Job-seeking experiences amongst school leavers in Nigeria.

Akpan Umoh. Akpan

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JOB-SEEKING EXPERIENCES AMONGST
SCHOOL LEAVERS IN NIGERIA

by

AKPAN UMOR AKPAN

A THESIS

Submitted to The Faculty of Graduate Studies
through The Department of Sociology and Anthropology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of Master of Arts

at

The University of Windsor

WINDSOR, ONTARIO, CANADA
1982
AKPAN UMOM AKPAN

Job-seeking Experiences Amongst School Leavers in Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

The major purpose of this study was to determine whether or not there was a significant relationship between ascription and employment in Northern Nigeria. The study was conducted in Kaduna City which has a population of three million and is an industrial and commercial city of Northern Nigeria.

An Interview Schedule containing 51 different questions was used to interview 85 employed school leavers and 35 active job-seekers from different ethnic groups in Nigeria. Chi Square and Kendall's tau B measures of association were computed for the variables compared. No significant relationship was found between most variables and employment, excepting education and sources of help. This study observed that parental influence affects employment of a job-seeker from low socio-economic status backgrounds. A higher proportion of job-seekers from the low socio-economic homes got their job through help from relatives, friends and parents. This suggests that particularistic considerations were employed in the Nigerian labour recruitment system.

However, particularistic consideration was mediated by educational attainment of a job-seeker. This study does not claim to have been able to develop a concrete standard criterion which can be used for employment in
Nigeria; rather intensive study and a careful analysis of parental or friends' help to get employment which provides the basis for particularism criteria in the Nigerian employment system was recommended. It was observed that a more elaborate inquiry into parental help for job-seekers was required to discover if there were certain correlates which provided a basis for nepotism, favouritism and corruption in labour recruitment in Nigeria.
DEDICATION

THIS STUDY IS DEDICATED TO
ALL LOVERS OF
ONE NIGERIA
"...if it is the intention to have a unified Nigeria, then it must necessarily ensure that different citizenship and citizenship rights are not created within the country by various regions for persons born in Nigeria and regarded as natives of Nigeria. Any other course will of necessity give rise to the creation of different national status among Nigerians."

NNAMDI AZIKIWE
VITA AUCTORIS


Undergraduate preparation: Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, B.Sc. Honours (Sociology), 1979.

Teaching Experience: Teaching Assistant, University of Windsor, Ontario, Canada. Taught Introductory Sociology and Research Methods, with full classroom responsibility.

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I am particularly indebted to Professor John D. Ferguson, the Chairman of my Thesis Committee, and Professor C. L. Vincent, for their untiring assistance to me by way of advice, suggestions, provision of relevant literature for the research topic, and for the trouble they took to correct my manuscripts and Tables.

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My thanks is also due to all my research interviewers who assisted me in the interview work. My obligations are acknowledged to Kaduna State government officials of the Ministry of Labour, who gave their aid as official servants of the public and many of them went generously beyond the call of duty in their courteous co-operation. To these persons and to the government they represent, I am very grateful for their assistance and the free use of their official and secret documents
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Any shortcomings in this study are entirely my responsibility, and I tender my apology.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

There has been considerable concern in recent years with the large number of unemployed in various developing countries, especially among those who received formal education. This unemployment seems to be common among primary school leavers, but is also found among post primary school leavers. The incidence of this type of unemployment will be examined in this thesis as well as the possible causes. A widely held assumption will also be tested that, since the level of literacy is an index of modernity, and modernity is relative to technological development, standard of living and employment level, those with higher educational qualifications would be employed much more readily than those who could not go beyond the primary school level.

There has been much concern amongst employees in Nigeria on the lack of universalistic criteria for job recruitment in that country. There seems to have been an increasing emphasis on particularistic criteria in the recruitment of labour in Nigeria. In this respect, Peter Drucker stresses that

"The basic factor in an economy's development must be the rate of brain formation, the rate at which a country produces people with imagination and vision, education, theoretical and analytical skill."
(Peter Drucker, 1972)
Nothing could be more relevant to the Nigerian situation than Drucker's assessment. The essential thing is that the fundamental goal of job recruitment should be to employ people to work together toward common, objective goals.

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One discusses the assumptions and beliefs of job-seekers from various theoretical perspectives which helped to create the framework and hypotheses for this study. Definition of both conceptual and operational variables are outlined in this chapter.

Chapter Two points out some relevant sociological literature, mostly Ghanaian-oriented perspectives which were reviewed:


The concepts of achievement and ascription are defined and examined. This chapter also gives a brief history and description of the research location. It discusses geographical development of Southern and Northern Nigeria through the impacts of British Colonialism.
which resulted in differentiation of the population by religion and education. It also discusses the development paradox and discrimination which exist between the south and the north of Nigeria.

Pre-test interviews which were done prior to the actual study are discussed in Chapter Three. Included in this Chapter are the methodological procedures and the technique for my sample selection.

Chapter Four focuses on the analyses of the findings of all the hypotheses tested in this study.

Chapter Five discusses the implications of the findings of this study in regard to their effect on national development in Nigerian society. It also suggests a fertile area for further research work to be done that would clarify the employment situation in Nigeria.
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Many Nigerians feel that nepotism and tribalism are twin evils imbedded in the Nigerian labour recruitment system. Many also believe that these could be alleviated if job recruitment and hiring practices were conducted on a merit basis. They argue that the basis for hiring or recruiting an applicant should be explicit and public. Some Nigerians believe that any idea of considering fellow Nigerians as foreigners in some parts of Nigeria, stems from the fact of ethnic territorial boundaries.

This research focuses on the general belief by Nigerians that the method of recruitment in the country is perfunctory, in that vacancies are usually not advertised and recruitment agencies of both government and private institutions rely on unsolicited applications. Many would also say if by chance advertisements are posted, the advertisements are phrased in such a way that they are not capable of attracting the most promising persons who might apply; most advertisements do not contain enough information about the vacancies in question. On the basis of the unsolicited applications and occasional advertisements, the recruitment agencies invite candidates for interviews, which usually consist of questions on the candidates' tribe, religion and political affiliation. Recruitment interviews do not usually make a determined attempt to discover the personality, interests and
abilities of applicants.

This investigation is an attempt to examine the alleged perfunctory procedure which is claimed to be giving rise to corruption in the recruitment of employees, with the consequent effect of low productivity in the national economy. This research attempts to investigate whether the policy of not advertising vacancies publicly becomes protective and discriminatory and does not lead to securing the most qualified persons for the positions to be filled. Hence, the accusations of bias, favouritism and partisan consideration in the Nigerian employment system give birth to the topic of this research—the job-seeking experiences of school leavers in Nigeria.

Theoretical Rationale

This investigation employs the theoretical framework of psychological alienation which gives rise to social mobilization as propounded by Karl W. Deutsch: that when a person moves from his natural place of birth to a cosmopolitan town, among people with various ethnic backgrounds, there will develop a type of psychological alienation. Deutsch noted that:

"Instead of growing up in a village among people they have always known, they now live among strangers. They never see some of their neighbours, and they may see others only once or twice in their lives. Most of their kinsmen stayed behind or moved somewhere else, so they have no family to rely on for support. There is no village community to bolster them economically, physically, or spiritually if they happen to become ill. Worried, frightened and lonely, these people begin to wonder who they are. The question 'Who am I?' does not confront as acutely the person who
lives in the midst of a family group. Everyone who knows his mother knows him. Once he leaves this background, however, the question of his personal identity arises."
(Karl W. Deutsch, 1969)

Because of rapid industrialization, the Nigerian, wishing to make a living, has to leave his place of birth and move to an industrialized area where he will find himself to be unknown, faceless and with no identity. He has no alternative but to search for the old identity and recognition, and he looks for people he can identify with. The idea of wishing to identify with people who probably share the same cultural identities gives rise to groups banding together for their common survival.

In the process of consolidating to foster group unity, tribal behaviour and tribal antagonism emerge. Although ethnicity tends to be the essential promoter of unity, nevertheless it has its negative aspects. An interpretative approach which is more useful for the analysis of the negative aspects of ethnicity among people in the society under study was pointed out by John Porter:

"...it emphasizes descent group identification and endogamy, important principles of ethnic group survival, it runs the risk of believed-in biological differences becoming the basis of invidious judgement about groups of people....where ethnicity is salient there is often an association between ethnic differences and social class and inequality."
(N. Glazer/D. P. Moynihan, 1975)

So consuming is the trait of ethnicity that the individual's act of greatness is always over-emphasized by the group from which the individual comes and, of
course, condemned or underrated by all other groups.

Hughes and Kallen state that:

"Most members of ethnic groupings know their place, and stay in their place, whether high or low. In other words, the invisible wall, separating and isolating the various ethnic groups, is maintained through consensus. This does not mean that members of the minority ethnic groups necessarily accept their evaluation imposed upon them by the dominant ethnic group. They often view themselves as superior and may even view the dominant group as 'barbarian oppressors'."
(Hughes & Kallen, 1975)

Ethnicity makes people defend their ethnic groups by refusing to base their actions and utterances upon rationally perceived facts rather than upon thoughtless ethnocentric evaluations of their experiences. Other people to them become untrustworthy and unpardonably ambitious or conservative and lazy. Tribalism, which is a product of ethnicity is a function of intergroup competition as one group tries to suppress other groups in the low social stratum in order to have the advantage of economic, political and social resources for their own survival and protection against other ethnic groups whom they consider as minority. In this case, Wirth defines a minority as:

"a group of people who, because of physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination."
(Louis Wirth, 1965)

Entrance to bureaucracy or any criterion set for employment ideally should be based on competitively demonstrated qualifications--universalistic criteria,
which would give rise to the recruitment of a large number of qualified outsiders. Relations of inequality are often mediated and mitigated through patron-client ties, as in the society under study, so that native sons achieve positions of power, with the full hope that those who succeed will help others in their group through patronage.

"...class mobility is achieved through a mixture of a universalist meritocracy implemented through an examination system and ethnic particularism expressed through patronage ties."
(William Petersen, 1979)

The second theoretical perspective appropriate for this study is Max Weber's theory of bureaucratic rationalization rules, which states that:

"The management of the office follows general rules, which are more or less stable, more or less exhaustive, and which can be learned. Knowledge of these rules represents a special technical learning which the officials possess. It involves jurisprudence, or administrative or business management.

The reduction of modern office management to rules is deeply embedded in its very nature. The theory of modern public administration, for instance, assumes that the authority to order certain matters by decree—which has been legally granted to public authorities—does not entitle the bureau to regulate the matter by commands given for each class, but only to regulate the matter abstractly. This stands in extreme contrast to the regulation of all relationships through individual privileges and bestowals of favor, which is absolutely dominant in patrimonialism, at least in so far as such relationships are not fixed by sacred tradition."
(Max Weber, 1958, C. W. Mills ed.)

The above quotation points to the fact that recruitment into office organization must be based on performance, competence, knowledge and ability which express achievement on universalistic criteria and no more. Anything that
involved favouritism or particularism or patrimonialism where the basis is who your father is or what your family is, would be completely inconsistent with the principles of bureaucracy.

The third theoretical approach for this study will be the pattern variables schema of choice between ascriptive and achievement options in the labour recruitment system in Nigeria. Talcott Parsons states that:

"We may start by pointing out a conspicuous and apparently fundamental asymmetry in the relationship between ascriptive and achievement foci of status and role definition. There is, that is, a sense in which categorization in ascriptive terms apparently has a certain priority over that in achievement terms. There has to be an ascriptive base relative to which achievement expectations are defined. When we combine these considerations with the implication of the universality of the kinship cluster, we may focus attention on a fundamental complex of social structures in which ascriptive criteria play a central part and which, so far as we know, is common though with many variations, to all societies." (Talcott Parsons, 1951)

What this means is that all human beings in every society employ ascriptive categorization in social interaction with one another. But ascription cannot overcome achievement patterns in a democratic society. The reality of ascription is that one human being cannot withdraw, for instance, from being born into an ethnic group; he cannot change his ethnic group, and if he is discriminated against because of his ethnic group, then there tends to be antagonism between the group that discriminates and the group that is discriminated against. And on the other hand, people could be given preferential treatment because of ascription, meaning that such a
society is discriminating against some other group. In this case some people fail to get what they should get because of ascription and, on the other hand, some other people may get more than they should because of ascription.

Achievement on the other hand, is probably a better practice in industrial society because such a society puts priority on merit in most of its institutions. According to Weber's theory of bureaucratic rationalization, achievement is necessary for organizational functioning.

Therefore the theory of social mobilization as propounded by Karl W. Deutsch will be used to investigate how job seekers feel about the process of searching for a job away from their own homes and Max Weber's theory of bureaucratic rationalization will be used to investigate how those who got their job through achievement feel about their experiences in job seeking. Talcott Parsons' pattern variables of ascription-achievement will be used to classify these dominant ethnic groups who struggle to maintain their economic, political and social position in the Nigerian society through her employment systems.
PURPOSE OF STUDY

The major purpose of this study is to:

(i) determine whether or not educational achievement is used as one of the most important criteria for employment in Nigeria.

(ii) examine the influence that intervening variables—ethnicity, social contacts, and religion have upon one's employment opportunity in Nigeria.

(iii) refute the unscientific and misleading assumptions put up by critics that labour recruitment systems in Nigeria demonstrate solely and wholly the pattern variables of particularism and ascription. (B. F. Hoselitz: 1960)

(iv) to examine the possible unreliable inferences and generalizations made by critics regarding the employment system in Nigeria. It would appear that many of their conclusions are based upon impressionistic evidence.
RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

To achieve the objective of this research, I put forward three hypotheses for testing.

Hypothesis Number One

'Christian job-seekers tend to have higher levels of education than Moslem job-seekers, but this would not necessarily enhance their chances for employment.'

This Hypothesis was used to examine the relationship between employment and job-seeking in Nigeria, controlling for tribe.

Hypothesis Number Two

'State indigenes tend to have more employment opportunities than job-seekers from other States in Nigeria.'

This Hypothesis examined critically how the State of origin affects employment opportunities of job-seekers in Nigeria. The controlling factor here was the social contacts of respondents. The purpose was to ascertain whether being indigenous facilitates securing a job.

Hypothesis Number Three

'There is an inverse relationship between parental socio-economic status and degree of unemployment amongst school leavers in Nigeria.' An attempt was made to investigate to what extent parental socio-economic status determined the educational attainment of school leavers, and
to what extent one's educational attainment determined the chances of securing a job in Nigerian society.

**Definition of Terms**

Some key terms that are appearing throughout the pages of this study were defined conceptually and operationally to make the analysis meaningful as to what they measured or represented. For example, the words 'State of origin' as used in the analysis and interpretation of data was restricted to the father's birth-place (home town) and not the child's birth-place, i.e. the respondent's home is traced to where his father was born.

**School leaver:** For the purpose of this study, school leaver is regarded as a person who successfully or unsuccessfully completed primary or secondary school education, i.e. he/she may be a drop-out or maybe an individual who has successfully completed either a primary or secondary school career. Both pupils from primary and secondary schools are lumped together (for the purpose of this study) and called school leavers. In this context, school leaver is a person who attempted either primary or secondary school and left to look for work, regardless of what grade or certificate he/she obtained.

**Income:** Incomes are categorized into 'high' and 'low'. Below ₦1743.00 per annum is categorized as 'low' and anything above ₦1744.00 per annum is regarded as 'high'.
Educational attainment: This is grouped into two, viz: primary and post primary. Those in the primary school level are the ones who completed the seven-year program, while those in the post primary school level are the secondary school leavers (completed or not), holders of teachers' grade two certificate, technical school leavers (completed or not), and stenographers. Any training received through formal education after primary school level but not up to the level of advanced teachers' college (A.T.C.), higher school certificate and General Certificate of Education (advanced level), diplomas received from colleges of technology and universities and degree certificates lasting at least six months to five years after primary school education were considered for this study as post primary school education.

Employment status: This variable was regarded in this study as having regular work but excluded those not having gainful employment. This meant that those employed either by government, companies, private bodies or self, whether satisfied or not with the employment, provided he/she earns a living from the income, was included in this category.

State of origin: This variable was measured in terms of one's father's home town within a particular political division in any of the nineteen States in the country (see Table 1). That is, the respondent's State
of origin was traced through the father's line.

**Achievement:** This means that positions and ranks are awarded on the basis of merit or on the basis of what a person has or can do and not on who a person is.

**Ascription:** This is the reverse of achievement, i.e., positions are tied to individual blood relation, religion; in other words, who he is.

**Ethnicity (tribe):** Group that is defined by race, religion, State or origin, language or dialect.

**Northern Nigeria:** This refers to the Northern part of Nigerian geographical area which includes a large number of States embracing the savannah and desert shrub (see Table 1).

**Southern Nigeria:** This covers southern geographical area of Nigeria with nine States embracing areas of the mangrove swamps and high forests (see Table 1).

**State:** Geo-political division of Nigeria for the purpose of governmental administration.

**West African School Certificate (W.A.S.C.):** This is the highest academic certificate awarded to secondary school students for successful completion of their secondary school courses after a period of 5 years. This is equated with the General Certificate of Education (British G.C.E.) ordinary level.

**Higher School Certificate (H.S.C.):** This certificate is awarded to students after successful completion of a
2-year course beyond the secondary school level. This certificate is usually for University admission in most British colonies. It is the British General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) advanced level equivalent.

**Secondary school:** School beyond the primary school level. Liberal sciences, natural sciences and arts subjects are normally offered in secondary school, graduation in the Canadian grade thirteen being the equivalent.

**Teacher's Grade Two Certificate:** Possession of Teacher's Grade Two Certificate gives one the opportunity to become a professional primary school teacher.

**Advanced Teachers' College (A.T.C.):** An institution for the training of professional secondary school teachers. Admissions are only opened to possessors of Grade Two Teacher's Certificate.

**Diploma:** College certificate gained either in University, professional school or other higher institution of learning.

**Discrimination:** Denying privileges on a basis other than ability and training.

**Prejudice:** The irrational categorical like or dislike of a group of people because of real or imagined characteristics associated with their religion, region, place of birth, language, ethnic group, race, tribe, or beliefs.

**Institutional discrimination:** For the purpose of this study, institutional discrimination is regarded as
habits of discrimination unconsciously enshrined into the social structure, in the institutional patterns of socialization, for example, news-media, etc., etc. These patterns persist unconsciously in people's minds and behaviour.

The next Chapter presents a review of literature relevant to employment and establishes the foundation for contemporary views of unemployment in developing countries.
CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

There is a paucity of literature, especially using the sociological perspective, on developing nations like Nigeria. Many economists have written on the subject of unemployment, but the sociological reasons for this have not been assessed; hence, the results of their findings are always rather descriptive. A number of sociologists have done their studies in Ghana, although most of their work deals with the relationship between education and social mobility as well as the relation between formal education and occupational choice. It is worthwhile to examine some of the results.

Foster (1965) examined the development of the educational system since 1930 in Ghana. Apart from this he carried out field work on secondary schools in Ghana. The purpose of the study was to examine the extent of inequality in access to secondary schools. He also wanted to see how the Ghanaian schools often conform to, or diverge from, Western European patterns of social selection. He found that students from high socio-economic status have a large number of places in secondary schools. That is, high socio-economic status children have higher chances of entering secondary schools than children of the low socio-economic homes. He however
concludes that:

"...while findings show a degree of constriction in patterns of selectivity, they also indicate a remarkable degree of fluidity in access into the schools."
"...50% of the students of Achimota and MFANTISIPIM colleges (these are elite schools) are from professional, higher technical, administrative occupation groups."
(Foster, 1963, Vol. 37[2])

Foster also found that there is only a very loose relationship between educational and occupational aspirations and social background of the students; also that boys and girls from educated homes--14% of boys and 29% of girls of the former is against 25% of the boys and 14% of the girls of the latter. He concludes by saying that most of them aspire to obtain more formal education in order to reach the top echelon of the occupational structure.

Hurd and Johnson (1967) from their research findings on sixth-form (grade thirteen equivalent) and university students in Ghana, hold the view that social classes are emerging in Africa. They are of the opinion that the sixth-form is highly selective in recruitment and that this will eventually perpetuate a rigid class system.

They found out that 55% of the sixth-form students came from professional, administrative, higher technical and clerical occupation groups as compared with only 0.2% of students from semi-skilled and unskilled families. This suggests that within the modern sector there are differences in life chances that are even greater than those between the modern and traditional sectors. To them,
'achievement through higher education is more difficult for the child of a subsistence farmer', as a result of the rigidity of the emerging class system. Among other reasons given by Hurd and Johnson were that:

"The possibility of the elite maintaining near monopoly on the sixth-form places has been affected by the high cost of secondary school education."

(Hurd & Johnson: 1967)

Hurd and Johnson maintain that:

"The close connection between educational achievement and parental literacy and level of education suggests that the gap between the educated and the uneducated .....is crucial in explaining rigidities in the social selection."

('Hurd & Johnson, 1967)

Both Hurd and Johnson conclusions seem to be centered on the existence of social classes in Africa based on education. Hurd and Johnson hold a contrary view to Foster in this connection because they saw social classes emerging while Foster did not. They argued that social class affected educational attainment. In their research findings they observed that students of high socio-economic backgrounds had higher chances of entering secondary schools and that they hoped to obtain the high levels of formal education so that they could reach the top echelons of the occupational structure.

Clignet and Foster's (1966) findings about secondary schools in the Ivory Coast appear to be congruent with those of Foster in Ghana. Students of higher socio-economic status have a better chance of attending secondary school, while students from lower socio-economic
backgrounds still enter the schools, but in lower proportions. In other words, the son of a manager, or a clerk, or a professor, has nine times the chance of entering secondary school as the child of a farmer. They also found that social and cultural background and academic achievement do play some role in influencing an individual's perception of his academic future. They state that:

"Our present findings appear to provide a plausible reason for believing that secondary school attendance has a homogenizing effect on the attitude of students tending to attenuate differences in socio-economic and cultural background. This fact seemed to be equally evident in our study of recruitment patterns." (Clignet & Foster, 1966)

Foster (1964) also examined the expectations and the reality of secondary school leavers in Ghana. He said there was an almost complete absence of data concerning the occupational destinations of individuals who are actually being trained in various sectors of the educational system of developing areas. He observed, however, in the study that most of the new African States have accorded considerable priority to educational expansion in the belief that direct investment in formal schooling provides an efficient means of rapidly rising levels of national income. He concludes by saying that:

".....there has been a sharp drop in the occupational worth of a primary or middle school education. The devaluation has been reinforced by the fact that the predominance of government as an employer leads to an emphasis on the possession of formal education qualifications for jobs." And that "up to a few years ago, indeed, any secondary school graduate was
assured of a remunerative occupational or educational future."
(Foster, 1964)

Shiman (1970) examined the relationship of socio-economic and school factors to achievement among secondary school boys in Ghana. He found that the father's occupation and education, as well as parental literacy in the English language, are strongly related to entry into secondary school.

Clignet and Foster, and Shiman's arguments, in their articles, do not differ in their conclusions because they both found that students of higher socio-economic status have a better chance of attending secondary school. On the one hand, Foster (1964) did not stop at arguing that higher socio-economic status enabled students to go to secondary school, but went on to say that there has been a sharp drop in the occupational worth of a primary or middle school education. He is emphasizing the importance of higher education as a criterion for securing jobs. In his other conclusion, he maintained that up to a few years ago, any secondary school graduate was assured of a remunerative occupational or educational future. This seems to be in agreement with the belief that Nigerian society places a high premium on educational achievement. However, one may say that the authors carried out their studies in Ghana and not Nigeria; also, that Ghana is relatively smaller compared to Nigeria in terms of population and land area. The argument is that Nigeria, regardless of
her size and population is not remarkably different from Ghana with respect to its educational system, the importance of high socio-economic status to social mobility, and employment opportunities. Both countries were under British Colonial rulers who introduced Western education and made it important to the society. One would therefore expect that trends in Ghana’s educational system and the importance of socio-economic status in her social structure would likely be evident in Nigeria.
Geographical Location of Nigeria

Nigeria is located on the west coast of Africa surrounding two principal rivers: the Niger and the Benue. The two rivers flowing from northwest and northeast down to the sea in the middle of the territory divide the country into three land blocs, viz: north, east and west. The geographical division has a very great influence on Nigeria's ethnic composition and cultural history, as will be pointed out in Chapter Three. Its 356,669 square miles (Alan Burns, 1968) include mangrove swamps, high forests, savannah and desert scrub.

The physical characteristics of Nigerians (87 million) are that of the Negroid race, dark coffee-brown skin colour, woolly hair and broad nose. Although there are over 365 ethnic groups in Nigeria, the various groups have ethnic similarities. Despite ethnic similarities, the structure of Nigerian society is extremely complex. The original home of the Nigerians is still not known. (Okoi Arikpo, 1969) To facilitate smooth and efficient political administration the country is divided into nineteen regions called States. Table 1 shows the present geo-political division of Nigeria.

24
Table 1

Showing 19 states and their major ethnic groups with the British colonial division of north and south

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>Capital City</th>
<th>Major Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Dominant Religion</th>
<th>Regional Division</th>
<th>Colonial Division</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KANO</td>
<td>KANO</td>
<td>HAUSA</td>
<td>ISLAM</td>
<td></td>
<td>NORTHERN NIGERIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KADUNA</td>
<td>KADUNA</td>
<td>HAUSA</td>
<td>ISLAM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOKOTO</td>
<td>SOKOTO</td>
<td>FULANI</td>
<td>ISLAM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KWARA</td>
<td>ILORIN</td>
<td>HAUSA</td>
<td>ISLAM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIGER</td>
<td>MINNA</td>
<td>HAUSA</td>
<td>ISLAM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONGO</td>
<td>YOLA</td>
<td>BIROM</td>
<td>CHRISTIANITY</td>
<td>NORTH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATEAU</td>
<td>JOS</td>
<td>TIV</td>
<td>CHRISTIANITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENUJE</td>
<td>HARKURDI</td>
<td>HAUSA</td>
<td>ISLAM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>MAIDUGURI</td>
<td>HAUSA</td>
<td>ISLAM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAUCHI</td>
<td>BAUCHI</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANAMBRA</td>
<td>ENUGU</td>
<td>IBO</td>
<td>CHRISTIANITY</td>
<td>EAST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMO</td>
<td>OWERRI</td>
<td>IBO</td>
<td>CHRISTIANITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CROSS RIVER</td>
<td>CALABAR</td>
<td>IBIBIO</td>
<td>CHRISTIANITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIVERS</td>
<td>PORT HARCOURT</td>
<td>BRASS</td>
<td>CHRISTIANITY</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENDAL</td>
<td>BININ</td>
<td>EDO</td>
<td>CHRISTIANITY</td>
<td>MID-WEST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGIN</td>
<td>ABEOKUTA</td>
<td>YORUBA</td>
<td>CHRISTIANITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONDO</td>
<td>AKURE</td>
<td>YORUBA</td>
<td>CHRISTIANITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OYO</td>
<td>IBADAN</td>
<td>YORUBA</td>
<td>CHRISTIANITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAGOS</td>
<td>IKEJA</td>
<td>YORUBA</td>
<td>CHRISTIANITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Description of the Research Location

The research was located in the modern city of Kaduna situated on the rail junction between the line linking the north and the west of Nigeria, and the line pushing southward, to Port Harcourt in the eastern part of the country. Kaduna is about 2,000 kilometres from the Federal Capital of Nigeria, Lagos. According to the 1973 population census of Nigeria, Kaduna has a population of three million. The population includes a large number of government employees, the balance of whom are largely dependent for their livelihood on this administrative group. It is the administrative, commercial, and the industrial centre of Kaduna State.

Kaduna is not a traditional town like Kano, Zaria, Sokoto, or any of the Hausa towns which belong to the original Hausa States. Kaduna was built during the colonial era and it is a European creation. It attracted many expatriates working for the colonial government during colonialism and also many businessmen who established their business houses there. During its history, Kaduna has served first, as the regional headquarters of the then Northern Nigeria, then as the centre of the Northern groups of provinces under the former military regimes, and today, as the capital of Kaduna State.

Kaduna City has actually attracted a cross-section of almost every ethnic and linguistic group in the
country. According to Max Lock (in his book: *A Survey and Plan of the Capital Territory*) the city's population of three million in 1973 had large numbers of people from many ethnic groups. (Max Lock, 1973) The Hausas, however, form the majority. This is because Kaduna is nearer to the other Hausa towns, and it is therefore easier for the Hausas to travel to Kaduna than it is for the other ethnic groups from the southern part of the country. In 1973, the Ibos were second to the Hausas numerically. Many of them returned to Kaduna from the east at the end of the Civil War. The other ethnic groups in Kaduna are Yorubas, Fulanis, Ibibios, Tivs, Kanuris, Itsekiris, Oyis, Urhobos, Binis, etcetera. There are many foreigners from neighbouring African countries, Asia, The United States, and Europe. English is the lingua franca and Hausa is the predominant Nigerian language in Kaduna. In Kaduna City, there are different quarters, viz. Tudu-wada, Sabon-gari, Angwashanu, Angwar-kanawa, Angwar-sahki/Doki/Muslumi, Kawo, Kakuri, Makera, etcetera. The predominant religion in Kaduna is Islam and Christianity is second.
The Perspective of Southern Nigerians
Vis-a-vis the Northern Nigerians

This section will begin by presenting in capsule form its colonial history, not as an isolated artifact but in terms of its relationship to the Nigeria social, geographical and religious environment. It shall examine the social structure of Southern Nigeria and compare it to Northern Nigeria.

An attempt will also be made to present the impact of colonialism on both the South and North of Nigeria, not only to describe the situation, but to propose a number of reasons which make the historical sources more meaningful.

Africa witnessed the partition of its continent into various spheres of influence by Western European powers, viz: British, French, Dutch, etc. Nigeria herself, was fully incorporated into the British Empire which facilitated the establishment of a complete British Colonial rule.

At the time that Fulani Moslems established communities among the Hausa in the Northern part of Nigeria, the British Naval blockade became progressively more effective in developing a trade in palm-oil in the Southern part of Nigeria. Christian missionaries who accompanied the explorers and traders converted the people of Southern Nigeria and destroyed the indigenous religions. Church buildings were erected in many villages.
along the Niger Delta in Southern Nigeria. This period also witnessed the era of great evangelical revival as the public had a strong revulsion against slave trade. Also, this period was noted as an era of exploration and intense commercial interest in Nigeria. While the missionaries were trying to purge the Southerners from their guilt of the slave trade and the killing of twins, the colonial industrialists were equally anxious to win markets for their products. Hence, Southern Nigeria was drawn into the world capitalist system by the introduction of a cash economy to replace subsistence living. At this time, most of the southern communities and kingdoms had surrendered to the British protectorate, for instance, the Alafin (King) of Oyo signed a Treaty with Britain to protect Christian missionaries, and never to enter into any Treaty with any foreign government except through the British government. (Alan Burns, 1969) Six months after the treaty, almost all the Southern communities became a British protectorate and this was the beginning of a new political entity which would incorporate those peoples who occupied the land-mass between the Bights of Benin and Biafra and the southern Sahara. This was aided by the construction of a railway line from Lagos to Ibadan in the late 19th century.
The coastal area, the hinterland and riverain area of Eastern Nigeria, which is situated in the Southern region of Nigeria, became a British protectorate, named the Oil Rivers protectorate, with its headquarters at Calabar in the Eastern part of Nigeria. (Alan Burns, 1969) In Northern Nigeria, the period met with punitive expeditions from the recalcitrant Fulani Emirs and pagan tribes who vehemently opposed the destruction of old values as one of the two letters sent by Sultan of Sokoto to the British Colonial rulers between May and June, 1902, reads in part:

"I have to inform you that we do not want your administration in the province.... and if you have interfered we do not want support from any one but God. You have your religion and we have ours."
(Sir William N. M. Geary, 1965)

Northern Nigeria, which was strongly controlled by the Fulani hegemony was organized in small pagan villages that remained traditional, authoritarian, with anachronistic values and backwardness. As a result of the recalcitrant behaviour in the north, the British colonialists, with their protectorate government (as it was called) did not find it necessary to interfere with the Islamic religion in order to exploit raw materials. In this situation, the penetration into the north by Christian missionaries became much more
difficult. While in the south, Christian missionaries were expanding both in religious and educational activities, Sir William N. M. Geary (1965) points out that:

"The missionaries have been a wide-reaching influence for good in coastal districts of Nigeria.... At Lagos itself after its capture, and in the Delta of Bonny, and from these centres they spread churches and schools.... the protestant missionaries educated their converts."
(Sir William N. M. Geary, 1965)

This resulted in wide differences in colonial policies between the north and the south, which further widened the outlook between the Southerners and Northerners.

In the south, Western Christian values became widely accepted and continued to be passed from one generation to the other through socialization processes. Acceptance of Westernization and Christianity was not taking place in the north, while the opposite was true in the south. The south became more or less the administrative centre of Nigeria because communication was much easier as schools were established for the assimilation of Western values. Roads were constructed to link one community with the other for the purpose of extracting raw materials. The Southerners were introduced to a cash economy, yet the Northerners were still living on a subsistence economy. The conservative and traditional Islamic faith in the north preserved the older culture. Over the years, these Western Christian values became institutionalized in Southern Nigeria; hence, they
remained as ways of life of the people of Southern Nigeria. Given this scenario, the Southern Nigerians see Northern Nigerians as an impediment to progress, as backward and containing an introverted behaviour. Even when Christianity was finally introduced in the north, it was not a readily acceptable religion in most communities. This situation in the north caused Western values to be adopted very slowly and modernization was also very slow. This traditional and conservative behaviour of the Northerners made the Southerners regard the Northerners as people who could neither stand competition for economic ends nor for prestige; hence, they were discriminated against. This discrimination against Northerners by Southerners became part of the culture in the south which, in turn, was transmitted from generation to generation and became institutionalized as racism became institutionalized in The United States. As an article by Knowles and Prewitt points out:

"Some form of white supremacy, both as ideology and institutional arrangement, existed from the first day English immigrants, seeking freedom from religious intolerance, arrived on the North American continent. From the beginning, the early colonizers apparently considered themselves culturally superior to the natives they encountered." (Knowles/Prewitt, 1969)

The Southerners feel themselves to be culturally better than their Northern counterparts whom they consider as living the life of sub-humans.

".....we are not honest about ourselves, our own fears
limitations, weaknesses, prejudices, motives. We present ourselves to children as we were gods, all-knowing, all powerful, always rational, always just. Such an education, rather than preparing white children to recognize, understand, and deal with the racial contradiction in our society, glosses over it as though it did not exist or was not of major importance. Children are brought up to accept America's racism and yet to believe in 'freedom, justice, equality for all'. Social studies textbooks, because they provide a common element in teaching in many classrooms of many schools, are prime contributors to the institutional racism which pervades white education." (Knowles/Prewitt, 1969)

The quotation points to the fact that the beliefs held by Southerners against Northerners have no rational reasoning; rather, it is based primarily on socialization and little else. The Southerners are socialized to believe that Northerners are non-progressive, conservative and backward in nature. The Northerners on the other hand, see the Southerners as naturally aggressive, adventurous and ambitious. The Northerners, on their part, are conscious of this institutionalized discrimination by their Southern brothers against them. For the sake of their survival in the midst of this discrimination, they build up a sort of ethnic consciousness to protect their position against the aggressive and ambitious Southerners. For example, some office positions are consciously and deliberately reserved for Northerners, regardless of educational qualifications, as will be seen in the following Chapters of this study. They also regard themselves as being inferior to their Southern counterparts. They in turn, carry out
discrimination against the Southerners as a sort of defense mechanism because they feel their security is threatened by outsiders—the Southerners. Hence, the institutionalized discrimination is passed into all fabrics of life in Nigerian society, becoming standardized and acceptable behaviour. Samuel Lear rightly points out that:

"......to institutionalize is to establish, standardize, and give social sanction to some particular pattern of social values, relationships and behaviour. Institutionalization is the process by which certain parts of the culture pattern are established, standardized, and given social sanctions which make them mandatory for those persons and groups concerned." (Samuel Lear, 1952)

In this situation, the Southerners place a high premium on education and competition, while the Northerners are conscious of their disadvantaged position in relation to their Southern counterparts. Both groups discriminate against each other, but with different rationales. Both Southerners and Northerners view each other differently and the social distance between them becomes wider and wider. Hughes and Kallen maintain that:

"Ethnic stereotypes serve to reduce the likelihood of firsthand, continuous, informal contact between members of different ethnic categories and thus functions to maintain a high level of social distance between the groupings. Each ethnic category remains virtually unknown to the other and an invisible wall between them is perpetuated. The invisible wall, separating and isolating the different ethnic groupings, is built on common assumptions (real or fictitious, customary or legal, oral or written) concerning 'appropriate' behaviour towards members of particular
ethnic groupings: certain categories of outsiders are to be avoided at all costs; others may be tolerated 'at a distance'; but only members of the category or categories designated as 'insiders' are customarily invited to dinner and selected as marriage partners." (D. R. Hughes/E. Kallen, 1974)

It is within this setting that Nigerian society could not convince herself that she had become a nation in the real sense of the word. The whole spectacle is one of disunity and disintegration. The geographical distance between Northern and Southern Nigerians is in itself a divisive factor which could be exploited to create all kinds of doubts and suspicions among the people. They have inherited a deep antagonism which separated the people in the south from the north.

The next chapter relates the research methodology and procedures employed in conducting the survey research.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

PRE-TEST INTERVIEWS

It has been pointed out by Stykos, the many problems one would likely encounter in any research in the developing countries. (J. M. Stykos, 1960) These include respondents' lack of sufficient knowledge about questions being asked. The difficulty of understanding questions could cause the respondents either to express inappropriate opinions or not give any opinion at all about the topic. In most research in developing countries, questions have been misunderstood or skipped, simply because respondents had semantic difficulties, or they did not understand what the questions were directed at. All these and other shortcomings could be avoided through pre-testing interviews. Slonim maintains that no matter what efforts one tries to avoid shortcomings in social research, pre-test results are always important in the sense that they point out if the instrument used will be workable and whether or not it is an appropriate design for the respondents. (M. J. Slonim, 1960)
Nigeria is a Third World country where social research is not very common. In order to make sure of the wording of the questions and the expected responses, pre-testing of the preliminary formulated questions on the questionnaire was conducted and from the result of the pre-test, it was discovered that "instrument error", as Stycos paraphrased it, was minimized.

A simple phrasing of questions was adopted in order to avoid semantic difficulties. The pre-test respondents were job-seekers and their responses revealed that the orientation of the research was well understood by them. None of the pre-test respondents expressed a lack of understanding about the questions. Their responses proved the Interview Schedule to be an adequate instrument for this research and the questions were used in the final Interview Schedule with only editorial revisions.
STUDY PROCEDURE

The researcher and his eight trained interviewers conducted the research interviews using structured INTERVIEW Schedules: the main instrument used for data collection. The researcher had 200 copies of the Schedule, but he and his interviewers were successful with 120 interviews.

The frame from which the research drew its sample was a list of employed and unemployed primary and secondary school leavers for the period 1979-1981. This list was obtained from the Ministry of Labour in Kaduna City.

The researcher and his interviewers were generally well received. Most respondents showed understanding and cooperated with the interviewers and the researcher. Very few did not cooperate, as the following note from one interviewer illustrates:

"One job-seeker was reluctant to give any views on the matters raised in the questionnaire. He said he has just left school (secondary school) and was seriously looking for work and that he would not commit himself and his family as he considered some of the issues raised in the questionnaire to be too involving. He said he was not convinced that the data collected would not be passed to some anti-Nigerian abroad, if not now, in future time, and could be used in making a joke of the country in radio and television broadcasts or newspaper publications. He fears too that the information collected could give away the country to some Secret Agencies operating against Nigeria from outside...."

Another interviewer made the following note:

"One job-seeker was very angry about certain questions
raised in the questionnaire. He expressed the view that if the researcher wanted to know his father's income in order to assess him (his father) for taxation, the researcher should better go to his father and not himself (the job-seeker). He expressed anger at the attempt to know how he got his job. He said such a matter was too private and incriminating.

These type of comments are not strange or unusual in a developing country like Nigeria, where people are suspicious about research exercises. The non-cooperation by some respondents derived from the fact that Nigerians lack the understanding of scientific social research, in the sense that research interviews are not familiar phenomena to the people of Nigeria. However, such non-cooperation was not too pronounced in this study. One hundred and twenty interviews were successfully conducted out of 200 respondents visited. The researcher considered this to be a very good return given the situation of a developing country like Nigeria where research is unusual.
SELECTION OF SAMPLE

The samples were stratified by streets according to tribal or ethnic distribution. Six prominent ethnic groups were sampled, viz: Hausa, Ibo, Ibibio, Yoruba, Edo and Fulani, drawn from the sample frame which contained almost all job-seekers’ names and addresses from 1979-1981. Table 2 shows the names of streets and roads and number of respondents sampled.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of streets/roads</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ibadan Street</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abeokuta Street</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos Street</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin Street</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calabar Street</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warri Street</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>JCS Road</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaria Road</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katsina Road</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim Taiwo Road</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junction Road</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogbomosho Road</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabba Road</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gumedel Road</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benue Road</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba Road</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano Road</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sample frame represented a cross-section of
the ethnicity, occupationally, religiously and educationally heterogeneous school leavers of Kaduna. Stratified random sampling was adopted by choosing one name out of every three names in the list for sampling. In the case of a wrong address, it was substituted with another one from the list. In the case of more than one job-seeker in the house being sampled, the job-seeker who was selected through the list in the frame was the only eligible person for the interview.

Chapter Four describes the treatment of the data and findings for the tests of the study's hypotheses. Each of the study's Research Hypotheses was stated and followed by Tables which summarized the statistical findings.
CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

EXPRESSION OF PREJUDICE

An analysis of the values and attitudes which are related to prejudice will help to provide insights into the reasons why some Nigerians discriminate against one another. On this basis, questions 29 through 33 in the Interview Schedule were designed to investigate the feelings of people about ethnic factors in employment in Kaduna City and in Nigeria in general. It is observed that the process of urbanism is a phenomenon which a society like Nigeria was not prepared for and Nigerians did not understand the many problems such as alienation that could result from urbanization. Deutsch (1969) points this out:

"The torment of alienation, the need for affiliation, identity, reassurance, and dependable human contact can become very, very strong. At the same time language becomes much more important for these people who have moved into the modern life of the city. A man who does not know the prevailing language will find himself at a serious loss. Yet learning a new language in order to communicate does not completely solve his problem because his native language is a part of his personality and giving it up almost inevitably increases his sense of alienation."
(Karl W. Deutsch, 1969)

As a matter of fact, the masses in the towns and urban cities came from a traditional milieu. These people arrived in the urban environment with beliefs and norms which told them to see people outside their own ethnic group as either aggressive or indolent. Loomis/Dyer (1976) note that:
"...newly arrived from 'the old country' can often make oneself somewhat impervious to the different normative demands of a new country by keeping alive the beliefs, goals and norms of the old country and by associating with others whose lives are guided by the same principles." (Loomis/Dyer: 1976)

It becomes imperative that the survival of any group of people depends very largely on the unity of the great majority of them. Ethnicity therefore, serves as the promoter of unity in this perspective, as people of the same ethnic group start associations with the aim of consolidating and fostering group unity within the urban environment. In the process of consolidating these group links, people often refuse to base their actions and utterances upon rationally perceived facts but rather upon ethnic evaluations of their experiences. For instance, 85% of the respondents from the South suggested during the interview that Northerners were primitive and still living in the Stone Age era. One Yoruba expressed his feeling in this way:

"...the highest educated Northerner, up to University Professor level is equated with an illiterate Southerner."

An Ibo respondent said that:

"...you can give all the education on earth to a Northerner and you can give him all the degrees and diplomas in the academic world, but you cannot take away his backwardness, primitiveness and old values from him. A Northerner is a Northerner."

One Kaduna indigene (Northerner) respondent told me that:

"The so-called Christian educated people in the Southern Nigeria are nothing but imperialists and colonizers, who have migrated to Kaduna to seek their fortune and in that process they want to forcibly impose their invidious religion and colonialism on us. We are at war with them. Yesterday,
it was British Colonialism, today, it is Ibo/Yoruba colonialism."

These expressions indicate that Southerners have been socialized to regard the Northerners as people who hate progress and modernity. Just as the French colonial rulers regarded Algerian natives as enemies of beauty or morality, the Southern Nigerians view their Northern counterparts as not suitable for social interaction. The French colonists' views of the Algerian natives could be used to understand how the Southern Nigerians regard the Northern Nigerians:

"The native is declared insensible to ethics, he represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values. He is, let us dare admit, the enemy of values, and in this sense he is the absolute evil. He is the corrosive element, destroying all that comes near him, he is the deforming element, disfiguring all that has to do with beauty or morality; he is the depository of maleficent powers, the unconscious and irretrievable instrument of blind forces." (Frantz Fanon: 1968)

This study found that of the 19 Northern indigenes interviewed, 69% had Arabic education up to University Diploma level, usually from The University of Bagdad, Iraq (Ministry of Labour, 1981), and, additionally, they also possessed Western education up to Secondary School level. Since Western education is the only acceptable educational qualification for work in Nigeria, their Arabic educational certificates appear to be non-functional as they are regarded as illiterates by Western definition. It was found also that there was geographical discrimination in that
10 respondents who were Southern indigenes, attended primary school in Kaduna and returned to their respective States in the South after their successful primary school graduation for employment. But their State governments requested them to retake the first school leaving certificate examination (F.S.L.C.) which is the same primary school examination in the South to confirm that they merited graduation and could compete with the Southern pupils. The respondents revealed that the Southern employers made them understand that in spite of the fact that the Country runs one educational system, they are very suspicious of anything that comes from the North, for they feel that education in the North cannot be regarded as having the same standard as in the South.

The bizarre fact is that the Country's secondary and primary educational system has one set of textbooks, curriculum and examinations, but because of institutionalized ethnic discrimination, attempts are being made by some States' bureaucrats to convert a unitary educational system into multi-dimensional types and levels. This discrimination creates a sort of superficial difference through geographical division. This Northern/Southern paradox becomes institutionalized through ethnic tags as in the United States where colour becomes the symbol of hereditary characteristics of a group. The report of The National Advisory Commission on civil disorders had this comment on the issue:
"What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."
(L. L. Knowles & K. Prewitt, 1969)

The demeaning behaviour of the Southerners against Northerners created a sort of dichotomy between the Southern and Northern indigenes. Tribalism, discrimination, prejudice, ethnicity and all that constituted a threat to Nigerian nationalism was always condemned in strong terms by most Southern Nigerians, but never received behavioural condemnation in action. Instead—the Southern educated persons and bureaucrats never failed to lambast the Northerners who practised this evil and never failed themselves to practise what they preached against. The Northerners themselves are aware of their position as the Northern Newspaper editorial under the editorship of a Kaduna indigene testified as follows:

"...we are backward, traditional and vulnerable to any sort of attack by our Southern brothers. The reason for this situation was the creation of an educational imbalance between the North and the South with a predominantly Christian and educated South and a correspondingly Moslem and educationally backward North. The imbalance has so far reflected in the political and social life of the Nation."

This stereotype against the Northerners creates the feelings amongst Southerners that being born in Southern Nigeria enhances their opportunity for a Western education and this in turn means good jobs in offices. On the other hand, the Northerners truly or falsely believe that they
are inferior compared with the standards of the South in all aspects of life; they have been socialized to believe this and to model their life after the life of industrious Southerners. Loomis/Dyer point out that:

"The minority group member sees himself (and believes himself to be) not only what his most primary associations reveals him to be, but that the majority system thinks him to be. The black, for example, may believe himself to be lazy or unpunctual or happy-go-lucky, if this is what he perceives to be the belief of the dominant whites. Even if he does not believe that he is any of these things, he is almost certain to be that 'they' think he is. He might respond by measuring up to their expectations or by proving that 'they' are wrong. In either case his conduct springs from a degree of internalization of beliefs about himself through white man's eyes."
(Loomis/Dyer: 1976)

'This reflects the Northerners' traditional cultural bias which instills in the hearts of the younger generations the defeatist message that a Northerner is lazy, promiscuous, lacking in ability to organize or the redeeming virtues of higher civilizations. He is, therefore, in need of guidance by the Southerner who is virtuous, hard-working, organized and ascetic. Whether or not rectitude, asceticism and industriousness are possessed by Southerners, will be revealed in the analyses of the research hypotheses of this study.
ETHNIC VALUE ORIENTATION

Kaduna City in all respects is an environment of heterogeneity in that people from different ethnic groups are found there.

Questions 29 and 43 were cross-tabulated and the Chi Square Test reveals that the relationship between ethnicity and living with an ethnic group member or not is significant. However, the expected result was that respondents would have been more comfortable to live with people of the same ethnic group than with people of a different ethnic group because of common attributes, common cultural interests and values, as claimed by Hughes and Kallen that:

".....the concept of ethnicity is that of common ancestry of peoplehood. Common ancestry, in turn, is a multi-faceted concept implying at least three criteria: biological descent from common ancestors, maintenance of a shared ancestral heritage (culture and social institutions), and attachment to an ancestral territory (homeland). These criteria provide the foundation for the actual or assumed distinctiveness of an ethnic category—a people classified as alike on the basis of ethnicity." (Hughes/Kallen: 1976)

Table 3 shows the responses of re-establishing the lost identity of a migrant job-seeker who had just arrived at a City from his place of birth.
Table 3

Relationship between ethnicity and who you lived with in an urban community of Kaduna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>No Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same ethnic group</td>
<td>73.1% (76)</td>
<td>26.9% (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different ethnic group</td>
<td>68.8% (11)</td>
<td>31.3% (5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total              | 87       | 33          | 120        |

Chi Square = 0.00362
(n.s. = not significant)

Table 3 reveals that regionalism (tribe and geographical political division) does not influence establishing one's identity in an urban area. People very often do not identify themselves with people of the same ethnic group. Ethnicity, therefore, is not seen as a determinant for identity establishment of individuals residing in Kaduna City. But it is clear, however, that living with a relative is very important. Around 70% are living with relatives.
Analysis of Hypothesis Number One

In order to determine the extent to which contextual independent variables and dependent variables relate to one another, the following sub-hypotheses were generated from the Research Hypothesis Number One.

Hypothesis 1.01 Belonging to the Moslem Religion accounts for a significant chance of getting employment in Kaduna.

Questions 27 and 45 controlling for Question 22 were cross-tabulated and Tables 4 and 5 reveal that the relationship between religion and employment opportunities through the mediation of educational attainment is not significant. Both primary and post primary schools prove statistically that religion has little or nothing to do with one's employment even when it is controlled by educational attainment. The Chi Square Tests using .05 level of significance in Tables 3 and 4 are not significant.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td>19.0% (4)</td>
<td>81.0% (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Moslem</td>
<td>35.4% (17)</td>
<td>64.6% (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 1.15651
n.s.
Nonetheless, a much larger proportion of Moslems are employed who are primary school leavers than non-Moslems.

Table 5
Relationship between religion and employment at post primary school level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td>33.3% (5)</td>
<td>66.7% (10)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Moslem</td>
<td>25.0% (9)</td>
<td>75.0% (27)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 0.06933
n.s.

Hypothesis 1.02 Applicants' academic attainment accounts for a significant employment opportunity.

Question 33 was tabulated according to State of respondents and Table 6 reveals the percentages of attitudes of the respondents by carefully enumerating the job factor considered to be the most important for employment in Kaduna.
Table 6
Respondents' opinion about the most important job factors for employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Factors</th>
<th>IBO</th>
<th>IBIBIO</th>
<th>YORUBA</th>
<th>HAUSA</th>
<th>EDO</th>
<th>FULANI</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W.A.S.C.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>62.5 (75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. EXP.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.5 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental S.E.S.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11.7 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.0 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponsor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.7 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.7% (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

West African School Certificate = 62.5%
Work experience = 2.5%
Parental S.E.S. = 11.7%
Religion = 5.0%
Sponsor = 1.7%
Tribe = 16.7%

As revealed by Table 6, 62.5% believed that education is the most important factor for employment compared to 16.7% who believed in tribal help and 11.7% who believed in parental influence. Other factors are below 6.0%.

As far as Table 6 is concerned, the percentage of those who believed that education is the most important factor for employment is greater than other factors. The
test seems to show that education is the strongest factor for employment.

**Hypothesis 1.03** Unsolicited applications account for a significant opportunity for employment.

Question 44 was tabulated and as a result, Table 7 reveals that out of 85 job-seekers who had been employed, 63.5% got their jobs through uninvited or unsolicited applications, while 36.5% made it by solicited applications.

**Table 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner of looking for work</th>
<th>Number employed</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unsolicited applications</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>63.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solicited applications</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inference one can draw from Table 7 is that most job-seekers get their job through unsolicited or uninvited applications.

**Hypothesis 1.04** When employment is based on uninvited applications, more unqualified people are employed.

Questions 45 and 46 were cross-tabulated to test
whether or not people who got employment had the prerequisite educational qualification for their respective work. The test reveals that there is no statistical relationship between being qualified and employment; hence, employment is not a function of being qualified or not. This seems to be the key finding in this study, which Table 8 explains further.

Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qualified</td>
<td>28.0% (26)</td>
<td>72.0% (67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not qualified</td>
<td>33.3% (9)</td>
<td>66.7% (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 0.09036
n.s.
Conclusions: Research Hypothesis Number One

Research Hypothesis Number One stated that:

"Non-Muslim job-seekers tend to have higher levels of education than Moslem job-seekers, but this would not necessarily enhance their chances for employment."

Hypothesis 1.01 tested for significant relationships between and significant differences among the dependent and intervening variables (employment and education) and religion. There was no statistical evidence to support the premise that belonging to the Moslem religion does facilitate one's employment opportunity.

Hypothesis 1.02 tested to determine whether or not academic attainment accounts for significant employment opportunities. It was evident, therefore, that one's educational attainment is a major factor for employment.

Hypothesis 1.03 tested to determine whether or not unsolicited applications account for significant employment opportunities. The test supports the evidence that unsolicited application enhances one's employment opportunities in Kaduna.

Hypothesis 1.04 tested whether or not unsolicited applications give rise to employment of educationally unqualified people. The test of this hypothesis does not support the hypothesis of unsolicited applications assisting unqualified employees.

It was evident that any significant chance for
employment was due to uninvited or unsolicited applications which was however mediated through educational attainment, and not religious affiliation. Therefore, the Research Hypothesis Number One is rejected.

Nevertheless, Moslems who were primary school leavers were more likely to be employed than non-Moslems. Also, there are less than one-third of the secondary school leavers who were Moslem, meaning that they generally have low educational levels.
Analysis of Hypothesis Number Two

The Influence of State of Origin on Employment Opportunities

The experience of employment as affected by the State of origin of individuals among primary and post primary school leavers is the central concern of this section.

There was a general belief among job-seekers, and some who had gained employment, that one's State of origin affected the chances of securing a job in Kaduna -- notwithstanding educational qualifications. They believed that non-indigenes of Kaduna State had less chance of securing employment than the indigenes. This section examines the validity of this belief.

In my sample of one hundred and twenty respondents, there appears to be an over-representation of indigenes from certain States.

Table 9
Respondents' States of Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State of Origin</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ogun</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imo</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendel</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokoto</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is not surprising that Ibo (Imo and Anambra) respondents are more numerous, given that Kaduna was the former colonial administrative headquarters of the Northern region of Nigeria. It is also the second commercial centre in Northern Nigeria and that would attract school leavers seeking employment. In addition, the Northerners were not given access to clerical and administrative positions during the British Colonial era, and Ibos from Southern Nigeria were brought to Kaduna to work in the colonial offices and the few industries at that time.

Another reason that might explain the predominance of Ibos in the sample is that Western education was embraced by them earlier than other ethnic groups and that at present more of them complete their education in their State of origin. Because they cannot be absorbed into their home labour market, they migrate to Kaduna, the former Northern region headquarters and the second commercial centre where they believe they have better employment opportunities.

What is striking is the complete absence of most of the 'Northern' ethnic groups and the few 'Southern' ethnic groups (apart from Ibo) in this study. For the 'Northern' groups, this can be explained in terms of more demand for man-power in their respective States, which in effect, will enhance quick promotion to the higher levels.
As for the few 'Southern' ethnic groups (other than the Ibo) that were absent, it could be explained in terms of distance, and another alternative available to them—that of proximity to Lagos, the Federal Capital, which also houses many businesses and government offices.

It was found that out of the 18 respondents who were Kaduna State indigenes, 3 were employed by Kaduna State government, 7 were employed by non-Kaduna State government, and the remaining 8 had no employment at the time of the interview. There were 102 respondents from other States, 29 of whom were employed by Kaduna State government institutions, 46 employed by non-Kaduna State government, and 27 respondents who remained unemployed and were still actively looking for employment.

Table 10 shows the distribution.

Table 10
The number of respondents offered employment by both Kaduna State Government and Non-Kaduna State Government Institutions in Kaduna State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE OF ORIGIN</th>
<th>EMPLOYER</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KADUNA STATE GOVERNMENT</td>
<td>OTHER EMPLOYERS</td>
<td>UNEMPLOYED</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KADUNA STATE</td>
<td>16.7% (3)</td>
<td>38.9% (7)</td>
<td>44.4% (8)</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER STATES</td>
<td>28.4% (29)</td>
<td>45.1% (46)</td>
<td>26.5% (27)</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 2.62235
n.s.
Amongst 18 respondents from Kaduna State, 10 had post primary education, out of which 6 were employed, and 4 remained unemployed, while 8 had primary school education, out of which 4 had employment, and 4 remained without work. Of 102 who were non-Kaduna indigenes, 41 had post primary education, of which 31 had employment, and 10 remained applicants; 61 possessed primary school education, amongst which 44 had been employed and 17 were jobless.

Tables 11 and 12 below summarize the findings further.

**Table 11**

Number of primary school respondents offered employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State of Origin</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna indigenes</td>
<td>50.0% (4)</td>
<td>50.0% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other States' indigenes</td>
<td>27.9% (17)</td>
<td>72.1% (44)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 0.75778
n.s.
Table 12

Number of post primary school leavers
offered employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State of Origin</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna indigenes</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other States' indigenes</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>75.6%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 0.35594
n.s.

Table 11 reveals that in general, other States' indigenes had a higher rate of employment than Kaduna State indigenes in Kaduna State itself. A possible explanation of this is the low educational level of Kaduna State indigenes.

Table 13

Number of respondents employed and unemployed
by State of origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State of Origin</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna State indigenes</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other States' indigenes</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>73.5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(27)</td>
<td>(75)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 1.60158
n.s.
Table 13 raises the question about why there are so few Kaduna State indigenes in the sample.

Firstly, it may be that my sample is biased in favour of Ibos and against Kaduna indigenes, but the selection of my sample was based on a random stratified method, so that every third name on a list was chosen, and the frame from which the respondents were sampled was neither accidental nor purposively constructed, but systematically built up with the aid of the Kaduna State Ministry of Labour. Therefore, it might be that most school leavers who are indigenes of Kaduna State do not normally register with the Ministry of Labour as some of them, as I was told, usually got their job immediately after completing school.

The inference one can draw from these statistics findings is that non-Kaduna State indigenes have chances of employment in Kaduna State; hence, Hypothesis Number Two is not supported by these findings. The data from Table 10 seems to indicate employment in Kaduna is not a function of State of origin.
Analysis of Hypothesis Number Three
Measurement of Relationship Between Parental 
Socio-economic Status and Employment 
Among School Leavers

This section reports on the testing of the hypothesis 
that there is an inverse relationship between parental 
socio-economic status and success in job seeking among 
school leavers. My reasoning was that high parental 
socio-economic status would provide the basis for better 
educational attainment. The higher the qualification, in 
turn, the better the chance of finding a job.

The study reveals that parental socio-economic status 
clearly influences one's educational attainment: in the 
sample of 120 respondents, 70 were from the low income 
homes, while 50 were from the high income homes. The 
low income parents were defined as parents whose income 
did not exceed $1742.00 per annum and the high income 
parents were those earning over $1743.00 per annum. Out 
of 70 respondents from low income homes, 37 or 52.9% of 
the total population sample ended up with only primary 
school education, while 33 or 47.1% attended post primary 
schools. And out of the 50 respondents from the high 
income homes, 32 or 64.0% had primary school education, 
while 18 or 36.0% had post primary school education.

What this means is that more children of the low 
income homes attained higher levels of education than 
children of the high income bracket. This indicates that
poverty may be a motivating factor for higher educational attainment. When looking at Table 14, the tau B coefficient shows that the correspondence between parental income and the educational attainment of the respondent is negative. This may mean that the higher parental income, the less aggressive their children will be in their studies, and the lower parental income, the more aggressive a child is in his studies; hence, poverty may be a motivating factor for higher education in Nigerian society.

Table 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCOME OF PARENTS</th>
<th>EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF CHILD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦100 - ₦1742</td>
<td>52.9% (37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦1743 and more</td>
<td>64.0% (32)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kendall's Tau B = -0.11113
n.s.
Rate of Employment

Another question altogether is whether the level of educational attainment facilitates employment opportunities. For instance, out of a total sample of 120 respondents, 69 attended primary school, out of which 48 were employed, and the rest unemployed. And 51 attended post primary school, out of which 17 were employed and 14 remained jobless. Table 15 reveals that although the Chi Square Test is not significant, it is still possible that educational attainment facilitates employment opportunities. If this is true, it therefore means that people of low income parents have higher employment opportunities than those of high income parents because, according to Table 14, children of low income homes attained higher levels of education than children of high income homes.

Table 15
Relationship between educational attainment and employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>30.4% (21)</td>
<td>69.6% (48)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post primary school</td>
<td>27.5% (14)</td>
<td>72.5% (37)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 0.02321
n.s.
According to Table 15 above, 30.4% of the primary school leavers remained unemployed, while only 27.5% of the post primary school leavers were unemployed. Similarly, 69.6% of the primary school leavers were employed, while 72.5% of the post primary school leavers were employed. Though post primary school leavers have a slightly higher non-significant score in employment than primary school leavers, the association seems too small to warrant a generalization that post primary school leavers have higher employment opportunities than primary school leavers. From the data in Table 15, it appears that primary school leavers have almost the same opportunities as post primary school leavers, because the differences were not statistically significant. However, the primary school leavers themselves are perfectly aware of this disadvantage compared to post primary school leavers, as the following responses to interview questions revealed:

Researcher: "You told me you have been in the labour market for about a year and yet unemployed. What do you hope to do after you have convinced yourself that you have exhausted all the resources available to you to enhance your employment, but still remain unemployed?"

Respondent: "This is a very nice question 'Oga'. I as if you knew what I am thinking in my mind. I have written to my uncle at home and my senior brother at Enugu, who is a nursing superintendent, to please help me financially to further my education. Because primary school

'Oga' is used to mean Sir.
education nowadays is not highly regarded. You can imagine that most of my friends whom together we were 'applicants', the secondary school boys amongst us have been employed...."²

"Therefore, you can see that only more education above primary level can solve this problem."

Researcher: "You have been in Kaduna for the past 15 months seeking for employment and yet not employed. What do you think is the cause?"

Respondent: "The reason is that the Nigeria of today is blind to skill at the expense of paper qualification.³ Nigeria wants the type of people called book-worms and not real devoted workers. If I had a secondary school education, I bet you Sir I would have been employed;⁴ even if not by Kaduna State government, private companies and corporations would have offered me employment. If I wanted a teaching job, with secondary school education, I am sure the Kaduna State government would also offer me a chance. But sorry I have none. My plan now is to go home and try my luck for the universal primary education (U.P.E.) at the Teachers' College, which is free."

Researcher: "You have been here for over seven months at least seeking for work and yet not employed. What do you hope to do after some time and yet you are not employed?"

²Emphasis mine.
³Paper qualification means having a Certificate of formal education, but no practical knowledge.
⁴Emphasis mine.
Respondent: "I am even now tired of this trouble of looking for work. Unless you have a certificate beyond primary school level, it is difficult to secure employment. Because of this, I learned painting and still not able to get a job. I intend going to University, but it is not possible because I can't read so much. The problem in Nigeria is that everyone is expected to get a degree which I think is not possible. Now I am ready to go home and establish as a chartered painter and then will forget about looking for work every month."

From all indications, then, it is clear that educational attainment does affect employment opportunities. And out of the 14 unemployed post primary school leavers in Table 15, 6 were Teachers' College graduates; 2 of them refused being posted to rural areas, while the remaining 4 were trying for a clerical appointment. This I called self-denial of employment, because they were teachers and refused to take up teaching appointments. Therefore, I shall not consider them as necessarily unemployed. The other 8 who were unemployed were post primary school (secondary school) graduates and were very optimistic that they were going to be employed, not by Kaduna State government, but by the department stores or multi-national corporations in Kaduna.

Philip J. Foster has argued that there has been a sharp drop in the occupational worth of a primary school education (Foster, 1964). He claims also that one can associate the
reinforcement of this devaluation of primary school leavers with the fact of the predominance of government as an employer which leads to an emphasis on the possession of formal educational qualifications for jobs. This appears to be confirmed in Kaduna between the primary and post primary school leavers, except in the cases where one gains employment through favouritism and nepotism, which shall be discussed in the next part of this section.
Help To Get a Job

Is one's socio-economic status used as an influence to secure one's child a job? It is generally claimed that the job which a school leaver finds and how long it takes him to find it, varies with his father's socio-economic status, and whether he gets help from parents, relatives, or friends. The study reveals that one's father's socio-economic status affects not only one's chances for further schooling, as shown in Table 14, but also one's job prospects. This research observed that children who found a job soon after leaving school, usually did so with the help of relatives, parents and friends. This category of respondents usually come from low socio-economic status parents. This study does not support the claims by Peil (1966), who noted that job-seekers who found jobs in Ghana soon after leaving school, usually did so through the help of parents from high socio-economic status who have contacts with influential officials. This research noted that the Nigerian situation is completely opposite to what Peil found out in Ghana.

In the sense that children of low socio-economic status backgrounds in Nigeria after leaving school become assets for their parents, and for their parents to realize some gain from their investment in their children's education, they may be inclined to look for work for their children much more readily. But the high socio-economic status
parents who do not regard the educational expenses of their children as investments may not become job-seekers for their children.

Job-seekers of low socio-economic status parents who are not sponsored by parents, friends or relatives, to get a job, usually took a much longer time and most often were employed on a temporary or daily basis. Many employed persons of low socio-economic status origin told of parental help as of paramount importance in job-seeking. One employed respondent from low socio-economic status parents said:

"I went to the Permanent Secretary's office with my application but there were no jobs. The next day, my father went to the Permanent Secretary in his house with some yams, and the next week, I was given a job as a Clerical Assistant."

Table 16, below, explains more on how the low socio-economic status parents influence the employment of their children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table of those who had help to get employment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low socio-economic status</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M100 - M1742</td>
<td>17.3% (9)</td>
<td>82.7% (43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High socio-economic status</td>
<td>42.4% (14)</td>
<td>57.6% (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1743 and above</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 5.24
p = 0.02
Table 17
Table of those who had no help to get employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low socio-economic status</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M100 - M1742</td>
<td>33.3% (6)</td>
<td>66.7% (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High socio-economic status</td>
<td>35.3% (6)</td>
<td>64.7% (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1743 and above</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 0.0
n.s.

As revealed in Table 16, out of 52 respondents of low socio-economic status parents, 82.7% got employment through help from relatives, friends or parents. Out of 33 respondents from high socio-economic homes, 57.6% got their employment through help from relatives, friends or parents. This Table is statistically significant. The difference of 25.1% seems large enough to warrant a generalization that relatives of low socio-economic status influence employment of their children. On the other hand, 66.7% of the respondents from low socio-economic status homes got employment themselves, while 64.7% of the high socio-economic status homes secured employment by their own efforts, as indicated in Table 17. Hence, there is essentially no difference. All the same, the data in Table 16 show that a high percentage of children of low income homes got employment through their parents, friends or relatives' efforts, while a high percentage of
children of high income homes got their employment through no help from relatives, friends or parents. The high percentage of help received by children of low income homes indicates that they are dependent on either relatives or friends for employment; hence, opportunities for corruption, nepotism and favouritism may be more prevalent here.

The possible reason for the children of low income homes getting their jobs through help from relatives or friends is that they have no other choice, apart from being employed to gain an income. Children of high income homes may depend more on their parents' income or wealth, and for this reason, they see no need for struggling to enter the job market as do their counterparts from low income homes.

The Chi Square in Table 16 means that the lower one's socio-economic status, the higher the possibility of influence helping employment.

Table 17 shows that for those who had no help in seeking employment, there is no effect of parental socio-economic status on getting employed.

In Table 18, if we look at the low socio-economic status group only as regrouped to further check the influence of socio-economic status on employment opportunities amongst primary school leavers compared to those with higher education, we find that primary school graduates from low income parents were employed more
than those from high income parents. There is no difference between high and low socio-economic groups among the post primary school leavers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parental socio-economic status</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low socio-economic status</td>
<td>16.2% (6)</td>
<td>83.8% (31)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High socio-economic status</td>
<td>46.9% (15)</td>
<td>53.1% (17)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 6.24
p < 0.02

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parental socio-economic status</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low socio-economic status</td>
<td>27.3% (9)</td>
<td>72.7% (24)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High socio-economic status</td>
<td>27.8% (5)</td>
<td>72.2% (13)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 0.0
n.s.
Chi Square is highly significant for Table 18. That is, the higher the economic status, the lower the employment opportunities. However, this means that Hypothesis Number Three holds as the finding shows that children of low income parents tend to have higher educational attainment and, in turn, have higher employment opportunities than children of the high socio-economic status. According to Table 18, 37 respondents of low socio-economic status attained primary school level, as against 32 respondents of high socio-economic status who attained primary school level. Similarly, out of the total who attended primary school from low socio-economic status, 83.8% were employed, as against 53.1% of high socio-economic status who had employment with similar educational qualifications. This is also a significant percentage difference. This justifies the claim that more children of low income homes attained higher educational levels than children of the high income homes. In turn, higher opportunities for employment are opened to children of the low income families because of their educational attainments and their relatives and friends' struggle to get a child a job.

This research, therefore, suggests that the higher income parents may be less concerned in securing their children jobs, and conversely, the lower income of parents, the more concerned about job chances for their children.
Educational Attainment of Nigerian Women in the Labour Force

As pointed out in the previous pages, education is a major variable that affects employment opportunities. In this study, the independent variable of sex was examined for its possible relationship to the dependent variable—educational attainment. It was found out that a relationship exists between sex and educational attainment. Table 20 shows this:

Table 20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primary School</th>
<th>Post Primary School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>61.6% (61)</td>
<td>38.4% (38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>38.1% (8)</td>
<td>61.9% (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 3.02
p = 0.08

Table 20 indicates the Chi Square Test as being significant, meaning that sex affects the educational level of an individual. According to Table 20, females attained higher educational levels than their male counterparts. A possible reason for females appearing to
have had higher educational attainment than males is due to the fact that educated females are more likely to be found in urban areas, while a greater number of uneducated females would be found in rural areas, particularly on farm plantations. Consequently, more educated females entered into the sample, as the research was conducted in an urban area.

Another possible reason may be that as women have started to challenge educational and training barriers which are against them, their position has become more liberalized and the doors of schools and vocational institutions are opened to them. Otherwise, one might have expected that males would have had a higher educational attainment than females.

Another factor is that males are over-represented in my sample size, while females are under-represented. As a matter of fact, women respondents were disappointingly few, and, for this reason, caution must be used in interpreting this result.

Table 21 shows the number of employed female respondents as compared to their male counterparts in educational attainment.
Table 21

Relationship between sex and education of employed respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primary School</th>
<th>Post Primary School</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>61.1% (61)</td>
<td>38.9% (28)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30.8% (4)</td>
<td>69.2% (9)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 2.98
p = 0.08

The Test shows that amongst those respondents already at work, a larger percentage of females had higher educational attainment than males. The reasons for this are not different from the reasons given in the interpretation of Table 18. Perhaps, because of the industrial expansion in Nigeria, the few urban females in my sample have removed themselves from the kitchen into what Nigerian society formerly considered as 'man's world' of education and occupational aspirations. Hence, it appears as if females have moved from family centred tasks to educational aspirations. No matter how one interprets the result of this section, there is doubt that females have higher levels of educational attainment than males. The reason for the doubt is that, in Nigerian society, the
cost of education constitutes an individual or family investment on which quick returns are expected, so that the education of female children appears as an economic risk or a financial waste, since female children will often marry after completing their education and eventually form a family somewhere else. For these reasons, parents shy away from investing in female education. However, it may be seen in most instances in this study that both Foster (1964) and Clignet/Foster (1966) results are consistent with my findings that education has a strong influence in job-seeking opportunities. Also, among the women, this study observed that out of 5 female primary school leavers, 80% had employment and they were of low socio-economic status homes, and out of 3 female primary school leavers from high income homes, 100% had no employment. It may be that women from low income families got employment through the help of parents, relatives or friends, while children of high income families were usually not helped by their parents, so that the question of looking for a job or employing parents or friends' help to get employment is always a secondary matter among children from high income families. Table 22 illustrates this further:
Table 22
Relationship between parental socio-economic status of female children and employment opportunities of female primary school leavers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parental socio-economic status</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low socio-economic status</td>
<td>20.0% (4)</td>
<td>80.0% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High socio-economic status</td>
<td>100.0% (3)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A statistic cannot be computed for Table 22 because of the one zero cell frequency and small numbers in the other cells, but it would appear that females from high income families tend to be less successful in securing jobs than those from low income homes.

On the whole, this study tells us two things: firstly, children from low income homes have higher chances for employment than children from high socio-economic status backgrounds. The reason is that children from low income homes rely on help to get employment; secondly, that educational attainment is one of the factors which influence employment, but sources of help play a most vital role in one's employment.
CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This Chapter gives the summary of the study, together with conclusions and recommendations based on its findings. There are three sections in this Chapter.

Section One is a review of the purpose of the study. Section Two gives the conclusions relevant to the three main hypotheses tested. Section Three is about the discussion of the findings and conclusions. That section also outlines recommendations and implications for further research.

SECTION ONE

Review of the purpose of this study

There are two main purposes in undertaking this study. The first purpose was to determine whether or not there was a statistical relationship between ascription and employment in Northern Nigeria. The high unemployment rate in the country is frequently blamed on the Northern Nigerians for basing employment on ascription instead of achievement criteria. Various variables were used in testing the three main hypotheses. Another purpose of the study was to determine if the employment structure in Nigeria was based on ethnic or class factors.

Research questions and hypotheses were carefully
formulated to match the theoretical frame-work of this study. The study was done in Kaduna City, using Interview Schedules with 120 respondents. Chi Square and Kendall's tau B were computed to statistically analyze the data for the testing of the hypotheses. From the procedure and the results of the statistics, the significance of the directions and the strength of relationships were identified.

SECTION TWO

Conclusions: Research Hypothesis One

The claim made by Hypothesis Number One was that 'non-Moslem job-seekers have higher levels of education than their Moslem counterparts, but this would not necessarily enhance their chances for employment in a predominantly Moslem City of Kaduna'. The analysis of the findings revealed that despite the differences in religion and socio-cultural backgrounds between Moslem and non-Moslem job-seekers, the relation between educational attainment and employment was evident within the social context of job opportunity in Kaduna City. Among those with prescribed educational attainment, employment was opened to both non-Moslem and Moslem job-seekers alike. Analysis of Hypothesis Number One showed that there was no significant relationship between the Islamic religion and employment; hence, the hypothesis was rejected, with the proviso that there was a possible link between education
and work opportunity in Kaduna.

Conclusions: Research Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis Number Two was that 'State of origin (geographical and political division) influences employment opportunities amongst both primary and post primary school leavers in Kaduna'. The test revealed that ethnicity or State or origin did not have any significant influence in employment in Kaduna. Therefore, Hypothesis Number Two was rejected.

Conclusions: Research Hypothesis Three

The third hypothesis was that 'there is an inverse relationship between parental socio-economic status and unemployment amongst both primary and post primary school leavers in Kaduna. This hypothesis was analyzed and it was found that low socio-economic status children got employment through help received from parents, relatives and friends, as indicated in Table 16.

Children of low socio-economic status who found jobs soon after leaving school, usually did so with the help of the influence of relatives, primarily parents or kin who know influential persons in either government institutions or large corporations, or parents who are likely to come in contact with influential officials or friends in public or private institutions. As D. M. Wilmer points out:
"contact and the perceived social climate tend to reinforce each other when their influence operates in the same direction...."
(D. M. Milner, 1955)

Children who found their own jobs (which usually took a much longer time) are usually those from low income homes without parents or friends' help. They had no parents or kin in Kaduna, but came on their own after leaving school and were putting up with relatives or friends who were not influential and unable to render them much help in securing jobs; hence, Hypothesis Number. Three was consistent in that children of low socio-economic background got jobs quicker through help from different sources, and children of high socio-economic status had less inclination for employment because they depended on the wealth of their parents. Therefore, this research suggests that the higher one's socio-economic status background, the less inclination towards employment; and the lower one's socio-economic background, the higher inclination towards employment.

SECTION THREE
Discussion, Recommendations and implications for further research

This study notes that perceptions are not uniformly distributed across populations, but reflect the experiences of the respondents, either directly through experiences or mediated by friends, peer groups, the mass media, or their disposition to interpret new experiences in the
light of existing biases and values. Though, not always consistently so, people structure their assessment of a situation by what they want to observe and want to hear, starting from a value premise and end up with a value laden conclusion. The accuracy of evaluation of how correctly respondents assess the reality of the employment system in Kaduna is difficult to judge. Nor can one say that personal experience of a specific reality in one employment sector leads to more correct description of what other job seekers experience than does hearsay, since any respondent will only have his limited experiences in looking for a job and neither he nor the person to whom he reports these experiences would know how typical his experiences are. In this way, stereotypes in labour recruitment, received information without personal observation or experience, or experience filtered through and distorted by existing biases may not be logically accurate. How can one ascertain the truth of the information supplied by the respondents? There is a risk that many respondents intentionally might decide to respond to a theoretical question in ways favourable to their ethnic group or State of origin. But, there is also some fear that in actual practice, their attitudes contradict their behaviour. Not only is this hard to verify, but also it is difficult to interpret their experience. The data do not tell one of the actual experiences of the respondents in the process of looking
for work, and how they got their job. What needs to be studied more closely is precisely how parental socio-economic status affects one's employment opportunities in Kaduna.

In the analyses of the three hypotheses, it has been found that education and parental, friend's, or relative's help have consistently been the variables that determined employment in Kaduna.

My major finding is consistent with the results from the research of P. J. Foster (1964) and R. Clignet and P. J. Foster (1966). They found that education was a determining factor for employment.

P. J. Foster (1964) observed that most of the African countries pay considerable priority to education with a view that formal education provides an efficient means of rapidly raising levels of national income.

R. Clignet and P. J. Foster (1966) agreed that there has been a drop in the occupational worth of primary school education. This means that the importance of higher education is a criterion for securing jobs. In their other statements, both maintained that any secondary school graduate was assured of a good job and remuneration. They found that education was held as a very strong factor for employment; hence, my finding is supported in that education plays a vital role in employment. In theoretical perspective, my principal finding is also consistent with the notions of ethnicity. In
the sense that employment is based on particularistic considerations because the recruitment assessor looks at the sponsorship of the applicant—the parent, relative or friend who helps the applicant to get the job.

This study views this type of evaluation as being faulty in that no effort is made to find out from the applicant in question how important are his potentials, interests and motivation for the work he is seeking.

This study is of the opinion that Nigeria's skilled manpower problems would be less serious if employment and hiring practices both in public and private sectors were based on achievement instead of sponsor's influence. The study views that because of particularistic consideration or parental sponsorship in employment, Nigerian society produces some occupants of responsible posts whose performances make us wonder how they got there.

At this point, it may well be asked how reliable and valid the findings of this study are to Kaduna State since the number of Kaduna State indigenes was relatively small, compared with the large number of respondents in the sample from other States, especially from the Ibo ethnic group in particular. The low number of indigenous respondents from Kaduna State therefore, makes it necessary that we should be cautious of broad interpretation. Also, caution should be taken in making generalizations about the larger population.
of Nigeria; since this research is limited to a particular area of the country, and the sample is too small to allow any definitive statements at the national level. For one to make a broad generalization, such a study has to be carried out on a large sample taken from different areas of Nigeria. It is important to remind the reader that inasmuch as these research findings are based upon a limited survey, they are advanced only as tentative efforts to suggest further possibilities for more detailed inquiry, such as: 'The influence of parental socio-economic status on employment opportunities in Nigeria'.

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LOOKING FOR WORK

DIRECTIONS: The following pages contain statements about you and your experiences about seeking employment. Your answers can contribute to an understanding of how people find jobs in Kaduna. Please answer all questions as completely as possible. We assure you that all the information you give will be treated as confidential and cannot be identified with you in any way.

A. Socio-economic background of Respondent

V01. Sex of Respondent (by observation)
   1. Male
   2. Female

V02. State of origin of your father
   1. Ogun
   2. Oyo
   3. Kaduna
   4. Imo
   5. Bendel
   6. Ondo
   7. C.R.S.
   8. Anambra
   9. Niger
  10. Benue
  11. Kwara
  12. Kano
  13. Sokoto
  14. Borno
  15. Rivers
  16. Gongola
V02. (Continued)

17. Plateau
18. Lagos
19. Bauchi
00. N.R.

V03. Your father's ethnic group (tribe)

1. Ibibio
2. Ibo
3. Yoruba
4. Hausa
5. Edo
6. Fulani
7. Other (specify)
00. N.R.

V04. Is your father living in Kaduna?

1. Yes
2. No

V05. With whom are you living?

1. My parents
2. My relation
3. My friends
4. Myself
00. N.R.

V06. What is your father's occupation?

1. White collar worker
2. Blue collar worker
3. Skilled or personal service
4. Professional

V07. How far did your father go in school?

1. Primary
2. Post primary
V07. (Continued)

   ___ 3. Professional college
   ___ 4. University
   ___ 5. None

V08. What do you think he earns per annum?

   low     _______ (a) less than N=1524
                     (b) N1525 - N1633
                     (c) N1634 - N1742
                     _______

   high    _______ (d) N1743 - N1943
                     (e) N1944 - N2144
                     (f) N2145 and above
                     _______

V09. For how many people is he the primary source of support?

   ___ 1. One person
   ___ 2. Two - four persons
   ___ 3. More than four persons
   ___ 00. N.R.

VERY IMPORTANT: If you had lived with a guardian/relational
or are now living with one, please answer questions 10 to 15. (If living with parents,
skip to 16.)

V10. State of origin of your guardian/relational

   ___ 1. Ogun
   ___ 2. Oyo
   ___ 3. Kaduna
   ___ 4. Imo
   ___ 5. Bendel
   ___ 6. Ondo
   ___ 7. C.R.S.
   ___ 8. Anambra
   ___ 9. Niger
   ___ 10. Benue
   ___ 11. Kwara
   ___ 12. Kano
   ___ 13. Sokoto
V10. (Continued)

   ______ 14. Borno
   ______ 15. Rivers
   ______ 16. Gongola
   ______ 17. Plateau
   ______ 18. Lagos
   ______ 19. Bauchi
   ______ 00. N.R.

V11. Your guardian/relation ethnic group (tribe)

   ______ 1. Ibibio
   ______ 2. Ibo
   ______ 3. Yoruba
   ______ 4. Hausa
   ______ 5. Edo
   ______ 6. Fulani
   ______ 7. Other (specify)
   ______ 00. N.R.

V12. Is your guardian/relation living in Kaduna?

   ______ 1. Yes
   ______ 2. No

V13. What is his/her occupation?

   ______ 1. White collar worker
   ______ 2. Blue collar worker
   ______ 3. Skilled or person service
   ______ 4. Professional

V14. What do you think he/she earns per annum?

   ______ 1. (a) less than ₦1524
   ______ (b) ₦1525 - ₦1633
   ______ (c) ₦1634 - ₦1742

   ______ 2. (d) ₦1743 - ₦1943
   ______ (e) ₦1944 - ₦2144
   ______ (f) ₦2145 and above
VI5. How far did he/she go in school?

___ 1. Primary
___ 2. Post primary
___ 3. Professional college
___ 4. University
___ 5. Never

VI6. State of origin of your mother

___ 1. Ogun
___ 2. Oyo
___ 3. Kaduna
___ 4. Imo
___ 5. Bendel
___ 6. Ondo
___ 7. C.R.S.
___ 8. Anambra
___ 9. Niger
___ 10. Benue
___ 11. Kwara
___ 12. Kano
___ 13. Sokoto
___ 14. Borno
___ 15. Rivers
___ 16. Gongola
___ 17. Plateau
___ 18. Lagos
___ 19. Bauchi
___ 00. N.R.

VI7. Your mother's ethnic group (tribe)

___ 1. Ibibio
___ 2. Ibo
___ 3. Yoruba
___ 4. Hausa
___ 5. Edo
___ 6. Fulani
V17. (Continued)

____ 7. Other (specify)
____ 00. N.R.

V18. How far did she go in school?
____ 1. Primary
____ 2. Post primary
____ 3. Professional college
____ 4. University
____ 5. Never

V19. What is her occupation?
____ 1. White collar worker
____ 2. Blue collar worker
____ 3. Skilled or personal service
____ 4. Professional

V20. What is her income per annum?

low 1. (a) less than $1524
____ (b) $1525 - $1633
____ (c) $1634 - $1742

________

high ______ (d) $1743 - $1943
____ (e) $1944 - $2144
____ (f) $2145 and above

V21. Who contributed financially to your education?

____ 1. father
____ 2. guardian/relation
____ 3. mother
____ 4. 1 & 2
____ 5. 1 & 3
____ 6. 2 & 3
____ 7. None of the above

B. Educational Background of Respondent

V22. How far did you go in school?
V22. (Continued)
(a) How many years of primary school did you complete?
   1. years
   2. grade obtained
(b) Did you study for a grade two teacher's certificate?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. grade obtained
(c) Did you study for West African School Certificate (W.A.S.C.)?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. grade obtained
(d) Did you attend a technical or commercial school?
   1. technical
   2. commercial
   3. none
   4. grade obtained

V23. Please describe any other educational qualifications you have that are not included above.

_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
V24. When did you leave school?
   1. 1981
   2. 1980
   3. 1979

V25. Why did you not go further in school?
V26. Did you say that your parent's/guardian's/friend's income falls below or above N1742 per annum?
   ___ 1. below
   ___ 2. above

V27. What is your religion?
   ___ 1. Moslem
   ___ 2. Non Moslem

V28. Your state of origin
   ___ 1. Ogun
   ___ 2. Oyo
   ___ 3. Kaduna
   ___ 4. Imo
   ___ 5. Bendel
   ___ 6. Ondo
   ___ 7. C.R.S.
   ___ 8. Anambra
   ___ 9. Niger
   ___ 10. Benue
   ___ 11. Kwara
   ___ 12. Kano
   ___ 13. Sokoto
   ___ 14. Borno
   ___ 15. Rivers
   ___ 16. Gongola
   ___ 17. Plateau
   ___ 18. Lagos
   ___ 19. Bauchi
   ___ 00. N.R.

V29. Your ethnic group (tribe)
   ___ 1. Ibo
   ___ 2. Ibibio
   ___ 3. Yoruba
   ___ 4. Hausa
   ___ 5. Ebo
V29. (Continued)

   6. Fulani
   7. Other (specify)
   00. N.R.

C. General Opinion of Respondent about Employment

V30. Do you believe that employment in Kaduna is based on educational background (qualifications)?

   1. Yes
   2. No

V31. Do you think that there are other people in Kaduna with the same education as you who had little difficulty in finding a job?

   1. Yes
   2. No

V32. Do you think that there are other people in Kaduna with even more education than you who haveing difficulty in finding a job?

   1. Yes
   2. No

V33. In Kaduna, which one of the following factors do you feel is most important for employment?

   2. Work experience
   3. Parents were born in Kaduna or Parental S.E.S.
   4. A person's religion
   5. An influential sponsor (Godfather/Godmother)
   6. A person's tribe
   7. No opinion

V34. Have you ever worked in Kaduna?

   1. Yes
   2. No
V35. How long have you been looking for work here in Kaduna?
   ___ 1. less than 6 months
   ___ 2. 6 months to 12 months
   ___ 3. more than 12 months

V36. What do you think are the reasons for your not being able to secure employment in Kaduna?

V37. Why do you say that?

V38. Now, tell me what type of work are you really looking for, such as: (check all that apply)
   ___ 1. Police Work
        Army Work
        Prison Work
        Custom/Immigration Work
   ___ 2. Sales
        Telephone operator
        Clerical
        Technician
   ___ 3. Hotel waiter/waitress
        Cleaner
        Other (specify)

V39. If you were to have a choice, would you prefer working for: (check the one you would prefer)
   ___ 1. State Government
   ___ 2. Federal Government
   ___ 3. Private non indigenous company
   ___ 4. Private indigenous company
   ___ 5. Multinational corporation
V40. Are you optimistic or pessimistic about your job opportunities in Kaduna?
   ___ 1. Optimistic
   ___ 2. Pessimistic

V41. Are you thinking of looking for work elsewhere in Nigeria?
   ___ 1. Yes
   ___ 2. No

V42. Were you born in Kaduna City?
   ___ 1. Yes
   ___ 2. No

V43. During your applicant's period, who helped you with feeding and lodging?
   ___ 1. relation in same ethnic group
   ___ 2. not relation, but same ethnic group
   ___ 3. relation from other ethnic group
   ___ 4. not relation, not same ethnic group

V44. How did you go about looking for the job?
   ___ 1. unsolicited applications
   ___ 2. solicited applications

V45. Are you employed now?
   ___ 1. Yes
   ___ 2. No

V46. Do you have the required educational qualifications for most of the jobs advertised, including your present work?
   ___ 1. yes, but employed
   ___ 2. no, but employed
   ___ 3. yes, but unemployed /
   ___ 4. no, but unemployed

V47. For whom are you working?
   ___ 1. Kaduna State Government
   ___ 2. Non Kaduna State Government
V48. Who helped you to get this work?
   1. Ethnic relation _______________ his income
   2. Friend _______________ his income
   3. Myself _______________ your parent's/guardian's income
   4. Unemployed _______________

V49. If you are presently not employed, what are the reasons you have not been able to get a job you would like?

V50. Now, I would like to know your work experience, including the times you have spent looking for work, and the times you have spent doing temporary jobs while looking for regular work. So, if you can, starting from the time you left school, tell me your experience. (Complete attached chart)

V51. Is there anything else which you think is important in explaining your experience in working and looking for work?

Well, this ends the interview; thank you very much for your co-operation.
**EMPLOYMENT HISTORY**

*From January 1979 – December 1981*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Type of job or unemployed</th>
<th>For whom: Government, Personal, Factory and Company (please give name)</th>
<th>Reasons for leaving</th>
<th>What did you like about this job?</th>
<th>What did you dislike about this job?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FROM</td>
<td>TO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>