ground that she had already secured an employment. Otherwise, she would follow the host to his new station. However, the event of a transfer of the host seemed quite remote and was actually ruled out of hand. The rationale behind Ekpechi's frame of mind is not difficult to decipher. According to her, the host's residence will be home for her until she moves in with a husband. In her words,

> I don't hope to leave my uncle's place unless I get married. I will not even be allowed even when I secure employment here in Enugu. You know a single girl of my age staying alone is always suspected and accused of promiscuity. You know how the society operates and my uncle is very strict and traditional. I am lucky he has recognized that I'm grown up but I cannot do anything to upset him. He is like father to me and only a husband can take me away from here.

These views are largely substantiated by Calista Egwuonwu, a twenty-seven year old Animal Science graduate who has spent two years in the labour market. Holder of a master's degree, Egwuonwu stays with a half-brother in Enugu. According to her, the present residence is not commodious but there is little she can do about it unless she moves to Lagos where she would stay with an uncle with bigger and better accommodation. Life in Lagos is, however, not an attraction for our respondent and she has no intention of going there. In fact, she has made no move to secure a job in Lagos. Another consideration favouring

Egwuonwu's stay in Enugu is that the present host is younger, unmarried and as such more amenable to her life style than the uncle in Lagos. We are thus faced with a novelty. Whereas earlier evidences point to a preference of old relatives as preferable or prime hosts, we are in Egwuonwu's case confronted by evidence to the contrary. This development vitiates the role of relative age as an intervening variable in the processes of determining whom a host or hostess shall be. Moreover, as with Ekpechi, the whole question of marriage was not lost to Egwuonwu. According to her, the 'potential husband' (her real phrase) stays in Enugu and moving to Lagos could amount to running away since a job was not already available in Lagos anyway.

Although our two female respondents do not exactly have identical reasons for staying on with their present relatives-hosts, it is quite interesting that unlike male respondents, a long run objective of staying by themselves independently was not considered. This is not an unexpected development in a patrilocal society. Another dimension to the attitude of our female respondents is the question of their relative age. We may consider that at respective ages of twenty-five and twenty-seven years, our female respondents would probably be under some pressure to get married. In other words, the absence of a long run ambition to stay independently could be a function of biological age and social and psychological pressure to get married.

If biological age in these instances therefore becomes an independent variable, then the attitude or aspiration to stay alone should vary with it. But evidence from this study does not support such a proposition. In fact, what evidence points to is an association between gender and desire to establish an independent dwelling. In other words, the absence of a desire to ultimately establish an independent dwelling remained constant among female respondents, their biological age notwithstanding. Let us further buttress this theorem by examining the position of two other female respondents.

Pauline Mbanugo is a twenty-two year old Botany graduate who stays with her parents. As at interview time, she had spent only two months in the unemployment pool. One of the youngest of our female respondents, she was hopeful of obtaining a job with the Anambra State Education Commission as a pupil teacher. Further, Mbanugo hopes to pursue a postgraduate course in education in the near future to qualify as a professional teacher. This terminates the ambition of our respondent who hopes to get married thereafter and 'settle down'. In her words,

> I have to stay with my parents until I marry and I don't know when thats going to be. I don't have any plans now. I hope the Board[5] will post me to a school within Enugu since I will go to work from home. Later, I will register for sandwich postgraduate diploma in education so I can retain the job. These are the plans I have

> for now. I cannot stay on my own as I will not even be allowed. Also I am too young and as a girl, you cannot expect me to stay on my own. It is also very expensive. Anyway, it is not necessary and I can only imagine leaving home whenever I get married. If I am posted outside Enugu, I will change the posting. But a school in town has already requested for me so I think I will be posted within Enugu.

A further dimension in somewhat total unison with the above disposition is introduced by Uju Ojogwu, another young respondent. Only twenty-three years old, Ojogwu graduated in Sociology and completed National Youth Service in 1986 implying she was already over one year in the job market when interview took place. She hopes to get a job soon either in Onitsha where she presently stays with her parents or at Enugu or Lagos where she would have to stay with relatives. Employment will therefore not necessitate independent accommodation. Asked why this is so, Ojogwu gave an answer in the conservative strain:

> If I secure an employment here in Onitsha, I can't think of leaving my parents and at Enugu, I'll not expect to stay on my own since my big uncle lives there. In Lagos it'll be too risky for a young girl to stay on her own. Also think about the costs of living in Lagos and what people will say. Anyway, I have an uncle in Lagos with whom I can stay conveniently. My uncles will not mind my presence in their houses. I have stayed with them before. In fact I'm here in Onitsha because I know I'll soon get a job in Enugu. There are no jobs here and I want to stay with my parents before I start work.

From these empiric data, it is evident that on many grounds no single generalizing theoretical statement may be formulated with respect to residential patterns and aspirations for both male and female respondents. The much we can logically deduce for both groups with any certainty is that unemployment is a generic factor trapping respondents to the residences of relatives and nonrelatives alike. A qualification to this general statement is that while for male respondents, staying with relatives or friends is, in many instances, somewhat involuntary and stressful, it is an obviously voluntary and even cherished event for female respondents. Yet there are further theoretical spin-offs from the residential patterns, aspirations and attitudes of our interview respondents. For example, if unemployment (and concomitant dependence and poverty) involuntarily traps unemployed male graduates to detestable, uncherished or, in short, stressful accommodation (as hangers-on), then employment (and independence) is an attraction to less fortunate relatives. A cyclical phenomenon therefore develops: while unemployment traps the unemployed to a certain mode of accommodation, employment, on the other hand, attracts the unemployed to the employed. In this process, the link with 'kinship' or familial relationships becomes quite helpful and are invariably retained or, we should say, resorted to. Should this be taken as an affirmation of the social equilibrium interpretation of urban interactions and

interrelationships? A strictly exclusive affirmative answer to this question will fail to discriminate between empiric reality and aspirational patterns. In other words, what is desirable may be lumped together with what subsists or what is possible. These two dimensions, as we have seen, do not necessarily tally and a fusing generalization may give an incorrect overview. Their separation is desirable as this will go a long way in ascertaining the currents which may be blotted out of view or perception by what is observed or experienced. To the extent that there is a basic attraction to, and an entrapment in kin-based relationships, the social equilibrium theory is indeed substantiated. But in measuring the attitudinal or aspirational dimension, we notice that many male respondents are invariably estranged from these relationships. In other words, the reality of unemployment may be said to give rise to an alienating condition of a hanger-on for our male respondents. Having to stay involuntarily with a host is itself stressful and, ultimately, socially disorganizing. This brings to the fore our earlier observation in section I.F that the social equilibrium and the social disorganization theoretical strands in sociology need not be seen in mutual exclusion of each other for, as our data show, both are instances concurrently operational.

If the disposition of our male interview respondents is theoretically bi-dimensional as we have tried to argue, female

respondents almost uniformly fall within the purview of the social equilibrium theory. Female respondents displayed a tendency toward self restraint which we may interprete as proximal to traditional societal expectations or norms. Indeed, the recent developments toward the emancipation of women from the tedium of traditional roles and expectations appears, from all observations, ephemeral and factitious. In other words, it does not appear that the acclaimed retrogressive 'place of the woman' has been successfully exorcised from the weltanschaung of our female respondents. This is not an extreme deduction in view of the educational status of our respondents. Although, we do not suggest that independent residence is indicative of liberation, there is no doubt whatsoever that our female interview respondents look forward to an existence under the shadow of husbands. Careers still seem secondary to marriage and family, an indication of the resilience of subsisting patterns. While the society has, to all intents and purposes, been sensitized and, indeed, transmogrified into a state of awareness of a new status of equality for women, the womenfolk is yet to develop requisite attitudinal dispositions which reflects the changing situation. Although some female respondents actually verbalized the feminist bent of recent social development, yet such instances may not be said to amount to attestations of any deeply contrived conviction. For example, Chinyelu Ekpechi has since found out that

> One is no longer a student. One's views as a student are quite different and are not applicable now. I am no longer as free as I was in the campus. I now stay at home a lot and help out in the house work. One is not getting younger and if I'm to settle down soon, I have to be careful. Personally, I don't believed in women liberation as men and women are different. I will like to marry, have children and look after my home.

Pauline Mbanugo, a young respondent we earlier considered also shares identical sentiments on the issue of women and their preoccupation with matrimony and security. To quote her,

> I certainly want to get married and I think all girls want to. All that talk about equality with men in the campus did not make much sense to me. Women are by nature inclined to the home even if they are employed. You see I cannot think of going to stay with my brother who has his own apartment in this town. I don't blame anyone because that is the way our culture is. And I'm not complaining. I know some girls who stay on their own but that is because they don't have a choice. They wouldn't do that if their parents are around. Staying alone is bad for girls.

Such homely dispositions are indicative of the resilience of tradition and culture. The recent attempts to reorder the society to remove the indignities and discriminations suffered by the womenfolk in a male-dominant society should be seen in this perspective. To be sure, our interview respondents appreciate and indeed support official efforts to improve the lot of women, especially those in the rural areas. But it does not seem as if

women have been radicalized in any noteworthy manner. Because of the predisposition of the women interviewed in this study to live within traditional frame of reference, they have tended to rely more on kinship network for shelter. It is only on account of matrimony do we find them opting to consider staying with a non-kin voluntarily. But here again, the host is an adopted kin which still anchors them within kinship networks. In a sense therefore, women may, comparatively speaking, be said to constitute more of a bond of continuity for kinship relations than men in the city.

IV.2b Feeding Patterns

The patterns of feeding for the cases considered above closely follow those of residence. Invariably, respondents have tended to depend on their hosts for meals although there are quite notable exceptions and qualifications to this general trend. Therefore, theoretically, as with the patterns of residence, we cannot really talk of a uniform feeding pattern among all interview respondents.

For Nnamdi Okoye who stays with a friend in Onitsha, there is no regular pattern of meals. Occasionally, lunch or supper may be at the sister's place or in the ubiquitous canteens popularly known as bukas. Some of the food in host's

house is provided by the respondent whose parents occasionally send food from the village. Food reinforcements are also obtained whenever respondent goes home (to the village) to visit with his parents. Moreover, the host has a small farm in the city where food items including yams, maize, cassava, okra and other vegetables are cultivated. The respondent helps out a lot in this small farm. Worthy of note is the fact that the availability of food varies with the budget of the host and the supplement of the respondent. Therefore both respondent and his host are obliged to seek food elsewhere whenever they are out of stock and/or out of pocket. This rather great diversity and irregularity of pattern of feeding is not exactly replicated by other interview respondents. Emmanuel Azike, for example, receives his meals from his host. These are brought down to the bq at the host's family meal times. Occasionally, however, food items are sent in by respondent's parents. Opportunities for food contributions toward the respondent's upkeep present themselves whenever the host and/or the respondent visit(s) home. As the respondent was careful to point out, in view of the fact that the host plays the role of a father, these food gifts are not supposed to off-set whatever expenses or inconveniences the host might bear in sheltering him (the respondent). Rather, the gifts constitute a show of gratitude and they foster a sense of extended family solidarity. This is a perfect example of intrinsic social exchange relationship

(Johnson, 1981). Azike's feeding pattern more or less holds good for all interview respondents staying with hosts other than parents. To a great extent, a similar pattern is exhibited by Okey Ezeashi, the history graduate who stays with a younger brother at Onitsha. But for this latter case, the respondent noted that because of the poverty of their parents, his host occasionally sends money home. A symbiotic supplementation exchange thus emerges: money is exchanged for food, each party giving what it has, not to attract or stimulate return exchange but rather to satisfy obligation to the family. Such intrinsic social exchange also subsists between Calista Egwuonwu and her host-brother on the one hand and their parents, on the other. There was no question of another or supplementary source of food outside the home for all interview respondents living with parents.

From the position in the cases presented above, we are, once again, confronted by the relative strength of kinship. Our interview respondents with relatives as hosts also, indirectly, subsist on their real parents albeit only infinitesimally. On a theoretical note, all these bear out the social equilibrium theoretical orientation. However, we emphasize the divergent haphazard pattern presented by Nnamdi Okoye. Though this respondent to some extent indirectly subsistson parents, there is nevertheless no definitive pattern in his day-to-day coping mechanism

in regards to food. Therefore, it may be rightly insinuated that Okoye's status in town has introduced some disorganizing dimensions. A modicum of social disorganization is hence introduced into an otherwise complete or uniform theoretical affinity in the direction of social equilibrium.

But, as before, it is pertinent to enter into a qualitative discriminant analysis in order to separate the empiric from the purely attitudinal or aspirational. In other words, we should like to see the extent to which the existing feeding patterns dovetail with the wishes or aspirations of our interview respondents. In this connection, Nnamdi Okoye was very forthcoming. According to him:

> I'm disappointed that I contribute almost nothing to the upkeep of this household. Though my host does not mind, I feel bad especially when our food supply finishes and everyone is broke. I eat out on many occasions so as to reduce the pressure here. My host really feels obliged to do his best and I am grateful. In fact when I get a job, I will like to stay here for sometime so I can show my gratitude. I won't say these before my host because we are like brothers and he does not regard me as a burden to him. But personally it is degrading to find myself in this situation.

For Emmanuel Azike who stays in the bq of an uncle's house, the situation is not exactly dissimilar. Although food is assured from the host, he would rather have a job soon and establish a personal household and feed himself. A prime cause of this

feeling is readily provided:

> I don't know how my uncle's wife feels about my presence here. She is polite to me but not quite warm. She may not like feeding me and atimes I feel she only tolerates my presence. You see I don't like the situation where I don't feel at ease. I could be wrong in my judgement of her but I'd rather stay on my own. I hardly go up to the main house.

Again we are presented with an amplification of the intervening role of marriage as pointed out earlier on. Azike also volunteers that were the uncle to be unmarried, he would feel more at ease. But Emeka Okoroafor who shares an uncle's flat in Enugu went further by not merely resting his unease on his host's wife. As we have earlier seen, the respondent described his sojourn with his host as being generally stressful. It will, therefore, be against logic to expect him not to be disinclined to meals from the same host. As a matter of fact, having to stay with host weighs as heavily as eating from him in the mind of the respondent. Is there any special reason behind respondent's stated disinclination to living with and eating food provided by the host? In response to this query, respondent suspects that part of his reservation may be attributable to self-imposed self restraint, a strategy adopted to ensure that he does not become a source of worry to the household. In essence, while he continues to stay and eat in the host's house, there is a subtle, if justifiable, impatience to establish an independent personal household. A most plausible explanation

for this disposition lies in the respondent's age and high education. In his earlier statement, he had noted that were he employed, nobody would expect him to live with the uncle.

Chima Abah, though showing some ambivalence, does not fit within Okoroafor's frame of mind. He does not feel bad having to depend on his present host for food and shelter, yet he would rather set up his own household and be responsible for himself sooner than later. Indeed, according to him, there is no escaping these ultimata since everyone expects his tenure in the host's dwelling to be, at best, only temporary.

From the foregoing analysis, there are divergences in the aspirational dimensions of the feeding patterns of respondents examined. And, as it were, these divergences make copious those we had earlier noticed in the patterns of shelter. Implicit in the divergences we have just explicated is a leaning toward social disorganization, a theoretical tendency which bore only little weight during our examination of the empiric or existing patterns of feeding among respondents. For the rest of our interview respondents who are made up of those who stay with parents and immediate siblings (and most especially the female respondents), the attitudinal patterns with regards to feeding is best explained by our second polar theoretical orientation, that is, the social equilibrium model. No immediate wish was expressed among them reflecting any discontent with or disinclination toward

prevailing arrangements. This is a not altogether unexpected tendency. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that this tendency was specially amplified by the female respondents whom we have already observed as being of a conservative mien. If they cherish their stay with their present hosts as we have noted, then it would amount to a big paradox if they turn out to detest food from the same hosts.

IV.3 Summary

In this chapter we have tried to show the existing (or empiric) and attitudinal (or aspirational) patterns of shelter and feeding of selected cases from our interview data. We are thus left in no doubt that the patterns in our analysis portray a notable tendency toward dependence on kinship networks although the divergences from this central tendency are in no way insignificant. Therefore the social equilibrium and social disorganization polar theoretical strands are not operating in mutual exclusion to each other. At the level of the individual, we have also seen that this integration of coping mechanisms is just as real.

However, we must leave this chapter with a note of caution and this is that the selected cases analyzed represent typical cases from the interview data. For example, Nnamdi Okoye represents respondent staying with friends. The

generalizations reached from aggregating the interview respondents analyzed, therefore, need not be seen as conclusions representing the total sample of study. They may be regarded as representing only the cases themselves. Therein lies the chief limitation of case studies.

Notes

[1]All names used in presenting data are pseudonyms.

[2]For a review of works supporting this viewpoint, see section IIA.3 of this thesis.

[3]The case of a widow hostess is grouped together with the category of married female hosts.

[4]We, of course, group respondents staying with wives or fiancees as staying with kin.

[5]That is, the Anambra State Education Commission.

CHAPTER V

CHAPTER V

V.A Primary Characteristics of Data

We begin our presentation of quantitative data with summaries of background data of all the respondents to the questionnaire.

As stated in section III.3 of this thesis, a total of 8.8% of the sample are female respondents. This represents a large skewing in favour of men. Even so, our ability to obtain the figure for female respondents lies entirely with our recourse to purposive and accidental sampling procedures. Female respondent apathy was a looming reality throughout our field work but especially moreso during the questionnaire stage. It is quite noteworthy that once a rapport was established during the interview stage, female apathy quickly disappeared. Respondents' apathy where it occurred should, of course, be seen as part of the reserved or conservative nature of female respondents, a fact highlighted in the previous chapter.

The mean age of respondents is 25.5 years with a distribution ranging from 20 years to 36 years (see Table V.1). Both of the respondents with the minimum (20 years) and the maximum (36 years) ages are males. Over 90% of the total sample falls within the ages of 20 to 30 years implying a very youthful sample. This youthfulness is further reflected by the fact that 98% of all respondents were unmarried during our field work. However, being single is not necessarily a reflection of

Table V.1 Age Distribution

20 - 24 years	37.9%
25 - 29 years	51.2%
30 - 34 years	8.8%
35 years and over	0.3%
Total	100.0%
	(N = 385)
Mean Age	25.493
Standard deviation	2.764
Minimum Age	20 years
Maximum Age	36 years

Table V.2 Highest Educational Qualification

B.A.	36.6%
B.Sc/H.N.D. (Social Sciences and allied disciplines)	26.5%
B.Sc./H.N.D. (Pure and Applied Science	35.3%
Postgraduate Qualification (All Disciplines)	1.6%
Total	100.0%
	(N = 385).

youthfulness. A fraction of 0.3% of these unmarried persons had a previous marriage. We may infer that our sample consists of a group of people whose youth is being wasted through unemployment.

From Table V.2, we notice that only 1.6% of all respondents have postgraduate education. Fifty per cent of these have postgraduate diploma while the rest have a master's degree. We may infer from this infinitesimal presence of respondents with postgraduate education and the total absence of cases with doctoral qualifications that graduate unemployment is almost entirely restricted to individuals with first degrees or their equivalent. Although this must be some good news, our inference must be qualified. Postgraduate education in the country could be classified as a luxury which is limited to only a few. In this sense, even the small showing of cases with postgraduate training in our sample may signify a high rate of unemployment for persons in that category. All that we can say with any certainty is that, relative to persons with first degrees or their equivalents, unemployment seems to be not too big a menace for persons with postgraduate qualifications. But, taken as a single category, we must be forced to make the conclusion that in view of their relatively small numbers, the small showing of persons with postgraduate education in our sample may be interpreted as an indication of high unemployment rate for them.

Another notable feature of the sample is the distribution of

respondents according to different disciplines (see Table V.2). Over 63% are with qualifications in the arts and humanities. To this we must add that a total of 83% of respondents with post-graduate qualifications are also in the humanities. We interprete this trend to be a reflection of the wider reality of an overall preponderance of arts and humanities graduates in the society as we have already noted in section II.B of this study. Of further significant import is that 87.6% of all respondents have spent not more than three years in the labour market. 50.4% of respondents in this category graduated in 1986, implying they are just one year old in the graduate unemployed pool considering that they must have spent one year in the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) scheme (see Table V.3).

Table V.3 Year of Award of Qualification.

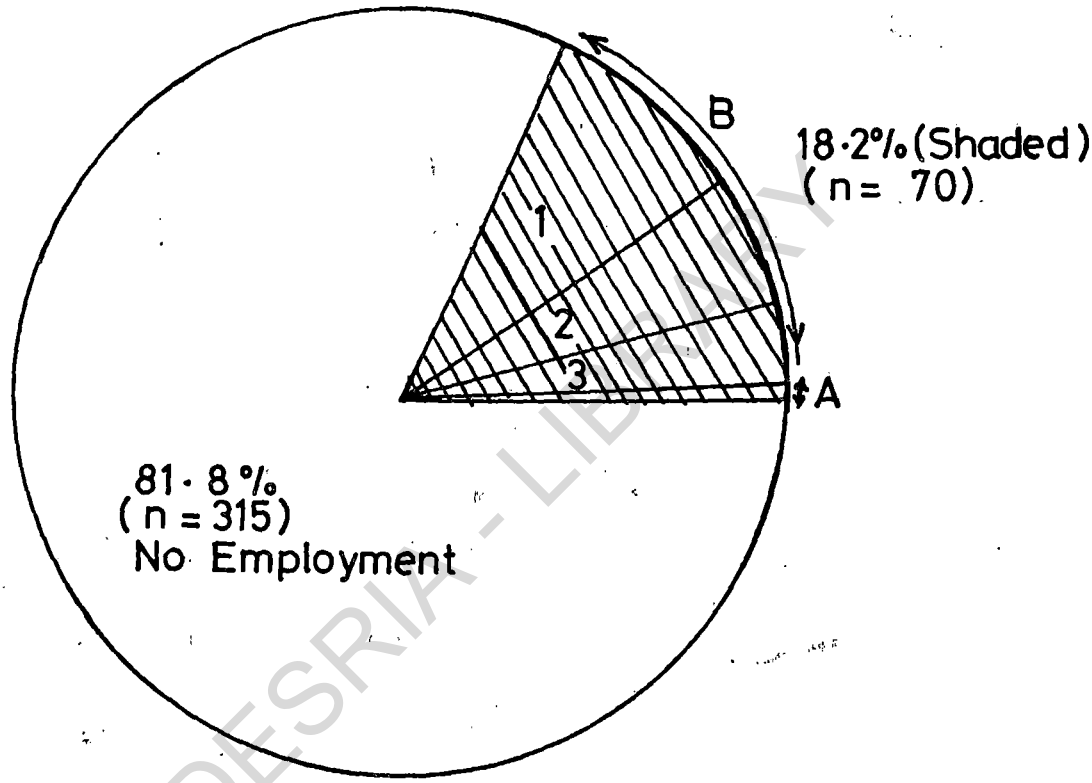
1980	0.3%
1981	2.0%
1982	2.3%
1983	7.8%
1984	19.2%
1985	24.2%
1986	44.2%
Total	100.0%

(N = 385).

Following our definition in section II.B of this thesis, we assume

that our respondents have a long unemployment history. However, in relative terms, one could say that the study sample is made up of relatively recently unemployed persons. Of course, this goes on to corroborate the fact that graduate unemployment is itself a recent phenomenon in the country as we have also noted in passing elsewhere. It could also mean that with time unemployed graduates generally manage to find a job hence the relative recency of those unemployed. Another implication could simply be that those employed retain their employment even if on a lower scale temporarily hence the absence of persons who have stayed for longer time periods in the unemployment pool. If the latter inference is right, then it follows that the waves of retrenchment over the years have not affected graduates in any significant measure, a postulate that would be interesting to investigate. These two interpretations may actually be concurrently operational. We say so because as we clearly show in Figure V.1a, 81.8% of all respondents have not had any employment since graduation or, we should say, since completion of the NYSC programme. But 94.3% of those who have had a stint in employment were laid off for one reason or the other. This is not paradoxical considering that only 18.2% of the total sample had ever had any employment. In other words, the high percentage does not translate to really large numbers. Even the few who have had some form of employment kept them for only a relatively short

Figure V·1a : Employment Since NYSC



A — Left employment for further studies (5·7%) n=4
B — Retrenched (94·3%) n = 66
Minimum time in employment — 3 months
Maximum time in employment — 40 months
Private Sector employment — 64·3% (n = 45)
Public Sector employment — 35 7% (n = 25)
N = 385

period. A total of 75.7% of them were employed for under two years while only 4.3% were employed for up to two and a half years. Actually, only 2.9% were employed for three years or over. An additional noteworthy phenomenon is that a majority of 64.3% of respondents who have had some employment were engaged in the private sector. This could imply that there is more security in public sector jobs, a very widely acknowledged fact. Because we have an equal number of respondents in both private and public sectors who say they resigned their jobs for further studies, we cannot determine in this study whether particular jobs have more propensity for pushing persons into further studies.

Finally, we should mention the fact that all respondents claim to be christian. In view of this uniformity, we cannot again determine the possible influences of religious affiliation on the coping mechanisms of our respondents. We therefore cannot say more than that all respondents are christian.

V.B Basic Existential Support Patterns

V.B1 Introduction.

In the previous chapter, we presented some case studies from our interview data. The focus was limited to patterns of shelter and feeding as, to our mind, these constitute the principal parameters by which one may reasonably measure social support or coping patterns of our respondents. It was also reasoned that

everything else is secondary to food and shelter. But our analysis in the previous chapter was further restricted at another level. In addition to limiting the focus to shelter and food, we pointed out that being, case studies, we cannot reach any general statements that may apply to the wider world outside the cases themselves. Our aim then was to develop deep insights into a limited number of cases in our sample.

Beginning from this chapter, these restrictions are put aside for wider consideration of our total study sample. In continuation of the triangulation method as applied in this study, empiric data will now be presented and analyzed. The main concern of this chapter shall be the patterns of basic existential support, as the title indicates. Our definition of support mechanisms go beyond the somewhat narrow conception in Chapter IV. For example, in addition to shelter and food, we shall consider the sources of monetary income of respondents, their stability with regards to residence and also their dispositions toward their village associations among several other indices.

V.B2 Residence

Patterns of residence vary widely. 97.9% of all respondents are hosted by other persons as we can readily discern in the table below. These hosts are made up of parents or

Table V.4 Patterns of Residence/Hostship

Personal Accommodation	2.1%
Parents/Relatives as host	16.3%
Town's person as host	4.7%
Friend as host	76.9%
Total	100.0%
	(N = 385)

some relative, persons who originate from common villages or towns, and friends.[1] Among respondents with personal accommodations are those who stay alone in houses owned by parents and others who share the accommodation of their spouses. The preponderance of respondents who stay with their friends reflects the general coping patterns of respondents with regards to residence. A possible interpretation of this preponderance could be that the majority of respondents who have resorted to staying with friends do not have their parents or some other relatives in the cities which formed our empiric base for data. In other words, the absence of opportunity necessitated their having to stay with friends. If this is so, then two theoretical strands are objectifiable. First is that empirically, a physical distance from kinship networks is established. Therefore, unemployment may be said to have set forces of social disorganization and alienation into motion. This is in the sense that respondents are ordinarily forced away from the security of life among familiar and

loved ones into the insecure and blasé city life in unemployment. On the other hand and following from the earlier proposition, staying with friends becomes an involuntary action in the sense that it results from the absence of parents or relatives. We may therefore talk of the potential strength of social equilibrium in view of the absence of opportunity; that is, absence of relatives who would have been hosts. In other words, we are insinuating that respondents would have preferred parents, relatives or persons from the same village or ethnic area[2] as hosts were they available in the city.

Another possible interpretation of the preponderance of respondents who stay with their friends is that they exercised a choice between staying with that category of hosts and parents, relatives and persons from common towns or villages. If this is the case, then it logically follows that, for whatever reasons, respondents are alienated from networks of relationships thereby giving strength to the social disorganization theory. With these two possible general interpretations of the patterns of residence, we may now turn to examine what data suggest.

In the first place, it is obvious that respondents who fall under the category of persons with personal accommodation may not be expected, from primary logic, to leave such accommodation to stay with someone else. For example, those staying with their

spouses hardly have a choice. This is also largely true for those staying with parents. Moreover, all respondents classified as staying with relatives actually identified such hosts as uncles. Respondents staying with spouses, parents or relatives make up 79.8% of the category of respondents who do not stay with friends. This category, that is, those respondents who stay with parents, spouses or relatives as hosts, make up only 23.1% of the total study sample. Such distributions directly imply that close relatives may be prime choices among those with hosts in the category. If we consider that all respondents who have persons from the same town as hosts do not have close relatives in the city, then strength is given to the proposition that close relatives may ordinarily be prime choices for the group under reference. An interesting characteristics of respondents who stay with persons from the same town or village is relative youth. Although we have noted that the total sample is made up of rather young people, those who stay with persons from same town belong to the younger segment. We interprete this to imply that choice of host may be a function of age. Very young respondents may therefore not be inclined to staying away from kinspersons or hosts approximating to relatives. However, this possibility need not be over-emphasized because of the overall youthfulness of the entire sample.

Any strength given to social equilibrium by respondents who

are inclined to kinship networks for accommodation is vitiated by the various positions of respondents who stay with friends. This category which makes up a handsome 76.9% of the total sample has a significant characteristic in common with the earlier category. Contrary to what should logically be expected respondents who stay with friends have generally kept stable accommodations, that is, they have not been wont to change hosts. Only 17.6% of respondents staying with friends have ever changed hosts. To further diminish that figure, we only need to point that it forms only 13.5% of the total sample. Another feature common to all respondents is that they have generally remained in their cities of settlement since completion of the NYSC programme. In fact, only an infinitesimal 0.3% has moved on from another town since NYSC. On these counts, we may conclude that unemployed graduates are not as mobile or unstable as their status would lead one to expect. This evidence, however, does not discountenance the fact that virtually all respondents indicated a readiness to move on to wherever a job becomes available.

Let us now turn to examine any further similarities existing between the various subcategories of our respondents in terms of their residential patterns. Earlier on, we had considered the proposition that the preponderance of respondents with friends as hosts could be a function of the absence of relatives in the

city. The fact that 64.2% of respondents staying with friends have no relatives or persons from the same towns or villages with whom they could stay is enough evidence to that effect. Is there a chance that they have relatives with whom they prefer not to stay? We shall turn to this proposition shortly. We must, nevertheless, admit that those with some form of relatives in the town (that is 35.8% of respondents staying with friends or 27.5% of the total sample) constitute a significant fraction. 67.9% of this fraction have persons who come from the same towns and with whom they could stay. We submit that this is not a significant showing since the group makes up only 18.7% of the total sample. The others, that is, 32.1% say they have relations who could also be their hosts. We are now faced with a validation of our earlier question regarding the possibility of the presence of relatives or town's persons who could be potential hosts of respondents. These subcategories of our sample which, as earlier indicated, form 35.8% of respondents who stay with friends, constitute respondents who, for multifarious reasons, are alienated from potential hosts.

Among the reasons for this estrangement are that the potential hosts are not regarded as close kin or that respondents are not familiar with them. Other reasons include the absence of consanguinal affinity with respect to the category of potential hosts who are persons from the same towns or villages with

respondents. There are others who just do not cherish the idea of staying with the group of persons we have referred to as potential hosts. 73.5% of respondents who have relatives with whom they are not staying (but who constitute only 6.5% of the total study sample) feel they are not familiar with such relatives while 14.7% (constituting an almost negligible 1.3% of the total sample) insist they prefer their present hosts. The rest (that is, 11.8% who form another negligible 1.0% of the total sample) just do not like the idea. From these distributions, we may deduce that the intensity or depth of relationship is an intervening variable in the choice of hosts. Kinship may then be seen only as a necessary but not sufficient condition that attracts respondents to relatives or persons from the same villages or towns. We take intensity of relationship as the missing link and this is a prime factor sustaining the relationship between respondents and their host-friends. As large as 88.9% of respondents who have persons from the same town but with whom they are not staying (a subcategory that forms 24.2% of respondents who stay with friends and 18.7% of the total sample) are either not related to, or familiar with, such potential hosts. The remainder (11.1%) simply do not like the idea. Once again, the importance of affinity and the intensity of it are brought to the fore. It should be pointed out that, on the whole, the subcategory of persons from the same town or village (that is, the

potential hosts) is not in any way attractive to respondents. As we have seen earlier, respondents who actually stay with persons from the same towns or villages constitute only 4.7% of the total sample (see Table V.4).

From the foregoing analysis, the mechanisms unemployed graduates adopt for coping with accommodation problems can be easily discerned. Consanguinal and nonconsanguinal kinship account for the residential patterns of 23.1% of the total sample. But the place of kinship may not be exhausted by what we have stated here. For among respondents who stay with friends, 64.2% do not have any form of relatives in the city of residence. Had they any such relations, they would probably have stayed with them (although the opposite case in which they may fail to stay with them cannot be ruled out). Further, the prospects of taking up residence with relatives if they were available depend on the closeness or intensity of such relationships. It is therefore not enough, as cases of respondents who have relatives and town's persons with whom they do not stay suggest, to simply have relatives.

In summary, our respondents may be said to be alienated from kin-based relationships. But this is only in a general sense because, strictly speaking, only 27.5% of the total sample had some form of relations in the city with whom they are not living for various reasons. A marginal majority (49.4%) do not have any relations at all. In spite of this, the fact that an aggregated

large majority of the total sample (76.9%) actually stays away from kinship relations is enough evidence to validate the supremacy of the social disorganization theory of social change. Were kinship networks unforgoable and functional equilibrium an ontological reality in social organization as doctrinnaire functionalist theory suggests, then the majority of our sample would not have been attracted into the alien world of the city and into new relationships. Urban existence for our respondents therefore need not be seen in terms of mechanical relationships carried over from rural settings.[3] Unemployment should then be seen as sometimes ramifying into alienation. All respondents staying with friends are in the city for jobs. But as we shall see when we consider their commitment to city residence, they do not seem to be prepared to move over to rural areas. The proposition derivable from the above is that unemployment has alienating qualities, a situation which has obliged them not only to live with 'strangers' but also necessitated urban dwelling.

We are encouraged to have confidence in the above analysis by the fact that only 30% of respondents have hosts from the same ethnic areas and 94% do not belong to any ethnic or village organisations. Although we may surmise that persons may join such associations mainly when they are employed, there can be no doubt that we have a definite tendency toward alienation from kin-based relationships. Pristine relationships appear to be

pushed to a background in the modern or different realities in urban areas. This is quite a bold assertion in the light of the controversy in the interpretation of the place of ethnicity in urban social relationships in modern Africa. We are aware that both Wallerstein (1971) and Nnoli (1978) trace the genesis of ethnicity to urbanity as inaugurated by colonialism. But the controversy is centred in the relative strength of ethnicity in urban social relations in Africa. While Van den Berghe (1971) submits that ethnic alignments are of prime importance, Sklar (1960) among others asserts that ethnicity is only a camouflage for class and allied interests.[4] Our evidence dovetails into the latter position. But skeptics, to be sure, will want to question the strength of such theoretical assertion which almost borders on impudence. In the face of such skepticism, it would appear best to regard unemployed graduates as a very utilitarian group which will utilize whatever opportunity that may present itself. This modification will imply that our respondents have generally resorted to staying with people from different ethnic areas not because of any inherent abhorence of kin-based relationships but because of the opportunities that present themselves. However, no such modification of interpretation is necessary here even if we agree that our respondents may belong to a very instrumental minded group. In addition to all the facts earlier adduced to support this position, 74.5% of all respondents feel

that ethnic or village associations are not really helpful. Only 20.5% say such organizations could be helpful, a percentage which we must nevertheless agree is not insignificant (see Table V.5).

To summarize, the above trends bear out the weaknesses of mechanical solidarities and orientation to kinship networks. If such relationships are still very strong in the urban sector, unemployed graduates do not seem to be very enthusiastic about utilizing them. Going by the proposition that unemployed graduates are very instrumental minded, then we must conclude that residential opportunities which emerge from relatives or persons from common towns or villages are not many in the city. Hence they do not form prime choices for them. Of course the implication of all these is that our respondents may be said to be socially disorganized in regards to their residential patterns. Put in other words, they have tended to move away from mechanical kinship orientations to more urbane and organic criteria and patterns in their choice of hosts.

The tendency toward social disorganization is further borne out by respondents' disposition toward their current patterns of residence. When we add the meagre 7.0% of respondents who strongly detest their present accommodation to the majority of 77.1% who simply feel bad, we come to an overwhelming majority of 84.1% who find their accommodation disagreeable. Very

interesting is the fact that respondents who stay with parents or have personal accommodation fall into the minority who find their present dwellings very agreeable. At the other extreme, respondents who stay with the subcategories of friends and persons from common towns or villages fall within the majority who find their present residential arrangement detestable.

Table V.5 Overall Attitude Toward Village Associations.

'Town unions can be quite helpful'

Agree	20.5%
Uncertain	5.0%
Disagree	74.5%
Total	100.0%
	(N = 385)

In a further effort to understand the general disposition of respondents, we sought to know how well they think they get on with their hosts. Over a scale of five, 30.4% of the total sample think they get on very well with their hosts while 50.4% say they just get on well. The next 12.4% are uncertain while 6.5% feel they do not get on well. Only 0.2% felt very strongly that they do not get on well with their hosts. If we aggregate this distribution, we notice that a majority of 80.8% of the total

study sample get on well with their hosts while 6.7% are made up of respondents who belong to the other extreme category of persons who feel they do not get on well with their hosts. This marks a divergence from the distribution summarized in Table V.6 below. In that table we notice that a total of 84% of our study sample find their present residences disagreeable while in the latter distribution a total of 80.8% of the same sample feel they do get on well with their hosts. Such divergencies need not indicate any contradictions however. For the fact that someone's residence is in some way seen to be disagreeable should not be taken to imply that interpersonal relationship between host and guest is necessarily strained. In fact, we are inclined to interprete both realities differently. Respondents, as we have already pointed out, find their existing residential arrangements incompatible with their status. But this is different from saying that a strained relationship exists between them and their hosts. We may, therefore, assume that respondents have good relationships with their hosts, their dissatisfaction with the fact that they are, in varying degrees, reluctant guests notwithstanding.

There is yet another dimension which in a way further validates our disinclination to lump together respondents' assessment of existing patterns of residence and their relationships with hosts. This dimension has to do with the fact that when asked if they will leave their hosts if a job is not forthcoming soon, 14% disagreed while 15% agreed. A majority (71%) are uncertain about the prospects of leaving their hosts. It seems, therefore, that a good relationship with host or abhorence of the

Table V.6 Dimensions of Relationship With Hosts

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
1. I get on well with my host	80.8%	12.0%	6.3%	100.0% (N=385)
2. I will leave my host if I don't find a job soon	15.0%	71.0%	14.0%	100.0% (N=385)
3. My host only tolerates me	15.4%	20.2%	64.4%	100.0% (N=385)
4. I feel awkward staying in my present residence	84.1%	4.0%	11.9%	100.0% (N=385)

existing residence are of extraneous importance. What is of primary importance seems to be the alternatives open to respondents in the prevailing circumstances. The caution demonstrated by the fact that 71% of all respondents are unsure if they will leave their hosts is a reflection of an absence of optimism, a point well emphasized by 90% of respondents who are uncertain if they will find a job soon. We deduce from this caution and lack of optimism that respondents, irrespective of the fact that they detest their present accommodation or that they have a good or bad relationship with their hosts, will continue to stay where they presently are. Really, this is quite a logical deduction in view of the relative residential stability of respondents as earlier indicated. Perhaps we should in this connection introduce another distribution which reinforces the aforementioned stability. Over a five point scale, 46.2% of our

respondents reject the suggestion that their hosts only tolerate them. In fact 18.2% feel very strongly so. Another sizeable fraction (20.2%) is ambivalent on the issue leaving a meagre 15.4% to the categories who claim that their hosts merely tolerate them. We had earlier indicated that as much as 80.4% of respondents get on well with their hosts.

Let us carry this analysis further by examining a cross-tabulation of our respondents' relationship with their hosts by their readiness to change hosts (Table V.7). The direction of argument in earlier paragraphs is strengthened by distributions in this crosstabulation. A most prominent correlation is that only 13% of all respondents feel that their hosts are only tolerant of them and hope to consider changing their hosts if jobs do not come their way soon. At the other extreme, only 12.5% of all respondents disagree with the proposition that they would have to seek alternative accommodation if they fail to find a job soon and also disagree with the suggestion that their hosts only tolerate them. Also very significantly, 51.9% of our respondents are uncertain whether they will have to leave their hosts if they do not find a job soon and also disclaim that their hosts only tolerate them. In sum, data in Table V.7 show that respondents who are uncertain whether or not they will have to change hosts if they do not find jobs soon invariably get on well with their hosts. Those who agree with the proposition of changing hosts in the

Table V.7 Relationship With Host By Respondent Readiness to Change Host

Without a job soon, I will leave my present host.

My Host only tolerates me	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Agree	84.7% 86.2% 13.0%	5.1% 1.1% 0.8%	10.2% 11.1% 1.6%	15.3% (n=59)
Uncertain	10.3% 13.8% 2.1%	89.7% 25.6% 18.2%	-	20.3% (n=78)
Disagree	-	80.6% 73.3% 51.9%	19.4% 88.9% 12.5%	64.4% (n=248)
Total	15.1% (n=58)	70.9% (n=273)	14.0% (n=54)	100.0% (N=385)

absence of a job feel that their present hosts only tolerate them. On the other hand, we find that respondents who will remain with their hosts even if a job is not forthcoming invariably feel that their hosts cannot be described as being only tolerant of them. These correlationships demonstrate that our deduction that respondents get on well with their hosts and are of a stable, if conservative, disposition are not mere chance occurrences. In spite of the fact that respondents can validly be described as

being deciduous with respect to their prevalent residences, it appears they are, under the dire conditions they exist, leading relatively stable lives.

To uncipher the true relationship between hosts and respondents, we sought to compare the patterns of hostship and the roots of the hosts themselves. In other words, we tried to see the degree respondents have gravitated to people from the same places as them (Table V.8). Logically, all hosts belonging to the first three categories come from the same ethnic areas as respondents. It is therefore only in the category of hosts who are friends of respondents that the significant distribution occurs. Here we find that 10.9% of all respondents who come from the same ethnic areas as their hosts have friends as hosts. On the other hand, respondents with friend-hosts who are from different ethnic areas make up 66% of the total sample. Therefore the majority of respondents who, as we already know, do not stay with their kinsmen also do not stay with persons from the same ethnic areas. This is a definite trend toward disorganization of early mechanical relationships.

V.B3 Summary

From data examined in the above section, it is certain that the residential patterns of unemployed graduates vary with a remarkable skewing in favour of friendship, not kinship, ties.

Table V.8 Pattern of Hostship By Origin of Host

Host	Area of origin		
	Same with respondent	Elsewhere	Total
Personal Accommodation	6.1% 100.0% 2.1%	-	2.1% (n=8)
Parents/Relatives	48.1% 100.0% 16.3%	-	16.3% (n=63)
Town's persons	13.7% 100.0% 4.7%		4.7% (n=18)
Friends	32.1% 14.2% 10.9%	100.0% 85.8% 66.0%	76.9% (n=296)
Total	34.0% (n=131)	66.0% (n=254)	100.0% (N=385)

But this is not the only indicator of the relative strength of the social disorganization theoretical framework in modern urban social relations as borne out by our data. An additional development is that respondents have generally had hosts who are not from the same ethnic area. Of course this statement excludes respondents who stay with parents, relatives or persons from common roots. Also respondents do not belong to ethnic or village associations in the city although we are not oblivious of the fact that

employment may be a condition of membership of such organizations. But respondents are not very sure of the usefulness of such associations. We may therefore suggest that their non-membership could hypothetically be a function of the perceived impotence of the organizations. Finally, we were able to surmise that even though respondents are not too happy with their present accommodations, they nevertheless get on well with their hosts and are not in a hurry to leave if jobs do not come their way soon. They, therefore, lead quite stable lives, their stressful circumstances notwithstanding. In fact only an infinitesimal fraction of respondents have ever changed accommodation. In addition to this stability, we also reached the conclusion that respondents are not exactly optimistic about the prospects of obtaining jobs. However, the stability and pessimism need not imply any fatalism as respondents are all actively involved in job hunt.

V.B4 Food And Income

Food is perhaps the most important of natural and necessary ingredients of life. Without shelter or other necessities of life, one may continue to survive but the absence of food is immediately precarious and a definite signal that life is in jeopardy. However, we chose to consider the residential patterns of our respondents first in view of the somewhat strategic

importance of shelter. For while the sources of food and income may vary from day to day or even within the same day, it appears preposterious to imagine that residential patterns may be as precarious. It is only in this sense that support patterns in terms of shelter become more crucial than feeding and related patterns. Our prior examination of the former is informed by this consideration.

In this section of our analysis, the aim is to lay bare the feeding patterns of our respondents and their sources of monetary income. The importance of these matters need no special emphasis. However, a word in connection with regards to monetary income is apposite in order to demonstrate why we group it along with food and shelter as parameters that portray coping mechanisms of our respondents. Being active job seekers and, we should expect, out of pocket, there has to be some source of income to prosecute their job hunt. There is also a miscellany of expenses which respondents incur from day to day. Our aim is to find out the sources of income respondents use in meeting these expenditures.

The sources of meals of respondents bear some relationship to their patterns of residence. A summary of these sources is presented in the table below. Host, as shown in the table, is inclusive of all the categories indicated in Table V.4, namely, respondents who stay with parents and relatives, persons from the same town or village, and also friends. By 'own meals' we are

Table V.9 Sources of Regular Meals

Host	84.2%
Own meals	10.4%
Others	5.4%
Total	100.0%
	(N=385)

referring to respondents who provide their own meals. These include those who stay in their personal accommodation and those who have hosts that do not provide their meals. The last category in Table V.9 includes respondents who do not have any single regular source of meals. For respondents who stay with parents or some close relatives including most especially brothers, sisters or uncles, there may be no question as to whether or not their hosts provide their meals and responses clearly bear this out. It is the respondents who stay with friends who really form the major percentage of respondents that present us with irregular feeding patterns that are discernible in Table V.10 below. The picture given in Table V.9 is thus qualified, not invalidated. This is in the sense that not all respondents represented in the 84.2% that receive their meals from their hosts (Table V.9) do so at the same regularity (Table V.10) although we should bear in mind that in the latter table our concern is with hosts who are only friends of respondents. In that case, despite the fact

Table V.10 Level of Involvement of Friends-Hosts In Feeding Respondents

Provides all regular meals	43.9%
Provides two meals/day	32.8%
Provides one meal/day	16.9%
Provides no meals	6.4%
	100.0%
	(N=296)

that the level of involvement of hosts in feeding respondents is quite significant, it will be wrong to assume a uniform pattern for all. A notable comment which emerged from a respondent classified under those who receive two meals per day from their hosts is that, usually, breakfasts are skipped, a habit carried over from college days. Grouping such a respondent in the manner we have done appears questionable although the fact remains that only two meals per day are actually obtained from the host. This is a case of a fact which needs qualification.

Two explanations are possible for the class of respondents who do not have full regular meals from their hosts. First is that they, like in the example cited above, may go without some meals. If this is a regular habit among those who are sure of only one meal per day from their hosts, we may infer that respondents in this category may suffer malnutrition and general ill health. Apart from this dire implication for health, persons

without adequate food may hardly do much else outside searching for it or thinking about it. Job hunt, the major preoccupation of respondents, may be jeopardized. Another explanation of the reality of irregular meals from hosts is that respondents have supplementary or alternative sources of meals. As a matter of fact, our data support this second line of thought. Some respondents eat out regularly to supplement whatever they may have from their hosts. Yet no single supplementary source is constantly utilized. What one may interprete this to mean is that these respondents eat wherever they may find food. And this may be at another friend's place, a relative's residence or some other place. As shown in Table V.11 below, 14.5% of these categories of respondents listed canteens as a regular supplementary source of meals. But what is quite significant is that a watertight classification of respondents without a regular source of full meals is not quite possible. In Table V.11 for example, we notice that a majority (70.1%) of respondents in this group actually have their meals from a variety of sources. It is this versatility in modes of feeding that makes the pattern of residence easier to decipher or classify. We may also impute from this variety of sources of meals that it may indeed be easier for respondents to find food than to find a suitable accommodation. Further, for this group with irregular sources of meals, it may not be too far fetched to suspect that their meals are anything

Table V.11 Supplementary Sources of Meals.

'If you do not have a regular source of meals, please list your various sources in order of priority'.

Relations	8.5%
Friends	7.0%
Canteens	14.5%
All of the above	70.1%
	100.00% (N=117)

Table V.12 Sources of Meals in Place of Host

'If you do not depend on your host for food, please state the reasons why'

Host does not cook	29.4%
I have other source of meals	58.8%
I cook my own meals separately	11.8%
	100.0% (N=17)

but wholesome. Food taken may be monotonous and deficient of nutritional qualities with more attention being placed on quantity. Intervals between meals may also be deleterious. The long run

effects may ramify into poor health as we speculated above. Similar comments may be made for the category of respondents who do not obtain any meals from their hosts. A most recurrent reason for this state of affairs is that such respondents have alternative sources of meals, (see Table V.12). Such alternative sources include the categories listed in Table V.11. We are again confronted by the futility of attempting to reach a neat classification of the sources of meals of respondents with irregular sources of full meals. Contrary to what one may be led to believe at a quick glance, the majority of respondents who do not depend on their hosts for meals (58.8%) actually depend on some other persons. Only a very small minority of this group (11.8% which make only 0.5% of the total study sample) cook their own food.

The foregoing represents the patterns of feeding among our respondents. As earlier indicated, these patterns are not as clear as those of residence. But we are left in no doubt that our respondents depend mainly on their hosts for meals. Among those who stay with friends, we have cases in which respondents eat their meals out. Taken singly, these various subcategories are small minorities in comparison with the total subsample of respondents who stay with friends, a status further entrenched when compared with the total study sample. However, when taken as an aggregate, these categories who either only partially or

do not depend on their friends-hosts for meals are in a majority. Herein lies the major implication of our findings. For some, the trends may be taken as a dent to the tendency toward disorganization of kin-based relationships. Had it been shown that all respondents who stay with friends also entirely depend on them for meals, then the trends toward social disorganization demonstrated in the residential patterns would have been given an unmistakeable and solid validation. But this is not necessarily so.

A second line of argument seems to hold more water. In this argument, the fact of the diversity of the sources of meals is indicative of further disorganization of social relationships of respondents. Having been 'trapped' into largely uncherished accommodations, respondents are further obliged to live with insecure supplies of meals. As earlier suggested, the precarious nature of food supply may seriously defeat the major purpose of residence in the city, (namely, to obtain a job) if the problem of food is not controlled. More time and energy may be devoted to the search for food for the day, not jobs. Furthermore, the fact that respondents are obliged to seek food elsewhere may have far-reaching effects on the relationships with hosts which we have earlier found to be cordial and stable. Respondents may be eating outside to lighten the burden on their hosts who, on the other hand, may have a different interpretation of the situation. Let us hypothetically take a host who, for some reason,

does not provide his guest with full meals. The situation may be defined as resulting from miserliness for incapacity of the host. Ability or inability of hosts to feed their guests is not a matter to be taken as lightly as it may seem for it may ramify into various implications that can easily be imagined. For example, staying with someone and eating elsewhere does not exactly say well of a very good relationship.[5] Our conclusion, therefore, is that existing trends have tended to promote disorganization of the social relationships of respondents. We interprete the fact of the 18.5% of those who stay with friends having to resort to relatives for some of their meals (Table V.11) to mean a further disorganization of already disorganized networks. Having to stay with a friend is an indication of disorganization of kinship networks as we already know. But having to resort other networks is an indication of further disorganization. We may call this secondary disorganization. Even if the respondent has to resort to earlier abandoned kinship networks, the situation is characterized by secondary disorganization in the sense that the new network is disorganized in the process.

In summary, the majority of respondents veer away from kinship relationships to seek food. The trends portray an irregular pattern thus yielding to the social disorganization theoretical framework. We conducted further probes into

these trends to elicit subtle trends and underlying characteristics which may actually play determining roles in what is apparent to the researcher. In this connection, we tried to measure the attitudes of respondents for the existing conditions may be at variance with what is expected in their circumstances.

A most important variable that cropped up is the question of a hidden dependence on kinship mechanisms for food. As we show in Table V.13 below, 81.6% of all respondents receive, at some intervals, some foodstuffs from home. These are, of course, made up mainly of respondents who do not stay with parents (see Table V.4). Fifty-five per cent of respondents who receive foodstuffs from home take deliveries very often, that is, more than once a month, and only 6.7% take deliveries only very rarely.[6] With the distribution in Table V.13, a qualification of our earlier position is imperative. The earlier picture as depicted in Table V.9 is that 84.2% of all categories of hosts provide some or all the meals of respondents and on the strength of this we went on to suggest that in the light of the fact that most respondents stay with friends, a somewhat definite trend toward disorganization of kinship mechanisms is evident. In fact, this hypothetical formulation appears substantive on the strength of facts on which it is based and we do not intend any change. But now, we are faced by the fact that as much as 55% of respondents mainly outside those who stay with parents receive some inputs of food from their

homes. This could mean a mitigation of the trend toward social disorganization implied by earlier findings and a further complication of the coping mechanisms of unemployed gradues in the city.

Table V.13 Supply of Foodstuffs.

'If you receive foodstuffs from your home (village), please indicate how often'.

Very often	55.0%
Occasionally	21.7%
Sometimes	16.6%
Rarely	6.7%
Total	100.0%
	(N=314)

Table V.14 Attitude Toward Supply Of Foodstuffs from home (village).

'It is awkward having to receive food from home at my status'

Agree	86.0%
Uncertain	1.6%
Disagree	12.4%
Total	100.0%
	(N=314)

One may in fact be tempted or even obliged to wholely reverse our earlier conclusions which tended to strengthen the social disorganization framework. However, we need not go so far first because of the large and significant minority of respondents who do not receive foodstuffs from home or a regular basis. That irregularity is in itself an indication of physical and also social distance from earlier relationships. Secondly, the new evidence amplifies the fact that human beings may not approximate exclusively to the theoretical imputations of sociologists and other social scientists. As indicated earlier in this study, the bipolar theoretical perspectives of social equilibrium and social disorganization may be concurrently at work. And we are here presented with evidence of this fact by respondents who, on the one hand display characteristics of social disorganization and, on the other, approximate to the social equilibrium framework. To the chagrin of ideologues and doctrinnaire theoreticians, functional equilibrium and conflict situations may not be exclusive to themselves. Unemployed graduates thus portray themselves as persons torn between two worlds each of which they may attempt to exploit or distance themselves from in their various attempts to cope with life in unemployment in the city. Having established a distance from and disorganized their earlier status in the kinship order, many respondents find themselves left with no other option than to re-establish relationships with the erstwhile group.

Apparent here are the trapping qualities of graduate unemployment. To vividly illustrate this dilemma, the same group of respondents rated themselves on how they feel about having to receive food aid from home (see Table V.14). A total of 86% of these respondents do not feel elated about receiving food from home. One may surmise that with the level of poverty and hardship in the country, having to support a family member who ought to have ordinarily joined the elite group is difficult for the family. This is moreso for the recipient of food aid who is denied his potential status by the disability of unemployment. He is obliged atimes against his wishes to depend on food supply from home. While therefore we may talk of empiric patterns which indicate continued attachment to kinship links, we should not be unmindful of the involuntary nature of the nexus. The aspirations of the unemployed graduate have potentially disorganizing qualities. Whether this potential will ever be realized is another matter which falls outside the purview of this study. We can only provide an insight to that possibility. Respondents rated themselves on the question of their inability to contribute to their family's welfare instead of being in the receiving end. Their response is an overwhelming disappointment over their current inability to do anything (Table V.15). Two interpretations of this situation are possible. First is that respondents would have been making such contributions were they in a position to do so, an assumption we cannot

investigate in this study. The other interpretation is that their dependent status has engendered a feeling of gratitude and willingness or urge to reciprocate kind gestures if only to enhance their humbled status, an argument which is explored later when we examine the implications of our findings for the social exchange theory. All that may be said for now is that the distributions in Table V.15 strengthen the perceived bifurcated existence and

Table V.15 Attitude on Non-contribution to Family Welfare

'It is quite disappointing not being able to contribute to family's welfare'

Agree	94.5%
Uncertain	0.0%
Disagree	5.5%
Total	100.0%
	(N=385)

instrumental posture of the unemployed graduate. Rather than assume that unemployed persons would render help to their family were they employed, a not altogether spurious assumption, it should be borne in mind that the mechanical disposition toward their families is only aspirational and probably borne out of gratitude. All the same, the potential this has for

re-establishing social equilibrium at the same time cannot be ignored.

Such a potential is vitiated, albeit in a subtle manner, by the existing sources of income of respondents. As we can see in Table V.16 below, their prime source of income is a mixed bag (38.7%). In relation to the oblique coping trends portrayed in our examination of data above, respondents, once again, retreat from kinship networks. This assumption is not blind to the fact that a fraction of those grouped under miscellaneous sources of income may be receiving from parents and relatives. Nevertheless, the fraction of those who solely depend on parents and relatives (16.9%) is minute. We may enter into the dialectic position that a majority of those grouped under miscellaneous sources may, in fact, be receiving stipends from parents and relatives but the proof of such an argument is neither here nor there. Therefore, respondents, on this count, appear to maintain a distance from kinship networks. What is more, 35.8% of all respondents generate some income for themselves, an indication of their drive for independence and abhorence of existing conditions. Of course, we must consider this fact along with their job hunt efforts. The independence being sought through casual or odd jobbing is not just from their dependent status as unemployed persons, but may also be from the tedium of continued obligation to rely on kinship for succour. Furthermore, the comparatively slight dependence on

friends as a source of income may be seen as a plus in their struggle for independence. It is also an indication that the burden on friends may be slight. In Table V.17, we see that even the financial assistance from parents and relatives is anything but constant. Although we could surmise that in these hard times only a few parents or relatives may afford to be overly generous with cash gifts, it is quite possible that respondents exercise some restraint in their demands if only to retain a modicum of their potential status as graduates. Notwithstanding this possibility, since only 9.3% of the category of respondents under reference rarely receive money from parents or relatives, we conclude that, for them, benefactors may be under constant pressure to provide for respondents. The recipients, on the other hand, may also be under stress in having to be on the receiving end. This much is borne out by data in Table V.18 below, where we see that a total of 82.7% of respondents who receive stipends from parents and relatives are not exactly excited about the fact. In addition, data summarized in Table V.15 which show that respondents are quite disappointed at not being able to contribute to family welfare is a substantiation of this fact. As before, this situation leaves us in no doubt about the disposition of respondents toward alienation from coping mechanisms connected with kinship. Yet, this must remain only a potential likelihood in view of the fact that, for now, they are obliged to rely on

Table V.16 Sources of Income

Parents/Relatives	16.9%
Friends	8.6%
Casual/Odd Jobbing	35.8%
Miscellaneous	38.7%
Total	100.0%
	(N=385)

Table V.17 Frequency of Financial Assistance From Parents/Relatives

Very often	28.0%
Occasionally	38.7%
Sometimes	24.0%
Rarely	9.3%
Total	100.0%
	(N=75)

Table V.18 Attitude Toward Financial Assistance From Parents/Relatives

'It is rather awkward having to depend on parents/relatives for money to sustain me'.

Agree	82.7%
Uncertain	6.7%
Disagree	10.6%
Total	100.0%
	(N=75).

such networks. It is pertinent to observe that this obligation has not included village associations since no respondent has received any stipend from such organizations. However, these realities refer to only 16.9% of the study sample which depends entirely on parents and relatives for monetary income as shown in Table V.16. A majority relies mainly (though not exclusively) on non-kin mechanisms. In conclusion therefore, from a panorama, the pendulum swings in the direction of social disorganization.

V.B5 Summary

From the empirical evidences examined in the preceding section, our unemployed graduates apparently depend, to a very large extent, on their hosts for meals. This statement remains unqualified mainly for respondents who stay with parents. For others who stay with friends, we saw that the involvement of hosts in the provision of meals vary. To contribute to their own personal welfare, respondents receive food and money supplements from home, a condition which entrenches their dependence and also fires their wish for freedom from such entrapments. Many respondents were not surprisingly found to engage in casual or odd jobbing in pursuit of personal welfare and independence.

The empiric patterns show that different theoretical

orientations may explain the positions of respondents. For example, the lot of those staying with parents and relatives is definitely explicable by the social equilibrium theory. This is in the sense that they have continued to stay with and subsist on kinship networks. But for respondents who stay with friends, the trend is not as simple although, by way of generalizing, one may validly conclude that our unemployed graduates are in a large measure estranged from kin-based relationships and are therefore socially disorganized. First and foremost, the fact of their residence with friends, as we pointed out in section V.B2, bears this out. Secondly, their pattern of feeding is anything but uniform, a fact that could translate into poor feeding, poor health and general stress in addition to taking steam off job hunt. Because of the precarious life style, unemployed graduates have become very instrumental and we may not be encouraged to interprete any recourse to kinship networks as indicative of functional equilibrium. From our data we should rather see our respondents as persons in a condition of stress forced to cling to any life line. As a matter of fact, the ambition to be emancipated from the trappings of mechanical solidarities of the kin-based social order is no where in doubt.

Notes

[1]We use friends in this study to refer to persons who have no kinship relations with respondents.

[2]The operational definition of an ethnic area for our purposes is watered down to mean a local government area since, it appears to me, the local government area approximates to subcultural and also especially linguistic boundaries (at least in terms of dialects). Although no question was asked on ethnic origins, the fact that all respondents filled out Anambra and Imo states as their states of origin is enough indication that we have a predominantly or exclusively Igbo sample.

[3]This line of argument has been followed by Eipstein (1958) among others. See section II.A.3b of this thesis.

[4]A good summary of the controversy is presented by Sanda (1976). The essays in the volume also contain a short but useful bibliography.

[5]On the other hand, it is arguable that by eating elsewhere, respondents ease the burden on their hosts and thereby strengthens their relationship. Eating elsewhere may also be an arrangement entered into prior to respondents' tenure.

[6]Items in Tables V.13 and V.17 are operationalized as follows:

Very often - More than once every month or once monthly.
Occasionally - Every other month or quarterly.
Sometimes - Yearly or twice a year
Rarely - Every other year or less frequent.

CHAPTER VI

PATTERNS OF ASSOCIATION AND GENERAL DISPOSITIONS

CHAPTER VI

PATTERNS OF ASSOCIATION AND GENERAL DISPOSITIONS

VI.A Introduction

Our concern in this chapter is to examine the implications of our earlier findings and analyses in the two preceding chapters for the overall social life of respondents. If, as some trends indicate, respondents may be said to be socially disorganized in terms of alienation from kin-based social relationships, how has this translated into real day-to-day interpersonal relationships? Have they developed a blasé attitude as would be expected of socially uprooted persons? In other words, have respondents become isolated, apathetic and azoic in their social relationships? These queries do not appear to have simple answers for, as we have already seen, respondents have not exclusively approximated to any single theoretical orientation even though we can reasonably say the pendulum appears to droop in favour of social disorganization.

The subject matter of this chapter is therefore the patterns of social relationships that have emerged from the circumstances of our respondents. Our focus shall then be on the coping patterns we can identify with regards to their social relationships.

Unemployment and resultant helplessness of respondents may lead to behaviour patterns which translates into cynicism, apathy and general pessimism about the future opportunities as

we have already imputed, a matter which additional data in the next chapter will re-emphasize. Have these legacies of the lot of respondents any potential for a violent disposition as the ideas of Fanon (1967), Gutkind (1968) and Worsley (1972) would lead us to expect? Or have their circumstances brought about conservative docility as Weiner (1967) and Nelson (1970) would be inclined to suggest? Whatever direction data will point to will show us the coping patterns or sequence of respondents outside the preoccupations with food and other basic necessities of life. Indeed it appears to us that coping with social life outside the issues we examined earlier is a crucial key to understanding the world of our respondents.

VI.B Patterns Of Association And Interpersonal Relationships

Data which relate to the patterns of association of our respondents bear them out as largely isolated persons. In Table VI.1 below for example, we notice that a total of 94.3% of all respondents now keep to themselves more than before they became unemployed. Although we may validly draw conclusions from this huge percentage, we should recall that only 18.2% of all respondents ever had previous employment (see Figure V.1a). Those that joined the unemployment queue from NYSC or directly from college may be expected to keep more to themselves since the atmosphere of camaraderie provided by school and Youth

Table VI.1 Dimensions of Association

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
1. I keep to myself now more than before unemployment	94.3%	3.6%	2.1%	100.0% (N=385)
2. I am now closer to my friends	0.0%	6.5%	93.5%	100.0% (N=385)
3. I have seen less of my unemployed friends	96.1%	3.4%	0.5%	100.0% (N=385)

Service is truncated. The fact that 93.2% of all respondents had more friends before becoming unemployed is further testimony to this idea. Therefore the trend depicted in that distribution may be a function of the fact that respondents now have less friends. But this is only part of the existing situation. If respondents now have less friends than before they became unemployed, then they have tended to distance themselves from these few friends as the second distribution in Table VI.1 shows. To further buttress this notable trend of estrangement from friends, 96.1% of all respondents actually see less of their unemployed friends (see the last distribution in Table VI.1). This distribution may however be seen as a reflection of the fact that a majority of respondents stay with their employed friends, a situation which weakens the

supposed estrangement from friends; that is, if we assume that they see more of employed friends. The full strength of the assumption is however restored if the data in the last distribution in Table VI.1 are seen as referring more to friends beyond the host whom respondents perhaps see everyday. All the same, such considerations do not apply to respondents who do not stay with friends.

Seen in relation to earlier findings, these antigregarian tendencies acquire additional significance. For example, 94% of all respondents, on the one hand, do not belong to village associations while, on the other, 74.5% do not believe such associations can be helpful (see Table V.5). This may be seen as a reflection of the fact that most respondents are alienated from kin-based relationships in their residential patterns. However, such alienation is tempered somewhat by the feeding patterns and the sources of income of respondents examined in section V.B4. Also, as we see in Table VI.2, respondents who stay with friends actually maintain some form of relationships with their roots through periodic visits.[1] Although we may interprete this to imply a re-establishment of kinship networks and its implications for functional equilibrium, it is an additional evidence of secondary disorganization since it involves disorganization of a relationship built on the wreck of an earlier one. Even if we assume that the earlier relationship may not exactly be in ruins, the establishment of additional networks probably depicts a weakening of existing

Table VI.2 Contact With Home

'How often do you visit home?'

Very often	38.0%
Occasionally	22.3%
Sometimes	20.4%
Rarely	19.3%
Total	100.0%
	(N=314)

patterns. To this extent we may validly talk of secondary disorganization. The extent and strength of the 'new' networks in the city constitute another issue altogether. Whereas we have noted that respondents have generally tended to shy away from kin-based relationships, we do not have any evidence of the growth of a social network that may be comparable in strength to earlier ones from which respondents are in retreat. For example, our respondents do not form an 'in-group'. Apart from seeing less of their unemployed friends, none of them is a member of the recently inaugurated Association of Unemployed Graduates (AUG). In fact all respondents feel that the AUG cannot serve any useful purpose. This is an indication of helplessness and resignation akin to the conservatism imputed by Weiner (1967) and Nelson (1970).

Having made a tactical withdrawal from kin-based relationships, made less friends and being isolated from each other,

respondents may be said to be a unique group in itself. In the last section of this chapter where we summarize respondents' general dispositions, we note that the cynicism and pessimism earlier alluded to extend to the issue of respondent alienation from each other. An explanation of this alienation is that respondents probably seem themselves as beggarly persons who should rather go about their business in anonymity. Unemployed graduate is an undignifying and degrading status with which respondents may hardly want to identify let alone advertise through AUG. Job hunt is therefore best prosecuted in anonymity with the aim of shedding the label of unemployed graduate in the shortest possible time.

In sum, it is obvious that in the process of coping with their 'acquired' status, respondents may be said to have withdrawn to themselves and become 'social islands' in the city. Their discernible tendency to maintain links with 'home', though outside our terms of reference, is even an evidence of further disorganization. The isolation of our respondents in the city may, however, be seen in relative terms. Because of the moral density and organic nature of social relationships in the city, the networks of our respondents have logically become diffuse. In other words, the patterns of association of our respondents reflect the mode of city life in general and therefore a revalidation of the postulation of the Chicago School. Before going into further details on the theoretical import of the empiric data on these matters, let

us see how the variables depicting isolation of our respondents correlate.

In Table VI.3, we see that a majority of respondents fall within the categories of those who have kept to themselves now more than they did before becoming unemployed and those who feel their present circumstances make them feel rejected. We also see that among respondents who are uncertain whether or not they feel rejected, everyone keeps to himself more now than he did before joining the unemployment pool. Another very significant correlation in Table VI.3 is that even among the few respondents who do not feel rejected by their present circumstances (4.7% of all respondents), a majority of 83.3% keeps to themselves now more than before unemployment. A variant of this table is presented in Table VI.4 where we see that the majority of respondents (90.3%) fall within the category of those who have seen less of their unemployed friends and who feel rejected. Only 4.7% of all respondents see less of their unemployed friends and at the same time do not feel rejected as a result of their present circumstances in life. Even more interesting here is that the 4.7% who do not feel rejected, make up all respondents in that category. In other words, we do not have respondents who have continuted to see their unemployed friends and at the same time do not feel rejected. Notice also that among those who are uncertain whether they feel rejected or not, no respondent has continued to see unemployed

Table VI.3 Dimension of Self Isolation By Disposition of Respondents

I now keep to myself more.

Present circumstances make me feel rejected	Yes	Uncertain	No	Total
Yes	95.0% 94.4% 88.8%	3.1% 78.6% 2.9%	1.9% 87.5% 1.8%	93.5% (n=3 0)
Uncertain	85.7% 1.7% 1.6%	14.3% 7.1% 0.3%	-	1.8% (n=7)
No	83.3% 4.1% 3.9%	11.1% 14.3% 0.5%	5.6% 12.5% 0.3%	4.7% (n=18)
Total	94.3% (n=363)	3.6% (n=14)	2.1% (n=8)	100.0% (N=385)

friends and at the same time do not feel rejected. Notice also that among those who are uncertain whether they feel rejected or not, no respondent has continued to see unemployed friends. In the next table (Table VI.5) where we introduce the obverse of relationship with friends, it is clear that the trend in tables VI.3 and VI.4 is fruther borne out. A majority of respondents fall within the category who have not grown closer to their friends and who feel rejected as a result of their present circumstances. As a matter of fact, no respondent falls within the

Table VI.4 Dimension of Isolation From Employed Friends By Disposition of Respondents

Present circumstances make me feel rejected	I have seen less of my unemployed friends: Yes	Uncertain	No	Total
Yes	96.7% 94.1% 90.3%	2.8% 76.9% 2.6%	0.5% 100.0% 0.5%	93.5% (n=360)
Uncertain	57.1% 1.1% 1.0%	42.9% 23.1% 0.8%	-	1.8% (n=7)
No	100.0% 4.9% 4.7%	-	-	4.7% (n=18)
Total	96.1% (n=370)	3.4% (n=13)	0.5% (n=2)	100.0% (N=385)

Table VI.5 Dimension of Closeness to Friends By Disposition of Respondents

Present circumstances make me feel rejected	Closer to Friends Now: Uncertain	No	Total
Yes	5.8% 84.0% 5.5%	94.2% 94.2% 88.1%	93.5% (n=360)
Uncertain	42.9% 12.0% 0.8%	57.1% 1.1% 1.0%	1.8% (n=7)
No	5.6% 4.0% 0.3%	94.4% 4.7% 4.4%	4.7% (n=18)
Total	6.5% (n=65)	93.5% (n=360)	100.0% (N=385)

category of those who have grown closer to their friends and at the same time feel rejected or otherwise by their circumstances in life. We may like to note that only 4.4% of respondents have grown closer to their friends and who also do not feel rejected by their present circumstances.

The trends in Tables VI.3, VI.4 and VI.5 are clear indications that the distributions in Tables VI.1 and VI.2 are not mere chance occurrences. Further validation of these trends is offered by distributions in Tables VI.8, VI.9, VI.10 and VI.11 presented in the next section of this chapter. Having thus validated our deduction that respondents have been pushed into some form of isolation, we now go back to the implications for sociological theory and the rationale for the development.

First, let us consider if we should concede that respondents' social relationships appear and may actually be diffuse in response to urban organic solidarity. But we must recall a basic rule of social life which holds that the more isolated an individual becomes the less dependent he tends to be. Social isolation therefore conduces to independence and reduces responsibility. Because a crucial purpose of employment is the attainment of independence and accompanying dignity, the isolation of our respondents becomes a mechanism for ensuring a modicum of independence and dignity. Furthermore, because they are of little means, isolation may be seen to constitute a way of reducing responsibility in whatever form.

Therefore, the idea of a seeming diffuseness of the social relationships of respondents may actually be a reflection of real isolation. The end of reduction of dependence of which isolation is a means may be a result of balancing of exchange relations. Not being in a position to reciprocate favours and benefits, respondents may have resorted to one of the methods of reducing subordination, dependence and concommitant indebtedness, namely, avoidance of relationships of inequality.[2] We shall return to the implications of social isolation for the social exchange theory in our final chapter. Recourse to kin-based relationships thus becomes a mechanism of avoiding relations which entail subordination in the city.

Alienation from other unemployed persons may be interpreted with the above rationale. Other unemployed persons are probably not attractive because such a relationship may be of little or no benefit to respondents. 'An individual is attracted to another if he expects associating with him to be in some way rewarding to himself' (Blau, 1964:20). The instrumentalism of respondents is once again brought to the fore. Avoiding other unemployed persons and going back to relatively unimportant or relegated erstwhile relationships are to be considered in this light.

VI.C General Dispositions

As earlier stated, our respondents are dependent individuals

leading isolated lives in the city. More specifically, we noted their cynicism toward government, its agencies and programmes and also their dependence and negativism about future prospects. Our task in this section is to explicate these trends and examine the implications for our respondents and unemployed persons in general.

Let us take respondent cynicism as a starting point. This disposition may be regarded as a direct consequence of respondents' feeling that unemployment is a result of ineffective national policies. In Table VI.6, we see that 92.5% of all respondents do not believe that graduate unemployment is a global trend thereby placing the problem and blame squarely on domestic policies. To buttress the negative assessment of and disposition toward government, we only need to recall respondents' negative rating of DFRRI and NDE. We may conclude that our respondents form a social aggregate, a veritable group in itself which has a hostile disposition toward government. However, it does not seem as if this disposition has translated into any hostile action against the object of hostility, that is, the government. In fact as we have stated, respondents appear to be isolated persons struggling in anonymity to secure jobs. Is there any potential for hostile or subversive action by respondents? Even opponents of Marx must concede to an affirmative answer to this query. Although our respondents appear docile and conservative, there can be no doubt

that persons who share a negative disposition are easily mobilizeable for actions which will usher in a new dispensation or, at least, better their lot. If respondents are as instrumental as they seem, then the possibility of mobilizing them for a change of their circumstances should be a foregone conclusion.[3] The fact that they lack group consciousness and therefore constitute a group in itself need not negate this potential. Indeed any mass action will tend to reveal the strength inherent in coming together. Group consciousness will then emerge only when the potential strength of the social aggregate is demonstrated. Therefore while we agree with Weiner (1967) and Nelson (1970) that unemployed persons may be conservative and docile, there is no doubt that, being volatile persons on account of their status, they can be easily mobilized for subversive or other hostile activity against government whom they hold, justifiably or not, responsible for their undignifying fate. That our group of respondents is youthful, highly educated and consequently idealistic would strengthen their potential for the translation of hostile disposition to hostile activity.

From the above, we are left with the glaring fact that respondents are alienated from the authorities of the land. But their alienation goes farther than this. As we have already seen in the previous section, respondents are alienated from other unemployed persons thereby making them a mere aggregate unconscious of

Table VI. 6 Disposition Toward Government

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
1. Graduate unemployment is a global trend	3.6%	3.9%	92.5%	100.0% (N=385)
2. Graduate unemployment is a result of ineffective policy	100.0%	-	-	100.0% N=385)

Table VI.7 General Disposition

'My present circumstances make me feel rejected by society'.

Agree	93.5%
Uncertain	1.8%
Disagree	4.7%
Total	100.0% (N=385)

members[4]. Respondents are also, at least in a general sense, alienated from kin-based relationships even though they have had to revert to such network mainly for food and money. Even this empiric reality is detestable for respondents would rather be independent as we have also seen. A culmination of this detestation is that respondents feel rejected by society (see Table VI.7).

Moreover, respondents are not exactly satisfied with their present residences and may on account of this be said to be alienated from their hosts. We also saw that respondents feel bad about being on the receiving end of generosities and are, very importantly, alienated from their rural homes. The suggestion that respondents are alienated from kinship networks may be retained on these grounds.

On the long run, respondents may be taken, in Marxian analysis, to be alienated from themselves. This is a readily arguable deduction. Respondents are certainly disappointed about their present status and are thus struggling to become employed. They have all failed to join the AUG and none feels it can be of any useful purpose. Therefore, they detest identifying themselves with unemployment. In essence they refuse to acknowledge their own reality.

In Table VI.5 above and Tables VI.8 and VI.9 below we present correlations of empiric trends in the life of our respondents which bear out the rationale of their isolation and alienation. In table VI.8 for example, we see that the majority of respondents (88.1%) feels rejected and have isolated themselves from unemployed friends. A feeling of rejection appears to be the independent variable here for whatever relationships respondents may develop toward their friends could be a function of it. Earlier in Table VI.6, we saw that respondents could be said to feel awkward

Table VI.8 Feeling About Present Accommodation By Disposition of Respondents

Present circumstances make me feel rejected	Its awkward Having to be Hosted: Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Agree	83.1% 92.2% 77.7%	4.2% 100.0% 3.9%	12.8% 100.0% 11.9%	93.5% (n=360)
Uncertain	100.0% 2.2% 1.8%	-	-	1.8% (n=7)
Disagree	100.0% 5.6% 4.7%	-	-	4.7% (n=18)
Total	84.2% (n=324)	3.9% (n=15)	11.9% (n=46)	100.0% (N=385)

Table VI.9 Feeling About Present Accommodation By Dimensions of Isolation

I keep more to my self now.	Its Awkward Being Hosted: Agree	Disagree	Total
Agree	88.4% 94.7% 83.4%	11.6% 91.3% 10.9%	94.3% (n=363)
Uncertain	92.9% 3.8% 3.4%	7.1% 2.2% 0.3%	3.6% (n=14)
Disagree	62.5% 1.5% 1.3%	37.5% 6.5% 0.8%	2.1% (n=8)
Total	88.1% (n=339)	11.9% (n=46)	100.0% (N=385)

Table VI.10 Perceived Host's Attitude By Disposition of Respondents

Host Only Tolerates Me.

Present circumstances make me feel rejected	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Agree	13.1% 79.7% 12.2%	20.0% 92.3% 18.7%	66.9% 97.2% 62.6%	93.5% (n=360)
Uncertain	28.6% 3.4% 0.5%	42.8% 3.8% 0.8%	28.6% 0.8% 0.5%	1.8% (n=7)
Disagree	55.5% 16.9% 2.6%	16.7% 3.8% 0.8%	27.8% 2.0% 1.3%	4.7% (n=18)
Total	15.3% (n=59)	20.3% (n=38)	64.4% (n=248)	100.0% (N=385)

in their present residences. This fact is re-emphasized in Table VI.9 where it is clear that most respondents (77.7%) who feel awkward having to stay wherever they are also feel rejected as a result of their circumstances in life. Respondents' isolation is also borne out in Table VI.10. Here 83.4% of all respondents feel awkward about their residential patterns and keep to themselves now more than before becoming unemployed. Isolation in this sense becomes a mechanism for coping with an unwholesome or detestable situation.

Alienation as pervasive as we have just seen may have far reaching consequences on respondents. In fact, such alienation bear the potential of engendering socially pathological dispositions. Alienation and attendant hostility toward government are in themselves evidences of social pathology. So also are other manifestations of alienation which we have considered. But our concern is the potential of alienation translating into other socially dangerous actions or situations. Resignation which may result from alienation could, for example, worsen the lot of any person. Such person may seek solace in drugs and eventually end up a mental patient. Several other scenarios can easily be imagined.

However, there is at least one prevailing condition which mitigates the alienation of respondents. This is the fact that they are in good rapport with their hosts whoever they are (see

Table VI.6). Such good relationship offers some stability and hope for respondents even if, as we can see in Table VI.10, the majority who get on well with their host also feel rejected as a result of their lot in society.

VI.D Summary

In their various efforts to cope with life in unemployment, respondents have consciously or unconsciously become isolated persons in the city. Physical and social distances have emerged between respondents and both kinship relations and newer acquaintances. A most interesting aspect of this isolation is that they are isolated from one another. Thus, in Marxian analysis, our respondents can be said to constitute a group in itself since no consciousness exists among them as a group. On the whole, respondents may validly be described as being alienated from government which they hold responsible for their uneviable circumstances, the society at large and, ultimately, from themselves. Even if they appear conservative and docile, their dispositions make them potentially amenable for mobilization for any action that may improve their lot. Such a mobilization may reveal the strength inherent in group action and breed consciousness among them as a group. The prospects of mobilization may therefore transform our respondents from a mere statistical aggregate to a group for itself.

Notes

[1]Distributions in Table VI.2 may be operationalized as in Tables V.13 and V.17. See Note 4 in Chapter V.

[2]Gouldner (1960) has dwelt on the 'norms of reciprocity' through which individuals seek to maintain balance in social exchange transactions.

[3]cf. Fanon (1967); Gutkind (1968); Worsley (1972).

[4]Respondents are however very self conscious of their present predicament and loss of status and have consequently withdrawn to themselves.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHALLENGE OF SELF EMPLOYMENT

CHAPTER VII

THE CHALLENGE OF SELF EMPLOYMENT

VII.A Introduction

The major preoccupation of our respondents, as we may expect, is the search for formal employment. With the dessication of employment opportunities both in the public and private sectors of the economy which has followed the wake of overall economic downturn, it appears unemployment will remain with us for a long time to come and may even get worse. This prognosis assumes that the formula of national development which generates and tolerates unemployment will remain unchanged which is, indeed, a very fortuitous assumption. For now, it appears that the prevailing development strategies will either not throw up new employment opportunities or will do so only at an infinitesimal rate which will leave the problem of unemployment largely unsolved. Our respondents seem to appreciate this likelihood hence their notable pessimism on the prospects of employment as pointed out in section V.B2 and elsewhere in this thesis. One would be led by this trend to expect that unemployed graduates may be forced to explore self employment as a viable alternative to unemployment.

In apparent allusion to the bleak employment prospects in the country, the federal government inaugurated the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) in 1987. A

principal programme of this body is the creation of jobs through self employment. It has designed short entrepreneurship training schemes which qualify recipients to small loans to set up their own businesses. Under another of NDE's programmes known as the Graduate Employment Scheme, persons engaged are paid a monthly stipend of ₦200 thus consigning such employment to mere euphemism.

This chapter is devoted to considering the positions of our respondents on the issue of self employment. We shall explore the factors militating against self employment and why, in the face of bleak employment prospects and articulated attitudinal pessimism, respondents seem to persist on job hunt.

We introduced the challenge of self employment into our study objective in view of its potentially crucial place in the life of unemployed graduates. On the long run, if current national development trends are anything to go by, self employment may become the deus ex machina for unemployed graduates, a veritable cornerstone which will determine their destiny. This study would be somewhat incomplete without a focus on a challenge which seems to be gaining popularity as a result of the impotence of the economy in regards to employment generation. In fact, self employment has become such a vogue that one now incessantly hears of functional education by which is meant education that guarantees recipients an employment. We might even dare to suggest that many persons who probably know better have fallen to the

scapegoating hypocrisy of blaming unemployment on education. In pursuance of the task for this chapter, our analysis focuses on the empiric and attitudinal dimensions of the challenge of self employment. Special emphasis is given to the potentials of the agricultural sector in view of its avowed general and officially sanctioned importance.

VII.B Obstacles To Self Employment

Quite a number of factors were identified by respondents as the chief obstacles in their way of establishing a personal enterprise (see Table VII.1). The most prominent obstacle is the capital to finance such projects. Given the widespread financial difficulties prevalent in the country, we are not surprised at this development. If monies for routine expenditures have been problematic as we saw in section V.B4, then capital for establishment of business ventures will only be more so. Because, for a majority of respondents, capital is the single most prominent obstacle, it is logical to expect that once money becomes available, respondents will establish their own self employment schemes and leave the labour market. Were the matter restricted just to money, graduate unemployment would probably have a unidimensional explanation. But this is not the case. As indicated in Table VII.1, 16.9% of

respondents perceive themselves as not having the appropriate skills for establishing business enterprises. Coming from the respondents themselves, this becomes quite an interesting distribution. Earlier in Table V.2, we saw that at least 63% of

Table VII.1 Obstacles To Self Employment Scheme

(a)	Lack of capital	55.1%
(b)	Lack of skills	16.9%
(c)	(a) and (b)	23.6%
(d)	Lack of interest	4.4%
	Total	100.0%
		(N=385)

all respondents have qualifications in the humanities including the social sciences. Since graduates in the arts disciplines form the single largest category, the logical expectation would be that lack of technical skills may be a major obstacle militating against the possibility of establishing self employment schemes. Indeed, this is a most popular assumption which, it would appear, has informed the NDE in its emphasis on skill acquisition. As a matter of fact, government's views approximate to this position.[1] Without doubt, technical skills which almost invariably exhaust official definition of skills in these matters,

is something to be wished for. Government's assiduous efforts to promote such skills are therefore, without altercation, praiseworthy. But such skills in themselves do not create self employment and our respondents' position appears to align with this reasoning. The spirit of enterprise, industrial sociologists and psychologists would agree, lies with the ability to take risks. Entrepreneurship may not be said to be lacking among our respondents and that mental virus is perhaps, not a function of course of study. Therefore, whereas specialist courses in scientific and technical fields are necessary, they cannot constitute sufficient conditions for the decision to establish a business and guarantee success of it. Neither, we dare suggest, can specialist business education be sufficient. In this regard, the position of 4.4% of respondents who do not have any interest in business becomes more important than the question of technical skills. These respondents do not necessarily lack the skill but the will. In order of gravity, lack of capital is definitely the chief obstacle confronting our respondents in the matter of creating employment for themselves. Respondents who identified both lack of capital and lack of skills as their problems may, for the purposes of this ranking, be lumped together although it is clear that capital will be more prominent if they are separated. In line with our analysis we are inclined to rank lack of interest as the next most crucial obstacle in spite of the

distribution in Table VII.1 which ranks lack of skills next to lack of capital. In the light of earlier statements this disposition is not as illogical as it may appear. For, if respondents are skilled technically but have little or no inclination to business, they will almost certainly remain in the unemployment pool even if abundant capital were made available for business ventures. We are thus left with lack of skill as the least single disabling factor. Our ordering may seem curious as it apparently relegates the problem of lack of skills. The ordering however need not be extrapolated to negate official emphasis on skill acquisition. It should rather be interpreted to mean that lack of skills does not operate in isolation and therefore should be considered as only a part of the obstacles militating against entrepreneurship.

Let us now examine how these obstacles correlate with one another to see if the distributions in Table VII.1 and our deductions thereof form a trend. In Table VII.2 below, we present a crosstabulation of the positions of respondents with regards to the problems of lack of capital and inclination to business. A clear pattern which corroborates our earlier deductions emerges. A huge majority of respondents identify capital as the obstacle. In fact 97.3% of respondents who blame the absence of capital make up 83.5% of respondents who say the problem is not any lack of interest in business. On the whole, respondents who fall

Table VII.2 Capital As Obstacle By Inclination to Business

Capital as the obstacle to business	Inclination To Business: Not inclined	Uncertain	Inclined	Total
Yes	27.5% 35.7% 2.2%	-	97.3% 83.5% 77.3%	79.5% (n=182)
No	19.1% 64.3% 3.9%	6.4% 100.0% 1.3%	74.5% 16.5% 15.3%	20.5% (n=47)
Total	6.1% (n=14)	1.3% (n=3)	92.6% (n=212)	100.0% (N=229)

within these categories make up a total of 77.3% of respondents under reference, that is, the group of respondents who separately identified lack of interest in business and lack of capital as obstacles in the way to business ventures. We may like to notice that even among respondents who do not have interest in business, there is a sizeable percentage who still perceive lack of capital as an obstacle. Further, in correlating inclination to business with the issue of lack of skill, a similar pattern which we may interprete as taking emphasis away from the obstacle of lack of skill emerges (see Table VII.3). In this table, the majority of respondents (74.4%) fall within the category who do not lack skill and are inclined to business. It goes without saying that, for

this group, the problem will have to be finance or some unforeseeable variable. Note that even among the few respondents who lack appropriate skill for setting up a business, we have a sizeable percentage who are inclined to business.

The foregoing portrays the interplay of forces that militate against self employment ventures by our respondents. However, the analysis cannot be left at this. It should be pointed out that the variables we have examined here need not be seen as exhausting all possible obstacles to self employment. Indeed, there could be unforeseeable and fortuitous conditions which may either enhance or impede any effort toward self employment. For example, someone may have the skill, capital and interest but other factors of production may be lacking. We may also imagine the possible influences of political, legal and other social variables on the potential entrepreneur and the business world in general.

An important adjunct to our analysis here is the lack of confidence in the NDE, a body set up to help unemployed persons secure jobs. Only 16.6% of all respondents think the NDE will ever succeed in containing unemployment. 82.4% do not have any such hope while the rest (making up a meagre 1.0%) are unsure whether or not the NDE will succeed. Such cynicism or pessimism is echoed by the reluctance of many unemployed graduates to register with the NDE, a factor which necessitated a multiple sampling procedure in this study (see section III.3). None of

Table VII.3 Lack of Skills By Lack of Capital

	Inclination to Business			
	Not inclined	Uncertain	Inclined	Total
Yes	56.3% 64.3% 11.0%	18.6% 100.0% 3.7%	25.0% 6.6% 4.9%	19.5% (n=16)
No	7.6% 35.7% 6.1%	-	92.4% 93.8% 74.4%	80.5% (n= 66)
Total	17.1% (n=14)	3.7% (n=3)	79.3% (n=65)	100.0% (N=82)

our respondents has participated in any of the programmes of NDE and for those who registered with the body, failure to participate may not be entirely blamed on their lack of interest or apathy. After registration with NDE, all a candidate needs do is simply to wait to be formally invited. Such invitations, according to state officials of the NDE, depend on the placements available. Our respondents who registered with the NDE had not received the subsequent invitation during our field work. In addition to the low rating of the NDE, all respondents see the ₦200 monthly stipend paid to graduates engaged in its programme as a mere pittance.[2] Whether we can validly label graduates with such low remuneration as employed persons is another question altogether (cf. ILO, 1970; King, 1974).

A final adjunct to the question of obstacles to self employment schemes is the possible relationship between course of study and the duration of respondents in the labour market. We are back again to the notion of the correlationship between unemployment and course of study. In addition to our earlier line of analysis, there is no conclusive evidence that science and technology graduates have found jobs faster than graduates in the humanities (see Table VII.4). The marginally longer period of time spent in the unemployment market by arts graduates is vitiated by the sheer numbers of respondents who are graduates in arts disciplines. Particularly noteworthy is that respondents who have qualifications

Table VII.4 Length of Stay in the Labour Market By Discipline of Study

Highest educational qualification	%	Average Duration in the labour market (Years)
B.A	36.6%	2.2
B.Sc/H.N.D. (Social sciences and allied courses)	26.5	1.9
B.Sc/H.N.D. (Pure and applied science)	35.3	2.0
Postgraduate Qualification (All disciplines)	1.6	1.2
Total	100.0% (N=385)	

in the social sciences have, on the average, spent less time in

the labour market. One pertinent consideration is that this evidence could be due to sampling bias or inadequacy, a suggestion that will be very difficult to prove since such problems were practically eliminated by our procedures (see section III.3). On the other hand, it may be possible that graduates in the social sciences and allied disciplines have generally found jobs faster either through formal or self employment than persons with qualifications in other disciplines. If the latter part of this speculation, namely, that more graduates of the social sciences and allied disciplines have more easily taken to self employment, then the hypothesis of the primacy of technological skills in the creation of self employment is further put to question. We may however rationalize this turn of events where graduates in the pure and applied sciences find it more difficult to get employed. Being a nonindustrial country, science and technology still occupy a back seat in the train of development in Nigeria. It may therefore not be too much of a surprise if graduates in these otherwise prize disciplines find it less easy to secure employment than their counterparts in the sometimes disparaged humanities.[3] Another interesting distribution in Table VII.4 is that respondents with postgraduate qualifications have stayed the least time unemployed. This finding corroborates our earlier observation that graduate unemployment, for the time being, is almost entirely restricted to persons with first degrees or the equivalent.

We now turn in the following section to a matter of special concern in terms official policies and self employment. This is the issue of involvement in agriculture and issues revolving around it.

VII.C Agriculture, Rurality and Urban Commitment

Beginning with the Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) campaign in 1976, Nigeria's agricultural and rural development entered what may be called the Slogan Era, an era currently epitomized by the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI). As the name implies, DFRRI was set up in 1987 to open up and modernize the rural sector of the country as well as promote agricultural production in all its ramifications. Our aim in this section is to explore the attitudes of our respondents toward agriculture and rural life in the light of incessant official campaigns, haranguings and upbraidings. More particularly, we shall explore why they have apparently failed to take to agriculture as a form of self employment. We cap up the section by looking at the implication of all these for respondent's commitment to urban residence.

In Table VII.5 we observe that the distribution is not quite divergent from that in Table VII.1 which dealt with self employment in general. Here as in the earlier case, lack of capital features as the most prominent obstacle to involvement

in agribusiness but this is followed by lack of interest in same.

Table VII.5 Obstacles To Self Employment In Agribusiness

Lack of capital	54.0%
Lack of skill	12.5%
No interest	18.7%
Land constraints	14.8%
Total	100.0%
	(N=385)

Table VII.6 Discipline By Per cent Not Interested In Agribusiness

Discipline	% Not interested
Arts	56.9
Social sciences and allied disciplines	30.6
Pure and applied sciences	9.7
Postgraduate Qualifications (All disciplines)	2.8
	100.0%
	(N=72)

Although when compared with the total sample, respondents who lack interest in agribusiness are near insignificant, the picture changes when they are compared with respondents with other obstacles. Considered in this light, lack of interest becomes

a significant obstacle. Several reasons may account for this lack of interest in agriculture. The first of these is, of course, a general apathy toward agriculture. Such apathy could be explained by the fact that all respondents abhor the tediosity and drudgery of traditional agriculture. And this relates directly with a second possible explanation of the lack of interest in agriculture. Capital for modern agribusiness which may appeal to our respondents is, as we have pointed above, lacking and therefore a problem. Interest may, therefore, ultimately be a function of capital. Moreover, agriculture may imply a movement away from the city to the country, an event which is not being contemplated by any respondent. We shall dwell more on this shortly. What we imply here is that the pariah status of the rural sector may at least partially account for the lack of interest in agribusiness. As a matter of fact, all respondents feel that the rural sector has not witnessed any significant change in spite of DFRRI and official pronouncements to the contrary. Respondents' cynicism toward government actions and institutions re-emerges. We had earlier indicated that only 1.6% of all respondents feel that NDE will succeed in its mission to control unemployment while the stipend paid out by both the NDE and the Anambra State Volunteer Service Scheme (VSS) was condemned as mere pittance. Further, only 25.8% feel that DFRRI is actually improving agriculture and rural life. Considering that our respondents are a pessimistic group as we

have alluded to at different points in our analyses, such cynicism may not be said to be a healthy development in the society especially as it involves persons who are otherwise members of the elite group.

In Table VII.6, we see that lack of interest is almost not discipline-specific although there is a notable skewing which indicates that arts graduates abhor agribusiness more than any other group. Much as this development may not be altogether unexpected, it should be noted that the general picture painted by the table does not highlight the fact that there are more arts graduates than any other group taken singly. Therefore, we cannot confidently conclude from the pattern in that table that interest in agribusiness is definitely discipline-specific. We should however concede that because arts graduates form a large majority among respondents who are not interested in agriculture, course of study may bear some relationship to participation in agriculture. Actually, this deduction is given more strength by the fact that the next largest group of uninterested respondents are graduates of the social sciences and allied disciplines.

Of the last two categories in Table VII.5, respondents who identify land constraints as the obstacle to their taking to agribusiness deserve first mention. Assuming that land shortage is a reality both in the urban and rural areas, we must relate it to the reality of general outcry on land policy in the country.[4]

Moreover, since population density in Nigeria is widely acknowledged to be highest in the location of our empiric research universe, the problem of land shortage should logically be an obstacle to persons interested in agriculture. The surprise however is that only 14.8% of respondents identified land constraints as the obstacle in their way to agribusiness. Probably, this is because land may easily be obtained with financial capital. Land constraints therefore become, at least indirectly, a reflection of lack of capital. In view of our earlier observation that lack of interest in agribusiness may be a function of lack of capital, we conclude that the factor of capital is critical. This leaves us with the category of respondents who lack the appropriate skills for agribusiness. As only 12.5% fall within this category and our sample is dominated by graduates of the humanities, it is deducible that respondents perhaps see agribusiness as a venture which does not require special skills, a belief which is patently erroneous. It may also be possible that respondents who lack the skill may feel that expert hands may readily be hired, a suggestion which is readily arguable. However, in the light of prevailing data, we are constrained to conclude that capital is a real or major obstacle to agribusiness.[5]

A spill-over from the above analysis is the reality of agrophobia and respondents' decided preference for city residence. If, in line with their articulated beliefs, the rural areas are prominent only in their archaism and backwardness, respondents may

not, figuratively speaking, be expected to voluntarily move from the concrete jungle to the real jungle. As we may hypothesize from Adegbola's (1976) averment, the higher one's education, the higher the propensity to urban residence. Since our respondents are highly educated, then urban residence would become a sine qua non. The deduction is not as simplistic as it appears for there are quite a number of what we may call stay factors.[6]

We start by considering the popular assumption that the educational system imposes on people a white collar mentality the actualization of which is only possible in the city. The proof of this formulation appears far fetched. Indeed our data tends to support the obverse tendency, namely, that the urban-based development strategies of the country have condemned the country side to a pariah status. That being so, the products of the modern society will logically be attracted to the modern sector, that is, the city. It is this perspective that gives meaning to the Bright Light theory which holds that people converge in the city to share the benefits of modernity. When the 'bright light' goes to the country side, the 'city mentality' of educated persons will, perhaps, diminish. For now, we are not in any way surprised that no respondent offers to move 'home'[7] to the country side if a job is not forthcoming. There would be very little point in such a venture since all respondents feel there are no jobs out there. Movement to the rural area would also imply a reunion with

kin-based relationships which, on the whole, respondents have tended to establish a distance from.[8] Were jobs to become available, would respondents take up rural residence? 76.4% of all respondents reply in the affirmative leaving out a not too insignificant 23.6%. We say it's not insignificant because one would have expected all respondents to jump at any job opportunity. A caveat on respondent unpredictability is thus introduced, a caveat which is not too difficult to rationalize. Rural backwardness appears culpable. As earlier observed, only 25.8% of all respondents feel that DFRRI is really changing the rural landscape while all respondents feel that despite official statements, rural areas have not changed for the better. Should the fact that 23.6% of all respondents would rather remain unemployed in the city than take up an employment in the country side be construed as a justification of the Bright Light theory? That would not be quite justifiable in the light of our explication of the theory above. The very fact that as much as 23.6% of our respondents will rather not take up employment if it is in the country side bears testimony to respondents' perception of that sector and their commitment to city residence. Such is the paradox of dual economy which condemns rurality even in the face of almost overwhelming urban incapacity. Unemployed graduates and indeed unemployed persons in general will tend to continue to be domiciled

in the city in view of the potential it has for providing jobs and also what may be dubbed the good things of life. With specific reference to our class of respondents, the definition of their urban residence rests on the hypothesis that the higher the amount of education acquired, the brighter the chances of employment which may be found almost exclusively in the city. A Bright Light theory along this line of thought becomes quite logical but by no means a radical novelty. What the surprise is lies entirely with the development strategy which continues to support regional imbalance, betraying a preference inimical to national good.

VII.D Summary

A principal deduction from our analysis of data in this chapter is that respondents have not taken up the challenge of self employment because of the shortage of capital to establish businesses of their own. The schemes of the NDE do not appear to have embraced any significant percentage of unemployed graduates. This limitation is at two levels. First is the graduate employment scheme. Apart from not embracing many qualified candidates, the monthly stipend paid out to beneficiaries of the scheme makes it almost impossible to say they are really employed. The second limitation is that the programme which provides retraining and finance capital for

for graduates to establish businesses of their own has also left out many qualified candidates as our respondents seem to have no aversion to business. In this connection, it is pertinent to point out that respondents do not see themselves as lacking business skills in spite of the fact a majority have qualifications in the humanities. Lack of interest appears to be the least obstacle even in agribusiness where land shortage was identified as an additional constraint. Finally, the Bright Light theory is revalidated but only in the sense of rural archaism and neglect which makes that sector repugnant. Respondents are seen to be committed to city dwelling only because of the potential of city life for realizing their ambitions and acquired status. The position of the minority who would rather stay unemployed in the country side is rationalizable by the reality of rural backwardness. To be sure, the rural sector has been by no means static. But it would seem that rural change has been proceeding at a slow pace that there is still a wide gulf between the rural and the urban sector.

Notes.

[1]Emphasis on 'functional' education has led to the formulation of a new educational policy which, on paper, lays emphasis on technical and vocational education. In pursuance of the skill acquisition fad, the Kwara Polytechnic (among other institutions) has established a graduate retraining scheme under which humanities and allied graduates are taught new skills to promote self employment.

[2]The stipend is now lower than the monthly allowance of Youth Corpers.

[3]Despite all the altercation on science and technology, political expedience has promoted Law into a most sought after course of study in Nigerian universities.

[4]The most prominent of the strident condemnations of the Land Use Act of 1978 which represents Nigeria's land policy have come from the Nigerian Institution of Estate Surveyors and the Hon. George Sowemimo (during his tenure as the Chief Justice of the Federation).

[5]The demonstration effect presented by the involvement of former officers of the Nigerian armed forces in agribusiness amply suggests that special skills in agriculture need not be a necessity. However, in view of the status of our respondents, it is quite plausible to argue that special skills may be important.

[6]Since respondents are already resident in the city, we chose not to call these 'pull' factors although, analytically, that is what they amount to.

[7]Our premise in this study is that urbanites in this country and elsewhere generally have rural origins (cf. Dike, 1979).

[8]This brings to the fore the ambivalence and instrumentalism of unemployed graduates. For while some respondents find it expedient to resort to kinship networks to obtain food supplements, they are at the same time not keen on moving over to their rural homes for any purpose.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

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VIII.A Theoretical Spin-offs From Study

VIII.A1 The Secondary Disorganization Hypothesis

Earlier in section I.F, we considered the possible directions in sociological theory to which our data might lean. Specifically, it was made clear that this study is premised on a two pronged theoretical orientation, namely, the functional social equilibrium theory and the social disorganization model. These two theoretical approaches, we cautioned, need not be construed as being in mutual exclusion or opposition for they could be concurrently operative. Indeed our data bears out this paradox of sociological theory, namely, that conflicting orientations may be exhibited by the same individuals in society.

From the issues examined in the three chapters preceding this section, we are left in no doubt that respondents have generally retreated from kinship relationships. The first instance of this is their urban residence. Going by our basic assumption following Dike (1979) that African urbanites have rural 'homes', urban residence amounts to a break, at least in terms of physical distance, of primary social bonds. A further evidence of the disorganization of the original relationships of our respondents lies in their pattern of residence. They have gravitated toward friends

who originate from different ethnic areas from them. A total of 76.9% of all respondents were found to stay with friends. With regards to attitudinal variables we saw at various points in our analyses that respondents detest their dependence in general but more specifically dependence on kin-based relationships. If these and other evidences considered tend to validate the potency of the social disorganization theory as an appropriate analytical tool for data in this study, it needs to be added that certain other manifestations necessitate a qualification of the theory. Having established a distance from kin-based relationships, a new pattern had to emerge to fill the social vacuum. The new patterns in themselves have not demonstrated any resilience for they quickly yield to pressures of life in the city. Having been forced for various reasons to abandon some old relationships, respondents, in many instances, re-established broken links. This situation is what we have chosen to refer to a secondary disorganization. The initial distance from kin-based relationships therefore amounts to primary disorganization. Secondary disorganization, in other words, describes a situation in which new relationships which were established in replacement of old ones are themselves weakened or disorganized. This 'additional' disorganization has been manifested in some other important way. This is the reality of insecurity of food supplies. The new relationships in the city have failed to guarantee constant full meals thereby necessitating

the re-establishment of hitherto relagated ties with kinship. The near total alienation of our respondents may also be seen as evidence of secondary disorganization. As we deduced in the last chapter, respondents appear alienated from the government, from rurality and primary relationships and also from themselves. This alienation is consequent on primary disorganization. In other words, respondent alienation emerged from their efforts to cope with life in primary disorganization. Secondary disorganization, ipso facto, becomes a coping mechanism of our respondents.

Secondary disorganization as herein postulated is an important evidence of a radical change in urban social relationships. It points to the fact that African urbanity has been accompanied by disorganizing influences which can no longer be ignored. Whether these influences will eventually overwhelm and obliterate the acclaimed strength[1] of the web of kinship in Africa remains to be seen.

VIII.A2 Implications For Social Exchange Theory

This study has dwelt on exchange relationships between respondents and other persons who include parents, relatives and friends. As is generally acknowledged, exchange relations are inherently utilitarian. In other words, individuals act to avoid suffering and maximize pleasance. Individuals will

therefore choose to enact such behaviours which they hope will result in the most favourable outcome for them. In furtherance of the utilitarian content, individuals tend to prefer exchange transactions with persons who are consistent in their support functions to those who are atimes critical and at other times assuring. Another prime assumption in social exchange relations is that individuals tend to feel a greater social distance away from those with whom they are equal or nearly so (Homans, 1974). Furthermore, to the extent that the exchange transactions of our respondents are chiefly in pursuit of self interest, the exchanges are economic. Levi-Strauss (1969) has supplied the label of restricted exchange to such relationships because of their personalized basis.

Data presented and analyzed in earlier chapters and deductions thereof indicate that respondents are engrossed in balancing of the vividly unequal exchange relationships. For favours must be returned if equality and dignity are to be maintained. Without doubt power is rooted in the ability to confer benefits on subordinates. The needs of respondents and the paucity of their resources demand ingenious methods of balancing exchange transactions between them and others. Several such strategems which invariably further the end of reducing benefactors' social power are identifiable. For example the fact that most respondents stay with friends may be a balancing act. Persons who are

overtly superior in status may have been avoided in order to prevent subordination. Supplementary food supplies from respondents' sources is also certainly a way of reducing one-sided exchange relationships and thereby reducing the potential social power of the host over the guest. Feeding from sources other than the host may also be interpreted to amount to avoiding indebtedness through refusal to accept such service from the host. By resorting to relegated kin-based relationships which we identified as evidence of secondary disorganization respondents avoid further subordination and attendant loss of class, status and power in the relationships. In the first case presented in Chapter IV, we noticed that the respondent was full of gratitude to his friend-host. Deference and appreciation which many respondents displayed are strategems of off-setting inequality. But these strategems in themselves establish indebtedness thereby defeating the purpose of reducing inequality or subordination.

Mention should also be made of an 'external system' in the exchange transactions. This is exemplified by the role played by kinship connections in the welfare of respondents. By contributing directly or indirectly to the maintenance of respondents, parents enhance their own status within the family or wider groups.

Finally, job hunt is itself an effort to acquire resources that can be used to provide reciprocal benefits similar in

value. Therefore, job hunt and ultimately, employment approximate to efforts in balancing of social exchange transactions.

VIII.B General Summary And Implications of Findings

VIII.B1 Introduction

Right from the beginning of our data presentation and analysis in Chapter IV, we have ventured many deductions, speculations and conclusions. The possible directions of analyses were themselves presented in section II.B. We were indeed very concerned about the theoretical implications and efforts were made to uncipher the various directions. Our aim in the present and next sections is not to repeat all that we have done but to present a resumé of the overall research background, the issues that have been of interest to us, the strategems adopted for study as well as the major findings and their theoretical underpinnings. It is hoped that in this process concise answers will be provided to our research questions and the overall significance of study will become self evident.

VIII.B2 Summary of Rationale, Objectives and Strategems

Unemployment has gained a looming presence in official policies in this country since the advent of unemployed

graduates into the rank of the unemployed. We considered that the new official consciousness is quite apposite for although graduates may be few when compared with other categories of unemployed persons, the resources expended in training them are enormous. If unemployed graduates are new comers in the scene, then it is only logical that studies on them will either be few or nonexistent. To the best of my knowledge, there are no studies in this country prior to this on unemployed graduates. Existing studies on unemployed school leavers and unlettered persons in poor countries have given the impression that unemployment is not really a serious problem for persons involved. The rationale for this orientation is that such unemployed persons have generally subsisted on widely acclaimed kinship support networks. However, no one is oblivious of the impact of education. Without doubt, education is the most popular and dependable channel of upward social mobility in modern society. Since several studies have associated modern social mobility with movement away from kinship networks, it then becomes essential to see how unemployed graduates, veritable members of the new elite, have managed to cope with life in the city. The city is chosen as our universe of study as city dwelling is itself an indication of mobility away from the rural realm to the modern sector which bears the potential of life fulfilment for our subjects.

It is against this general background that we formulated the

specific and general objectives of this study. The primary objectives as spelled out in section I.C are

(a) to determine the sources of support for shelter, food and basic existential income among unemployed graduates in the city;

(b) to determine if acceptance or resistance of government calls for unemployed persons to move to the rural areas varies with the reasons for city residence;

(c) to determine whether or not unemployed graduates are utilizing official channels for tackling unemployment and identify efforts toward self employment;

(d) to determine the level of interaction among unemployed graduates and ascertain if there is an emerging formal interest group among them.

We also outlined other less substantial objectives which will go a long way in enriching knowledge on the lot of unemployed graduates in the city. Principal among these is the question of the disciplines of our subjects. Our aim here is to test the popular assumption that unemployment may be a function of course of study, itself a result of inappropriate educational curricula. Related to this is the duration of unemployment. A final subsidiary objective which we identified is the place of the various objectives in sociological theory.

In pursuance of the matter of theoretical relevance, we

noted that two mutually inclusive theoretical approaches appear appropriate. These are the theories of functional equilibrium and social disorganization. We cautioned that contrary to the popular tendency to consider the two theories as being strange bedfellows, social life may dictate the concurrent operation of the two.

The above issues were presented in chapter I. We followed in the second chapter with an examination of the relationship between social structure and unemployment. This was carried out through a thoroughgoing review of relevant literature. In appreciation of the fact that employment and unemployment have hitherto been regarded as an exclusive economic variables, specific attention was paid to the conceptualization of unemployment in Economics. This exercise exposed the confounding controversy existing among economists, a controversy that dates back to the crystallization of the discipline. Thereafter, we went ahead to the sociological version of the interplay between unemployment and social structure.

Having thus seen the preoccupation of existing studies, we presented the alternative hypothetical formulations in relation to our primary objectives. The first had to do with the possibility that unemployed graduates may rely more on nonkin than on kinship mechanisms to cope with life in the city. Secondly, we considered the hypothesis that our subjects have failed to

respond to government measures. Another hypothetical formulation we considered is the issue of interaction patterns and the event of group consciousness. The null of these formulations were considered in detail and appropriate research questions were posed. With reference to our subsidiary objectives, we hypothesized on the relationship between unemployment and course of study and the duration of unemployment. As with the formulations on the primary objectives, the nulls of these hypotheses were also considered and appropriate research questions presented.

Throughout our consideration of possible hypotheses derivable from our primary and secondary objectives, reference was made to trends in existing literature. Because of the limited nature of existing studies, we could not extrapolate definite conclusions that may be reached. We therefore had to be content with the possible directions which data for this study may point. Chapter II was rounded off with the operationalization of major concepts in this study.

Detailed descriptions of our study strategies were presented in Chapter III. After specifying our scope of study, we went on to describe our sample and the procedure adopted in arriving at it. Understanding the need to combine what is theoretically desirable with what is practically feasible in scientific research, we were obliged to use both probability and nonprobability procedures to arrive at our final sample. This procedure, we noted, forms

part of triangulation, the combination of methodologies in social research. Our combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis is also part of triangulation in this study, not just a recognition of the nuissance of qualitative analysis used exclusively (Miles, 1979). In continuation of the presentation of methodological issues, we gave a description of our survey instruments and made a special reference to the interview which provided data for the qualitative analysis. After describing the pilot study during which the study instrument was pretested, we noted the data limitations in the entire research.

It is with a firm grasp of our research objectives, procedures and data limitations that we embarked on the analyses of data and presentation of findings from Chapter IV to VII. As we now turn to present the summary of these analyses and major findings below, we must caution that the present exercise cannot be a substitute for the main body of research. Only a reading of of the former can enable a meaningful summary we now present.

VIII.B3 Summary of Analyses and Major Findings

As part of the triangulation approach adopted in this study, the analysis of data collected for this study were separated into two parts. The qualitative data were presented in Chapter IV while chapters V, VI and VII were devoted to the quantitative data. In order not to obscure the wealth of the interview data and

because of the primacy of the interviewee in the interview situation, the qualitative data is separated from and, presented before the quantitative data. We follow this procedure in presenting the summary of the qualitative analysis first.

27.5% of all the interview cases were presented and the focus was limited to their patterns of shelter and feeding. This limitation was informed by two considerations. First was the unwieldy nature of the data and second was the primacy of food and shelter in life. Philosophically speaking, the two may be said to constitute the natural, necessary and sufficient conditions of biological existence.

The cases analyzed include respondents staying with parents, uncles, siblings, spouses and friends. A respondent residing with a friend would not stay with a married sister resident in the same city principally in order to avoid straining the marriage. Respondents staying in uncles' boys quarters welcome their reclusion from the main house and the hosts' families. A respondent sharing an uncle's flat feels estranged and is impatient to get a job and set up his own household. These cases portray respondents as being alienated from kin-based relationships. Whereas the respondents staying with a friend is apparently at ease, the others staying with uncles are notably desirous of establishing their own independent households. One of the respondents in an uncle's boys' quarters feels trapped to the residence as he has no reason to

stay elsewhere away from the father-figure uncle without indirectly indicting him. This is a demonstration of the strength of kinship but we cannot shut our minds to the involuntary nature of the accommodation for our respondent. It is obvious that the respondent is alienated from kin-based relationships although empirically he is trapped in it. This is not the case with respondents staying with parents, siblings and spouses who may be said to be completely at home with their hosts.

From these cases, our deduction was that respondents have been attracted to their hosts because of the latter's relative economic stability, personal relationship, kinship and intensity or closeness of it. There are other intervening variables but we were left in no doubt that only respondents staying with parents, siblings and spouses are not immediately or ultimately desirous of leaving their hosts. Therefore if the host is close enough, respondent's residential pattern would fall within the purview of social equilibrium. The conclusion derivable from this is that alienation from kin-based relationships varies with affinity of such relationships. The nearer the relationship, the less the alienation.

Our separate consideration of female interview respondents introduced an additional dimension to our deduction. Female interview respondents stay with parents, siblings and uncles. No one of these was found to stay with friends and they all displayed a conservative disposition which tended to put considerations on

marriage and 'settling down' ahead of career prospects. No feeling of alienation was articulated among them as was the case of male respondents staying with parents, immediate sibs and spouses. Our observation was that such predisposition on the part of our female respondents is not exactly in tune with the current national campaign to stir the womenfolk into departing from the conservatism of the traditional order. This conservatism perhaps explains the 'avoidance' of friends as choice of hosts among our female respondents.

From our qualitative data, we noted that a general statement for all respondents is not an easy possibility. But luckily, that is not the purpose of case studies. The cases which more or less represent themselves, point to different theoretical possibilities. What we logically deduced with any certainty is that unemployment is a generic factor trapping respondents to relatives and non-relatives alike. From this general deduction, we go on to make some conclusions which our qualitative data bear out. The first is that only male respondents display any alienation from primordial relationships in their residential patterns. Secondly, such alienation is a function of affinity of relationship. Therefore, the nearer the kinship, the less the feeling of alienation. On the other hand, female respondents are still very close to kin-based relationships and there was no articulation of alienation. Our conclusion here is that proximity to kin-based

relationships is a function of social security needs of women. If security therefore becomes the independent variable, female respondents would then take up residence outside kinship networks once it is ensured. Female respondent readiness to take up residence with an affinal kin (a husband) is a reflection of this possibility.

With respect to the patterns of feeding, our preliminary statement was that they bear some relationships to those of residence. This is only in the sense that respondents invariably depend on their hosts for food. For a respondent staying with a friend, food comes from host, sister and ubiquitous canteens. Parents also provide a supplementation with foodstuffs occasionally. Foodstuff supplementation also subsists for all interview respondents other than those staying with parents. Among this latter category of respondents there was, of course, no question of feeding themselves.

These data made us reach a conclusion that save for one interview respondent, kin-based relationships constitute the chief sources of support for respondents in terms of feeding. It is with regards to their aspirations that prevailing trends bear some similarity to the divergent patterns of residence. Here we noticed that some respondents staying with uncles and friends are not quite content with their mode of feeding. They would rather establish their own personal households and feed themselves than

depend on hosts for food. Such disposition did not obtain for respondents staying with parents, siblings and spouses and also all female respondents. This trend is in tune with that established by the residential patterns.

The implication for social exchange here is that the 'external system' is very much at work. By providing for our subjects, parents, siblings and spouses are sustaining their status within the primordial network, not just in anticipation of reciprocity from them. The gratitude articulated by some interview respondents should be regarded as a form of balancing exercise whereby gratitude is returned for benefits received.

We now turn to the major trends exhibited by our quantitative data. Our analysis of data here was begun with summary of all the primary characteristics of data. Various distributions for age, sex, educational qualification, years of award of such qualifications and work experience were presented. When we examined data on the basic existential support patterns, our first major finding was that a great majority of respondents stay with friends. This fact may be due to absence of relatives with whom residence may be established in the city. Another possibility is that respondents exercised a choice between relatives and friends and threw in their lot with the latter. As a matter of fact, among the majority of respondents who, as we found out, stay with friends, there are quite a few who had

relatives with whom they chose not to stay for various reasons. The articulated reasons include distance of kinship or non-consanguinal kinship, lack of familiarity or just a simple abhorence of the idea. A majority of this category of respondents did not have relatives who could be potential hosts. Whatever be the case, the empiric fact is that a majority of respondents have established a distance from kinship in their patterns of residence. Our deduction from the above was that the pattern gives strength to the social disorganization theoretical framework. Another evidence of this trend was obtained through the fact that the majority of respondents have hosts from different ethnic areas as themselves. Furthermore, almost all respondents do not belong to ethnic or village associations though we surmised that employment may be a condition of membership of such organizations. Even so, respondents do no feel such organizations can be helpful. In relating this to the controversy over the primacy and strength of ethnicity or weakness of it in modern urban relationships in Africa, we pointed out that evidence points to weak allegiances to kin-based relationships. We hold on to this deduction even if our respondents may validly be seen as instrumental individuals who will cling to any life line. Following up this suggestion, we pointed out that a logical deduction is that residential opportunities which emerge from kinship networks may not be plentiful in the city. The implication is that respondents' original relationships can be said to be disorganized.

We did not rest our argument there. We further pointed out that the majority of respondents find their present accommodations detestable although this did not ramify into disaffection or poor relationships with hosts. In fact, respondents get on well with their hosts. A logical development from this is that respondents are not in any hurry to leave their present hosts soon and have kept stable residences, a fact contrary to what one may expect from our class of subjects. From correlationships of distributions examined, we found that a majority of respondents chose to remain with their hosts and at the same time do not feel they are only being tolerated. This demonstrates the stability of our respondents. But considering the relationships between origin of hosts and respondents, we noted that majority of respondents, who, as we already pointed out, do not stay with kinsmen also do not stay with persons from the same ethnic areas.

We next focussed on the patterns of feeding and made a general statement to the effect that the feeding patterns are less easily decipherable than the residential patterns. However, both patterns bear some basic similarities. This is borne out by the fact that a majority depends on their hosts for food. But we soon made it clear that not all respondents in this majority receive all their regular meals from hosts. Of course, it is only in the category of respondents who stay with friends that we find those who do not receive all their regular meals from hosts. On the

whole, we are led by our data to conclude that the great diversity of the sources of meals is indicative of further disorganization of the social relationships of our respondents. Having been trapped into largely uncherished accommodations, we see that they are further obliged to subsist on insecure food supply. We noted that food insecurity may seriously defeat the major purpose of city residence which is job hunt for a hungry person may do much else aside from looking for food or thinking about it. The health implication is another issue altogether. The fact that some respondents are obliged to establish relationships with relegated networks for food is an evidence of secondary disorganization since it entails the disorganization of a new network established in place of relegated ones. All the same, we concede that having to resort to kin-based relationships for food is an empiric evidence of the fact that forces of social equilibrium are at work even when social relationships are undergoing serious disorganization. The versatility of our respondents portray them as instrumental persons struggling to have the best of two worlds although dependence on the relegated world of kinship is involuntary and detestable.

With regards to the sources of monetary income, we found that respondents once again retreat from kinship network since only a few depended exclusively on such networks for money. In their drive for independence from such networks, some respondents

struggle to earn some income for themselves through odd jobbing. The somewhat slight dependence on friends for income is also evidence that respondents' drive for independence is not limited to kinship networks only. Because the majority of respondents depend on a miscellany of sources for income, we conclude that their social relationships are further disorganized.

It is when we got to consider the patterns of association and interpersonal relationships and general dispositions that incontrovertible evidence on social disorganization and alienation emerged. From our data, we are left in no doubt that our subjects are isolated from kin-based relationships, from the larger society and government, from other unemployed persons and also from themselves. Isolation becomes a mechanism for coping with their present status. We recalled the basic principle of social relationships which holds that the more isolated an individual is, the less responsibilities are brought to bear on him. Being persons of little or no resource to meet social responsibilities, respondents have tended to withdraw to themselves. They hate identifying with the 'acquired' status of the unemployed hence none is a member of the Association of Unemployed Graduates nor do they see any purpose in the organization . Respondents have grown cynical of government and are ill disposed toward it. We reached the conclusion that such disposition make them amenable to mobilization for hostile action. The group consciousness that is

lacking may grow out of any move to mobilize them. The question remains whether they will ever respond to any such move given their present pervasive alienation.

Since the principal motive of our subjects is to obtain a job, we should logically expect them to respond positively to official policy of self employment. From our data, no such response appears forthcoming. This brings to the fore the whole question of the nature of the training obtained in college. It is often alleged that our educational curricula predispose recipients to white collar employment and leaves them with little initiative. If this is so, then our data point to another direction. Lack of capital is the principal stumbling block between our respondents and self employment schemes. If they lack appropriate technical skills, a proposal which our data support, respondents do not see that as the problem. This relegation of technical skills is probably a function of the preponderance of mercantile enterprise in the country and most especially in our empiric universe. While scarcity of technical skill is perhaps a national problem, we cannot associate it with failure of our respondents to establish self employment enterprises. This is also the case in agribusiness. Additional constraints in agribusiness are land scarcity and commitment to urban areas. No blame need be heaped on respondents for following the attractions of the Bright Light. That development is a logical synthesis

from their new status. In any case many are even prepared to take rural residence if jobs become available in that sector.

That brings us to the end of the summary of the major implications of our findings. If we must make general statements we must start by asserting that if school leaver unemployment or that of unlettered persons may not be described as a serious problem, graduate unemployment certainly is. And this is not only in the sense of the huge national resources expended in training them. Kin-based relationships have largely broken down and are no longer adequate to support unemployed persons. Whatever length such networks may go in supporting people, they no longer have much appeal to unemployed graduates who only resort to them because little choice is left for them. Therefore even if kinship networks are still strong in Africa, they do not have equally strong appeal for the 'elite without opportunity'.

VIII.B4 Suggestions For Further Research

In furtherance of the disposition of our respondents toward officialdom, it will be interesting to investigate their political orientations with a view to ascertaining their mobilizability. Such a study will help decide whether unemployed graduates are really docile and conservative or potentially revolutionary persons presently unconscious of their

strength as a group.

Another issue worthy of investigation is the prospects of rural employment. In this connection, it might become necessary to go beyond unemployed persons to examine the experience of employed graduates in the rural sector. A pertinent issue would be their residential pattern. Are they domiciled in the village or are they absentee employees? Whatever position they approximate to, it will be useful to examine their future prospects in rural employment. Is it a stop-gap in anticipation of 'better' or urban employment?

In this study, we have deduced that our respondents are pervasively alienated. What are the spill overs from this condition? Our study points to the direction of sociopathology which will be quite an interesting study.

Because of our sample limitations, it was not possible for us to discriminate between the lot of males and females residing with friends. A study purposely designed to focus on female respondent who stay with friends is therefore suggested. Such a study will either be juxtaposed with this to find out any similarities or differences or compared with a fresh sample.

Moreover, in order to advance the prospects of our hypotheses in sociological theory, a cross-cultural or cross-national validation of this research is recommended. A sample of similar respondents may, in this sense, be taken from other culture areas

in Nigeria or, since many generalizations are often made with regards to African peoples, other countries in Africa. Ultimately international comparative studies will go a long way to test the prospects of a universal cultural convergence envisaged by some modernization theorists (e.g., Eisenstadt, 1964; Lerner, 1968).

Finally, research may also be conducted, as proposed in Chapter V in this thesis, to ascertain how much the various waves of unemployment in Nigeria have affected graduates especially with regards to their morale and general weltanschaung. This becomes an important endeavour when we consider that graduates are envisaged as the engines of modern development. Any hopelessness and pessimism on their part may translate into adverse consequences for the nation.

Notes

[1] Some notable apostles of the acclaimed strength of web of kinship in Africa include Van den Berghe (1971); Weeks (1974); Dike (1979); Onwuejeogwu (1979; 1986).

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APPENDIX A

1. Sample As Derived Through Mail Questionnaire

Total Registered Unemployed Graduates in Anambra State (August 1987) - 719.

Total for Enugu and Onitsha - 437 (60.8% of state registration).

Distribution

Enugu: (a) Total Registered - 299 (68.4% of total registered in Enugu and Onitsha; 41.6% of total registered in Anambra State).

(b) Questionnaire Administered - 289 (69.6% of total administered; 66.1% of total registered in Enugu and Onitsha; 96.7% total registered in Enugu.

(c) Returns - 147 (65% of all returns; 35.4% of all questionnaire administered; 50.7% of questionnaire administered in Enugu).

Onitsha (a) Total Registered - 138 (31.6% of total registered in Enugu and Onitsha; 19.2% of total registered in Anambra State).

(b) Questionnaire Administered 126 (30.4% of total administered; 28.9% of total registered in Enugu and Onitsha; 91.3% of total registered in Onitsha).

(c) Returns - 79 (35% of all returns; 19% of all questionnaire administered; 62.7% of all questionnaire administered in Onitsha.

Summary

	Enugu	Onitsha	Total
Total Registered	299(68.4%)	138(31.6%)	437(100.0%)
Total Administered	289(69.6%)	126(30.4%)	415(100.0%)
Total Returned	147(65%)	79(35%)	226(100%)

2. The Accidental Sample

Enugu (a) Total administered - 135 (62.8% of total administered)

(b) Returns - 102 (63% of all returns; 47.4% of all administered; 75.6% of all administered in Enugu).

Onitsha (a) Total administered - 80 (37.2% of total administered).

(b) Returns - 60 (37% of all returns; 27.9% of all administered; 75% of all administered in Onitsha.

Summary

	Enugu	Onitsha	Total
Total administered	135(62.8%)	80(37.2%)	215(100%)
Total returned	102(63%)	60(37%)	162(100%)

Summary of Totals

	Enugu	Onitsha	Grand Totals
Total Administered	424(67.3%)	206(32.7%)	630(100%)
Total Returned	249(64.2%	139(35.8%)	388(100%)

APPENDIX B

THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Personal Details. Where appropriate, please simply check x against the answer that represents your position.

a. Sex: i. Male
ii. Female

b. Age last birthday (eg 21 years) .....

c. Are you at present i. Single?
ii. Married?
iii. Divorced?
iv. Widowed?
v. Separated?

d. Number of children (if any) .....

e. Nationality.....

f. State of origin .....

g. Local government area .....

h. Highest educational qualification (e.g. B.A. English or H.N.D Civil Engineering).....

i. Date of award of above qualification .....

j. Awarding institution .....

k. State deployed for NYSC (if not exempted).....

l. Type of assignment during NYSC (e.g. teaching).....

m. Employment since NYSC (if any). E.g. Civil Service, 5 months .....

n. Reason for leaving employment

i. Further education

ii. Retrenchment

iii. No job satisfaction

iv. Other reason (please specify).....

o. Religion i. Traditional

ii. Christianity

iii. Islam

2. Support. Where appropriate please check x against the response that represents your position.

a. Host i. Independent dwelling; that is, you stay on your own

ii. Parents/Relatives

iii. Home town's person

iv. Friend

v. Others (please specify) .....

b. If you are staying with a friend, do you have relatives in this town? i. Yes

ii. No

c. If yes, why are you not staying with them?

i. We are not familiar

ii. I prefer present host

iii. I do not like the idea

iv. Other reasons (please specify).....

d. If no relatives, are there persons from your home town with whom you can stay?

i. Yes

ii. No

e. If yes why are you not staying with such persons?

i. We are not related
ii. We are not familiar
iii. I do not like the idea
iv. Other reasons (please specify) .....

f. Sources of Income
i. Parents/Relatives
ii. Friends
iii. Casual Jobbing
iv. All of the above
v. Others (please specify).....

g. If you receive money from parents, please indicate how often

i. Very often
ii. Occasionally
iii. Sometimes
iv. Rarely

h. If relatives, please indicate how often they give you money

i. Very often (i.e. monthly or more often)
ii. Occasionally (i.e., every other month)
iii. Sometimes (i.e annually or biannually)
iv. Rarely.

i. If your friends give you money, please indicate how often

i. Very often
ii. Occasionally
iii. Sometimes
iv. Rarely.

j. Are you financially indebted to any persons?

i. Yes; ii. No

k. Sources of meals.

i. Independent; that is, you provide your own meals.
ii. Host
iii. Others (please specify) .....

l. If you do not have a regular source of please list your various sources of meals in order of priority.

i. .....
ii. .....
iii. .....

m. If you stay with a friend, please indicate how much he contributes to your feeding.

i. Provides all meals
ii. Provides two meals a day
iii. Provides one meal a day
iv. He is not responsible for my feeding.

n. Do you atimes receive foodstuffs from home?

i. Yes
ii. No

o. If yes, please indicate how often?

i. Very often
ii. Occasionally
iii. Sometimes
iv. Rarely.

p. Have you had another host in this town? i. Yes
ii. No

q. If yes, who was this?
   i. Parents/Relatives
   ii. Home town's person
   iii. Friend
   iv. Others (please specify).....

r. Please state the reason for leaving your former host.

   i. Convenience/mutual agreement
   ii. My host got married
   iii. Difficulties with host
   iv. Other reasons (please specify) .....

s. Where have you stayed since NYSC/graduation?

   i. This town
   ii. Another town
   iii. Home village.

t. Reason for movement to this town

   i. Job/business opportunities
   ii. Boredom
   iii. My parents live here
   iv. Other reasons (please specify) .....

u. Do you belong to your town/village union?

   i. Yes
   ii. No

v. Do you belong to the Nigerian Association of Unemployed graduates?

   i. Yes
   ii. No

w. For the following items please encircle the option (1-5) that best approximates to your position.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Comment
i. The Association of Unemployed Graduates can serve no useful purpose	1	2	3	4	5	
ii. Town/village unions can be quite helpful	1	2	3	4	5	

3. Self Employment

a. Why have not embarked on any self employment scheme?

i. Lack of capital
ii. Lack of skill
iii. Lack of capital and skill
iv. No inclination to business
v. Other reasons (please specify).....

b. For the following items, please encircle the option (1-5) that best approximates to your position

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Comment
i. The directorate of Employment will solve the problem of unemployment through its schemes	1	2	3	4	5	
ii. I lack appropriate skills for setting up a business	1	2	3	4	5	
iii. I lack the required capital for business	1	2	3	4	5	
iv. I lack both skills and capital	1	2	3	4	5	
v. I am not inclined to business	1	2	3	4	5	

c. I hope to find a job soon.
   i. Yes
   ii. No
   iii. Uncertain.

4. General Disposition.

a. Please encircle the response that best approximates to your position.

		Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Straongly disagree	Comment
i.	Graduate unemployment is a waste of resources	1	2	3	4	5	
ii.	Unemployment is a reflection of a global problem	1	2	3	4	5	
iii.	Unemployment is a result of ineffective policies	1	2	3	4	5	
iv.	My present circumstances make me feel rejected	1	2	3	4	5	
v.	I keep to myself most of the time	1	2	3	4	5	
vi.	It is awkward staying with anybody at my level of education	1	2	3	4	5	
vii.	It is disappointing not being able to contribute to my family welfare	1	2	3	4	5	
viii.	It is awkward having to receive food from others	1	2	3	4	5	
ix.	It is awkward receiving money from anyone	1	2	3	4	5	
x.	I get on well with my host	1	2	3	4	5	
xi.	My host only tolerates me	1	2	3	4	5	
xii.	I have grown closer to unemployed friends						

b. Check x against response that represent your position.

i. I have made more friends since becoming employed

i. Yes; ii. No; iii. Uncertain.

ii. Without a job soon, I will be obliged to move to the village. i. Yes
ii. No
iii. Uncertain.

iii. Without a job soon, I will have to leave my present host.

i. Yes
ii. No
iii. Uncertain.

5. Urban commitment and the Agribusiness option. Where appropriate please check x against the answer that represents your position.

a. Why have you not taken to any form of agribusiness?

i. Lack of capital
ii. Lack of appropriate skill
iii. No land
iv. Any combination of the above (please indicate)
v. No interest.

b. If a job becomes available in a rural setting, would you accept? i. Yes
ii. No
iii. Uncertain.

c. For the following items, please encircle the option that best approximates to your position.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disgree	Strongly disagree	Comment
i. In spite of official statements rural areas have not improved	1	2	3	4	5	

ii.	Traditional agriculture is tedious	1	2	3	4	5
iii.	Jobs are not available in the rural sector so I cannot live there	1	2	3	4	5
iv.	The Directorat of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure is doing its best to improve rural life and agriculture	1	2	3	4	5
v.	The stipend paid by the Directorate of Employment and the Volunteer Service Scheme is appropriate	1	2	3	4	5

d. If you have not registered with the Directorate of Employment or the Volunteer Service Scheme, please indicate why.

i. I will soon get a job.

ii. The stipend they pay is too low

iii. I am not interested in their schemes

iv. Other reasons (please specify) .....

The End.

APPENDIX C

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

AUG	Association of Unemployed Graduates
BQ	Boys' Quarters
DFRRI	Directorate of Foods Roads and Rural Infrastructure
NDE	National Directorate of Employment
NYSC	National Youth Service Corp
OFN	Operation Feed the Nation
SET	Selective Employment Tax
UB	Unemployment Benefits
VSS	Anambra State Volunteer Service Scheme.