

6-1986

Unemployment and Economic Development in Nigeria - Analysis and Policy Implications

E. O. Akinnifesi
Central Bank of Nigeria

Follow this and additional works at: <https://dc.cbn.gov.ng/efr>



Part of the [Growth and Development Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Akinnifesi, E. O. (1986). Unemployment and Economic Development in Nigeria - Analysis and Policy Implications. *CBN Economic and Financial Review*. 24(2), 52-63.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by CBN Institutional Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in *Economic and Financial Review* by an authorized editor of CBN Institutional Repository. For more information, please contact dc@cbn.gov.ng.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA — ANALYSIS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Dr. E. O. AKINNIFESI¹

Abstract

This paper discusses the dynamics of the unemployment problem within the development perspective of a post-independent Nigeria. It is argued that while successive governments seemed to have recognised the problem, the solutions so far adopted have resulted in mere palliatives.

Several factors accounting for unemployment have included: colonialism and the white-collar job syndrome, choice of technique in industries, structure of economic organisation, migration patterns, urbanisation, population growth, educational structure, and business cycles. Of the possible consequences of unemployment, the study highlights those having social, health, political and economic dimensions such as stress, suicide, parasuicide, armed robbery, coup d'états, inflation, etc.

Based on the findings obtained, recommendations are offered which hopefully would mitigate the unemployment problem in the short-run, while depressing it to a natural rate in the long-run.

Introduction

The issues of population, employment, unemployment, and economic development are closely related. Thus, an active population gives rise to an active labour force which can be mobilised for the purpose of increasing the national output thus promoting growth and economic development. In a situation of deficiency in aggregate demand as is typical of a recession, however, the growth path of the economy is altered leading to an underutilisation of factors of production coupled with a given level of unemployment in the domestic market for labour. In the industrialised countries of the Western world where full employment prevails most of the time, it is nevertheless agreed that some level of unemployment must occur which can be regarded as 'natural' owing to 'frictional' forces in the labour market. Consequently, the concept of a

'target rate of unemployment' has been adopted as defining that rate which policy should seek to achieve over a particular time period. On the other hand, the picture which we find in less developed countries is one of high rates of unemployment in the urban sector coupled with disguised or hidden unemployment in the rural sector of the economy.

At this juncture, there is need to distinguish between two terms which are frequently used interchangeably in the literature i.e. 'employment problem' and 'unemployment problem'. A fairly high rate of growth of the domestic labour force necessarily implies an equally high growth rate in labour demand in order to avoid a downward pressure on wages. This employment problem does not quite have its root in the labour market. Explanations as to why growth in the modern sector fails to provide adequate jobs in the presence of rapid labour force growth can be traced to some of the broad issues of economic development such as, appropriate technology, foreign trade regimes, mobilisation of domestic resources, etc. On the other hand, unemployment implies an excess supply of labour vis-à-vis demand at the prevailing wage rate which can be described as a type of 'static imbalance' in the labour market. As a matter of fact, a country may suffer from an acute employment problem (e.g. a nation-wide industrial action like general strike) which may not necessarily show up in labour market imbalance.

The purpose of this paper is to present, analyse, and discuss the unemployment problem in Nigeria during the planning experiences of two and a half decades i.e. 1960-1985. To achieve this, the rest of the paper is divided into sections of which section I discusses the temporal and spatial distribution of unemployment rates in Nigeria. Section 2 takes up the characteristics of the unemployed while section 3 discusses the causes and consequences of unemployment. Finally, section 4 summarises the paper and derives some policy implications.

I

Distribution of Unemployment Rates in Nigeria

Manpower statistics in Nigeria can be described as fragmentary and discontinuous being based essentially on Labour Force Sample Surveys (LFSS) conducted at irregular intervals by the National Manpower Board. So far, such surveys were carried out for 1966/7, 1974, and 1976 while the 1983 and 1984 ones were conducted by the Federal Office of Statistics. Full reports for the surveys have been published with considerable lags of 5 to 8 years while only preliminary reports

have been issued in the case of the 1983 and 1984 surveys. Results from these surveys have been put together in the present study in order to permit an inter-temporal analysis of the unemployment problem in Nigeria.

Table 1 gives statistics of unemployment rate² in Nigeria by urban and rural areas, and by sex, while Tables 2(a) and 2(b) present the distribution of unemployment rates by states and state capitals.

¹Dr. Akinnifesi is Deputy Director of Research and, Head of Statistics and Econometrics Division, Research Department, Central Bank of Nigeria, Lagos.

²The unemployment rate (UR) is defined as follows:—

let U = aggregate unemployment or total number of unemployed persons, WF = work force, LF = labour force, P = population, PR = participation rate. Then, LF = U + WF, and UR = U/LF. Similarly, PR = LF/P, see, Krishna [15, pp. 23-24].

DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN NIGERIA BY SEX

Year	Areas	(Age 15-59)		(Percentages) Both Sexes
		Male	Female	
1966/67	Urban	10.4	4.3	8.9
	Rural	0.6	0.3	0.5
	All Nigeria	2.4	0.9	1.7
1974	Urban	5.8	6.8	6.2
	Rural	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	All Nigeria	5.8	6.8	6.2
1976	Urban	4.7	3.5	4.3
	Rural	6.1	1.6	4.3
	All Nigeria	5.9	1.9	4.3
1983	Urban	5.8	10.6	7.3
	Rural	2.3	2.5	2.4
	All Nigeria	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

Sources: National Manpower Board, *Labour Force Sample Survey 1966/67, Lagos, Nigeria, 1972*
National Manpower Board, *Report of the Labour Force Sample Survey, Lagos, Nigeria, 1979*
National Manpower Board, *Report of the 1976 Labour Force Sample Survey, Lagos, Nigeria, 1985*
Federal Office of Statistics, *Labour Force Sample Survey (Preliminary Report) December 1983*

Table 2(a)

DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN NIGERIA BY STATES AND STATE CAPITALS
(Percentages)

States	Unemployment Rates		State Capitals	Unemployment Rates 1976
	1974	1976		
Benue Plateau	7.5	2.4	Jos	6.2
East Central	9.4	4.0	Enugu	11.5
Kano	2.2	9.7	Kano	2.4
Kwara	2.7	0.8	Ilorin	1.5
Lagos	7.0	6.3	Lagos	7.2
Mid-West	11.3	3.3	Benin	13.1
North Central	4.0	5.1	Kaduna	6.1
North East	4.4	7.0	Maiduguri	5.0
North West	1.3	4.7	Sokoto	2.0
Rivers	12.9	4.3	Portharcourt	13.3
South-East	15.0	4.9	Calabar	22.3
West	4.3	0.9	Ibadan	5.7
All States	6.2	4.3	All State Capitals	7.0

Sources: National Manpower Board, *Labour Force Sample Survey 1966/67, Lagos, Nigeria, 1972*
National Manpower Board, *Report of the Labour Force Sample Survey, Lagos, Nigeria, 1979*
National Manpower Board, *Report of the 1976 Labour Force Sample Survey, Lagos, Nigeria, 1985*
Federal Office of Statistics, *Labour Force Sample Survey (Preliminary Report) December 1983*

**UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AND NIGERIA'S POPULATION
CLASSIFIED BY STATES AND STATE CAPITALS 1984**

State	Density ¹	State Capital	Population ² (^{'000s})	Unemployment in States		Rates (%)
				Urban	Rural	
Anambra	341	Enugu	231.7	14.8		5.6
Bauchi	63	Bauchi	63.6	7.0		3.3
Bendel	116	Benin-City	169.2	12.8		14.6
Benue	90	Makurdi	90.5	8.0		1.2
Borno	43	Maiduguri	23.9	5.7		0.0
Cross River	214	Calabar	203.7	14.1		14.7
Congola	48	Yola	29.1	13.3		0.0
Imo	520	Owerri	44.2	15.7		11.6
Kaduna	98	Kaduna	251.1	5.7		0.9
Kano	224	Kano	495.8	3.6		2.2
Kwara	43	Ilorin	349.2	0.3		1.3
Lagos	986	Ikeja	1,739.4	9.7		6.4
Niger	31	Minna	110.2	2.7		0.8
Ogun	155	Abeokuta	313.7	6.5		2.6
Ondo	218	Akure	108.9	4.5		0.0
Oyo	232	Ibadan	1,052.0	8.1		0.0
Plateau	59	Jos	151.9	2.3		5.1
Rivers	132	Portharcourt	300.7	7.3		8.7
Sokoto	74	Sokoto	150.9	0.0		0.6
All Nigeria				7.9		4.4

Sources: Federal Office of Statistics, *Facts & Figures About Nigeria, Lagos, 1985*

Federal Office of Statistics, *Annual Abstract of Statistics 1982, Lagos*

Federal Office of Statistics, *Labour Force Sample Survey 1984, Lagos*

¹ Number of People per square kilometre.

² Population of each state capital was estimated as follows:—

$$\text{Pop}_{84}^{\text{Sc}} = \frac{\text{Pop}_{84}^{\text{S}}}{\text{Pop}_{81}^{\text{S}}} \times \text{Pop}_{81}^{\text{Sc}}$$

where $\text{Pop}_{84}^{\text{Sc}}$ stands for population of State capital in 1984,

$\text{Pop}_{81}^{\text{Sc}}$ stands for population of State capital in 1981,

$\text{Pop}_{81}^{\text{S}}$ stands for population of State in 1981.

Figures in Table 2(a) are for 1974 and 1976 under the old structure of twelve states while those in Table 2(b) relate to 1984 under the enlarged nineteen states' structure of the Federation.

Beginning with Table 1, one finds the following impressions: Within the age bracket 15 to 59 when people are supposed to be actively and gainfully employed, the overall rate of unemployment for both sexes in Nigeria stood at 1.7, 6.2, and 4.3 per cent in 1966-7, 1974 and 1976 respectively implying a cyclical fluctuation over the ten year period. The rate of urban unemployment fluctuated downwards from 8.9 per cent in 1966/67 to 4.3 per cent in 1976 (i.e. 50 per cent of its former level), rising thereafter to 7.3 per cent in 1983. By contrast, the rate of rural unemployment over the 10-year period 1966-1976 fluctuated upwards from 0.5 to 4.3 per cent but declined to 2.4 per cent in 1983. It should be obvious from the foregoing that aggregate unemployment in Nigeria has been more of an urban rather than a rural phenomenon, i.e. the so-called 'open unemployment'. This is, of course, attributable to several reasons of which, disguised or hidden unemployment of the rural agrarian sector is, perhaps, the most paramount.

Analysis of unemployment rates by sex seems to follow the pattern which has been observed for both sexes. Thus, unemployment rate among males fluctuated upwards from 2.4 per cent in 1966/67 to 5.9 per cent in 1976. In terms of urban-rural differentials, male unemployment was also more serious

in the urban than rural areas with the rates varying between 5.8 and 10.4 per cent for urban areas compared with 0.6 and 2.3 per cent for rural areas during the period. Female unemployment rate has, however, behaved in a rather peculiar manner. It fluctuated irregularly over the period standing at 0.9, 6.8 and 1.9 per cent in 1966/67, 1974 and 1976 respectively. In the urban areas, the rates were fairly high and, indeed, higher than the rates for men at 6.8 per cent in 1974 and 10.6 per cent in 1983. Female rural unemployment rates remained below 3 per cent throughout the reference period thus indicating the influence of family occupations and hidden unemployment in the agrarian sector.

Table 2(a) shows that in 1974, three states recorded rates of unemployment which were double-digit viz, Mid-West (11.3 per cent), Rivers (12.9 per cent) and South-East (15.0 per cent), while the East Central State followed closely with 9.4 per cent. Three other states i.e. North-West, Kano and Kwara, recorded unemployment rates of between 1 and 3 per cent while other states had between 4 and 8 per cent. In 1976, the picture altered drastically with aggregate unemployment rate falling to 4.3 per cent and most of the states sharing in the fall. In particular, single-digit rates of the orders of 3 to 5 per cent were recorded by states which previously had double-digit rates while Kano, North-Central, North-East and North-West experienced increased rates of unemployment compared with 1974. This

could probably have been due to the incidence of drought and pests which destroyed livestock and farm crops in many of the Northern States thus creating sudden unemployment for many agrarian workers and, by implication, urban workers as well whose means of livelihood (e.g. transportation of cattle from the Northern to the Southern States) depended heavily on the fortunes and misfortunes of the agrarian sector.

The situation in state capitals in 1976 was much worse as Enugu, Benin, Portharcourt, and Calabar recorded staggering unemployment rates of 11.5, 13.1, 13.3 and 22.3 per cent respectively. The comparable figures for these four cities in

1984 were 14.8, 12.8, 7.3 and 14.1 per cent thus showing that while unemployment worsened in Enugu, it improved somewhat for the other three cities. Two other cities with double-digit unemployment rates were Yola (13.3 per cent) and Owerri (15.7 per cent). (See Table (2b). Although, rural unemployment rates for Benin City (14.6 per cent), and Calabar (14.7 per cent) exceeded their urban rates, both Tables 2(a) and 2(b) still support the widely held view that unemployment in Nigeria is largely a feature of urban agglomerations.

II Characteristics of the unemployed in Nigeria

In this section some characteristics of the unemployed persons in Nigeria are presented both for the urban and rural areas and by sex. The analysis would be based strictly on Tables 1 to 5.

(i) Composition by Sex

As shown above, unemployment rate among females was higher than for men in the urban areas as evidenced by the 1974, 1983 and 1984 surveys, while in the latter two surveys, the female rate was even higher in the rural areas. Interestingly enough this tendency has also been observed generally for developing and developed countries.¹

(ii) Composition by level of Education

Table 3(a) shows the distribution of unemployment rates by educational level and sex in urban and rural areas while Table 3(b) shows the percentage distribution of unemployed persons by educational level in urban areas. Table 3(a) indicates that

unemployment rates in Nigeria have been most pronounced among primary and secondary school-leavers with the former category attracting a higher incidence. Also, the rates for the two groups appeared to have fluctuated downwards from 19.6 to 6.2 per cent and 13.9 to 2.8 per cent for the primary and secondary categories respectively over the period 1966 to 1976. Unemployment rates among graduates of polytechnics and universities stayed at comparatively low levels varying from 1.3 to nearly zero per cent during the reference period.

While these impressions are generally true for the disaggregated statistics of males and females, it is interesting to note that unemployment rates for female primary and secondary school-leavers were more than double the rates for their male counterparts in 1974; and, in 1976, the female rate for secondary school-leavers was still higher than for males. On the whole, unemployment rates among illiterates were very low being 4.6, 2.7 and 3.9 per cent in 1966/67, 1974 and 1976 respectively.

Table 3(a)

DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND BY SEX
(Urban/Rural Combined)

Survey Year	Educational Level	Male	Female	(Percentages)	
				Both Sexes	
1966/67	No schooling	N.A.	N.A.	4.6	Urban (11.6)
	Primary School	N.A.	N.A.	19.6	(25.6)
	Secondary/HSc	N.A.	N.A.	13.9	(16.2)
	Univ./Polytechnic	N.A.	N.A.	1.3	(1.3)
	All Categories	N.A.	N.A.	1.7	8.0
1974	No Schooling	3.6	1.6	2.7	
	Primary School	8.8	17.9	11.2	
	Secondary/HSc	6.3	16.4	8.9	
	Univ./Polytechnic	0.6	—	0.5	
	All Categories	5.8	6.8	6.1	
1976	No Schooling	5.9	1.3	3.9	
	Primary School	6.5	4.8	6.2	
	Secondary/HSc	2.6	3.1	2.8	
	Univ./Polytechnic	—	0.6	—	
	All Categories	5.9	1.9	4.3	

¹See Bairoch [2, p. 56] and Turnham [28, pp. 48-49].

Table 3(b)

DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYED PERSONS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL — URBAN AREAS
(Percentages)

Survey Year	Educational Level				All Categories
	No Schooling	Primary School	Secondary/HSc	University/ Polytechnic	
1966/67	25.6	64.6	9.7	0.1	100.0
1974	22.6	53.1	24.0	0.2	100.0
1976	38.9	41.4	19.3	0.2	100.0
1983	8.8	22.0	67.7	1.5	100.0

Sources: National Manpower Board, *Labour Force Sample Survey 1966/67, Lagos, Nigeria, 1972*
National Manpower Board, *Report of the Labour Force Sample Survey, Lagos, Nigeria, 1979*
National Manpower Board, *Report of the 1976 Labour Force Sample Survey, Lagos, Nigeria, 1985*
Federal Office of Statistics, *Labour Force Sample Survey (Preliminary Report) December 1983*

Table 3(b) largely supports the preceding views and, in particular, the fact that unemployment was typically a feature of primary school-leavers over the 1966-1976 period. However, by 1983, under the free educational programme (at lower levels) of the 1979-1983 Civilian Government, unemployment had assumed greater dimensions and become more critical for secondary school-leavers and graduates of universities and polytechnics. The relatively low proportion of unemployed illiterates in 1983, was probably due to 'circular' migration back to rural areas, or to the so-called 'discouraged worker effect' whereby a relatively large number of unemployed illiterates simply dropped out of the labour market through disillusionment.

(iii) Distribution of Unemployed by Duration

Voluntary unemployment can be regarded as rational choice when some time is spent in searching for a new job. It is the case, however, that once a worker becomes unemployed, the duration of his unemployment would depend very much on the costs of and the returns to acquiring information about other possible jobs. Tables 4(a) and 4(b) show the distribution

of unemployed persons by duration of unemployment and by sex in urban, rural, and both areas combined. The general picture is that a relatively higher proportion of people tended to be unemployed for a relatively shorter period of one to twelve months. The proportion then narrowed down as the duration of unemployment increased to between twelve and twenty-four months, and over twenty-four months respectively.

Also, the proportion of unemployed people for a duration of one to twelve months was much higher in the combined urban/rural case (i.e. for the whole country) than for the urban areas alone. It would also appear in general that for each of the three classifications of unemployment duration, the proportion of unemployed females was roughly the same as for males implying that females were unemployed for as long as their male counterparts. Furthermore, the tendency for an increasing proportion of the people to be unemployed for a shorter time (one to twelve months) relative to other time lags was halted in 1983 when the time-profile of the unemployed reverted to its 1966/67 pattern such that the waiting period became longer caused primarily by the economic depression.

Table 4(a)

DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYED PERSONS BY DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND BY SEX
(Urban Areas)

Survey Year	Duration (Months)			(Percentages)
		Male	Female	Both Sexes
1966/67	1-12	40.8 ¹	45.6 ¹	42.2 ¹
	12-24	26.3 ¹	27.2 ¹	26.4 ¹
	> 24	32.9 ¹	27.2 ¹	31.5 ¹
1974	1-12	N.A.	N.A.	67.8
	12-24	N.A.	N.A.	17.4
	> 24	N.A.	N.A.	14.8
1976	1-12	86.2 (96.6) ¹	79.5 (92.3) ¹	84.1 (95.8) ¹
	12-24	9.4 (2.5) ¹	12.0 (5.1) ¹	9.9 (3.0) ¹
	> 24	4.4 (0.9) ¹	8.5 (2.6) ¹	5.7 (1.2) ¹
1983	1-12	52.8	64.7	56.6
	12-24	22.6	23.5	22.6
	> 24	20.8	25.0	20.8

¹Combined rural and urban

Sources: National Manpower Board, *Labour Force Sample Survey 1966/67, Lagos, Nigeria, 1972*
National Manpower Board, *Report of the Labour Force Sample Survey, Lagos, Nigeria, 1979*
National Manpower Board, *Report of the 1976 Labour Force Sample Survey, Lagos, Nigeria, 1985*
Federal Office of Statistics, *Labour Force Sample Survey (Preliminary Report) December 1983*

¹This arises from the "discouraged worker hypothesis", under which potential workers are assumed to drop out of the labour market when prospects for finding work are poor but would accept suitable work if it were available. See Turnham. [28, pp. 41].

DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYED PERSONS BY DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND BY SEX
(Rural Areas)

Survey Year	Duration (Months)	Male	Female	(Percentages) Both Sexes
1966/67	1-12	42.5	56.6	42.7
	12-24	23.5	25.7	24.2
	>24	34.0	17.7	29.1
1974	1-12	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	12-24	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	>24	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1976	1-12	98.1	97.2	97.9
	12-24	1.5	2.5	1.7
	>24	0.4	0.3	0.4
1983	1-12	100.0	—	50.0
	12-24	—	—	50.0
	>24	—	100.0	—

Sources: National Manpower Board, *Labour Force Sample Survey 1966/67, Lagos, Nigeria, 1972*
National Manpower Board, *Report of the Labour Force Sample Survey, Lagos, Nigeria, 1979*
National Manpower Board, *Report of the 1976 Labour Force Sample Survey, Lagos, Nigeria, 1985*
Federal Office of Statistics, *Labour Force Sample Survey (Preliminary Report), December 1983*

(iv) Under-employment

Table 5 presents information for 1983 and 1984 on the level of under-employment among the labour force in both rural and urban areas and by sex. The table reveals that 89 per cent of all workers in the urban areas were fully employed in 1983. Of the 11 per cent that were under-employed, 6 per cent did so voluntarily while 5 per cent did so involuntarily. A higher proportion of males (91.2 per cent) was fully employed than the females (85.1 per cent) while a higher proportion of the females (14.9 per cent) than the males (8.8 per cent.) was under-employed. Among the males, the proportion was equally distributed between those that were voluntarily and involuntarily under-employed while for the female workers a higher proportion was voluntarily under-employed than otherwise. In 1984, the extent of under-employment among males and females increased vis-à-vis 1983, more for

involuntary than voluntary reason. Indeed, the situation could rarely have been different with so many industries working at reduced capacity for lack of spare parts and raw materials. In the rural areas, the extent of under-employment was about three times the level in urban areas.

An important factor that would likely underestimate the degree of urban under-employment is the scope of informal sector¹ activities. Using Lagos and Ibadan as typical examples, workers in informal sector enterprises are known to include vendors, hawkers, drivers, service workers, petty retail traders, and own-account workers. While some are able to eke an income whereby body and soul are kept together, a good proportion of others live under conditions that qualify them to be described as 'the working poor'. In several instances, therefore, they remain voluntarily or involuntarily under-employed.

III

Causes and Consequences of Unemployment in Nigeria

From the discussion so far it is clear that the dynamics of unemployment has several facets being temporal, recurrent, or long-term, (i.e. chronic) in nature. Thus, for a young school-leaver, unemployment can be regarded as a passing phase or temporary phenomenon depending on the type of education received and the country's level of economic development. For an erstwhile worker who has suddenly been laid-off, unemployment can be viewed as a recurrent event more so for those cases of factory or industrial workers whose job-security is a function of economic booms and depressions.

And finally, unemployment can be long-term or chronic depending upon several factors including structural disequilibrium in the economy. In this context, the terms, frictional, structural and deficient-demand unemployment are, of course, quite familiar in the literature. This section of the paper will, therefore, offer some explanations as to the causes of unemployment in Nigeria and also suggest possible consequences thereof, noting in particular that, especially for Nigeria, this aspect of the unemployment problem has received rather scanty attention in the existing literature.

¹A term taken to refer to those urban employment categories that feature very low levels of productivity and earnings. Synonymous terms found in the literature include — the "urban traditional sector", the "lower circuit sector" and the "proto-proletariat sector", see Cole and Sanders [5b, p. 482].

**UNDER-EMPLOYMENT: BY INSUFFICIENCY OF VOLUME OF WORK,
BY SEX AND BY SECTOR NIGERIA, DECEMBER 1983, 1984**

Status	Total Employed %					
	Urban			Rural		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Total: All Employed 1983	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(i + ii) 1984	(100.0) ¹	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
Employed						
(i) Full time	89.0 (85.5)	91.2 (86.3)	85.1 (84.7)	70.5 (60.5)	79.1 (58.2)	53.9 (65.5)
(ii) Less than full time	11.0 (14.2)	8.8 (13.7)	14.9 (15.3)	29.5 (39.5)	20.9 (41.8)	46.1 (34.5)
(a) For voluntary reason	6.0 (6.8)	4.1 (6.6)	9.9 (7.2)	22.5 (16.4)	15.5 (16.5)	36.8 (16.1)
(b) For involuntary reason	5.0 (7.4)	4.7 (7.1)	5.0 (8.1)	7.0 (21.1)	5.4 (25.3)	9.3 (18.4)

¹Figures in parenthesis refer to 1984.

Sources: Federal Office of Statistics, *Labour Force Sample Surveys, 1983 and 1984, Lagos*

(A) Causes of Unemployment

(i) Colonial factor

The type of economic arrangement which prevailed during the colonial days was such that could not guarantee a socially desirable level of aggregate employment either in the short-, medium- or long-run. The colonies (including Nigeria) were seen and used as primary producers of raw materials for the home industries of the colonial administrators, while, on the consumption side, the densely populated colonies served as rich markets for the industrial products of the foreign industries. Educational opportunities were severely limited while no visible attention was paid to technological training for the indigenous Nigerian population. A few white-collar jobs were available in the administrative centres of the colonial government which Nigerians could enter at the level of Third Class Clerk and crawl upwards to the post of Chief Clerk after some twenty-five to thirty years while the so-called 'senior-service' jobs or 'European posts' were either occupied or reserved for the expatriates. Thus, it happened that at Independence in 1960, agriculture still provided the main outlet of employment for a vast majority of Nigerians. Indeed, the saying used to be quite popular that, 'Agriculture is the main stay of our Economy' in terms of generating income for the farmer, providing food for the urban population, and serving as the main export earner. The situation could in no way be described as ideal, however, since agriculture was characterised by a great deal of disguised unemployment.

(ii) Faulty Industrialisation Strategy

Fired by the desire to correct the ills of the colonial regime, the post-independence government embarked on an 'inward-looking' industrialisation strategy of import-substitution whereby some light industries were allowed to be set up in the country. Of course, the employment creating effects of those industries were so limited that, with the expansion in educational facilities and the out-turn of primary school-leavers in the 1960s, government had to embark on the 'farm settlement scheme' as a kind of escape from the incidence of unemployment among this category of school-leavers. However, the scheme later failed for various reasons which had already been noted elsewhere.¹

It is to be noted that even in the 1970s when the industrial base of the economy appeared to have expanded, the choice of technique which was strictly capital-intensive caused industrialisation to still make a poor impact on the unemployment problem which had worsened to the inclusion of secondary school-leavers. The oil-boom of the second-half of the 1970s, however, provided some respite by generating a construction boom which benefited not only the skilled and semi-skilled unemployed Nigerians but also induced migrants from neighbouring West African countries.

(iii) The Role of Government

The role of the Nigerian government as a factor in unemployment can be gauged in various ways but firstly, by the dichotomy between school enrolment and job opportunities. This has been alluded to previously but it is being given sharper focus here in view of the incidence of unemployed graduates of Universities and Polytechnics which emerged in the late 1970s and assumed increased proportions in the 1980s. The Nigerian Youth Service Corps Programme introduced in 1973 has helped to cushion graduates for one year after which the effect of unemployment becomes critical for many of them.

Added to this, of course, were two other developments i.e. the Great Purges² and the embargo on employment. The first purge which was carried out in 1975 saw the immediate dismissal and retirement of masses of workers in the public service and similar retrenchments in the private sector. Further purges of workers in the labour market were carried out in 1984 and 1985. All these were taking place along with a moratorium which had been placed on the recruitment of fresh workers. Another dimension was the fact that several of those who claimed to be in paid employment were so uncertain of their monthly salaries (which in some cases fell into arrears of three to five months) that much doubt would have been cast on their ability or willingness to be fully employed. In other words they might have been voluntarily under-employed for a good deal of the time.

As if the situation was still not bad enough, government in 1984, embarked on the demolition of "illegal structures" all over the country which not only rendered several people

¹See D. Olatunbosun, "Western Nigerian farm settlement: An Appraisal", NISER Ibadan, Reprint series No. 75. See also W. Roider, *Farm Settlements for Socio-Economic Development: The Western Nigerian case*, Weltforum Verlag, Munchen, 1971.

²This was the euphemism used by the Nigerian public in characterising the wave of retirements which swept over the public service in 1975 and 1984.

homeless but virtually paralysed activities in the informal sector which has been shown to be quite important in ameliorating the incidence of urban unemployment.

Mention should also be made of the fact that official employment policy in some states of the country has tended to be discriminatory which thus restricts the mobility of potential workers.

Above all, political regimes, one after the other, appeared to have adopted stop-go non-coherent policies regarding the solution to the unemployment problem in the country. An examination of the existing Plan Documents will reveal the scanty attention that has been paid to the problem over the years with actual unemployment rates far out-stripping their planned levels. (See Tables 6 and 7).

Table 6

PROJECTED UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN NIGERIA'S DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Year	Labour force (million)	Gainfully occupied persons (million)	Unemployed persons (millions)	Unemployment Rate in the labour force %
1966	23.81	23.42	0.40	1.69
1970	26.08	24.05	2.03	7.80
1974	28.56	27.31	1.25	4.40
1975	29.22	27.91	1.31	4.50
1980	32.74	31.76	0.98	3.00
1985	36.05	34.60	1.45	4.00

Sources: National Manpower Board, *Labour Force Sample Survey 1966/67, Lagos, Nigeria, 1972*
 National Manpower Board, *Report of the Labour Force Sample Survey, Lagos, Nigeria, 1979*
 National Manpower Board, *Report of the 1976 Labour Force Sample Survey, Lagos, Nigeria, 1985*
 Federal Office of Statistics, *Labour Force Sample Survey (Preliminary Report), December 1983*

Table 7

REGISTERED UNEMPLOYMENT AND VACANCIES IN NIGERIA (LOWER GRADE WORKERS)

	1982 ('000s)	1983 ('000s)	1984 ('000s)
1. Total Registration.....	106.5	112.6	120.9
(i) Old Registration	15.7	25.1	30.7
(ii) Fresh Registration	59.3	55.3	50.1
(iii) Re-registration.....	31.5	32.1	40.2
2. Vacancies Declared.....	19.9	18.3	14.6
3. Placements.....	8.3	7.4	3.9

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria, *Annual Report & Statement of Accounts, 1984, Lagos*

(iv) Demographic factors

Several demographic factors including population growth, migration-patterns (e.g. rural-urban, urban-rural, urban-urban), urbanisation,¹ etc, have had significant roles to play in determining the nature of the observed unemployment problem in Nigeria.

It has been estimated officially that the Nigerian population has been growing at an annual average rate of 2.5 per cent over the last two decades. The rate for urban areas has even been much higher being 4.0 per cent for Lagos, as an example. At 94 million in 1984, Nigeria's population was about the highest in Africa, and as much as 27 per cent of the population was

estimated to be living in urban centres.² While growing population has implications for labour supply and labour absorption in the economy, the relationship between urban size and unemployment has not been too clear cut.

Although some evidence has been presented showing an inverse relationship between urban size and unemployment rate [24], there appears to be an intermediate step through which urbanisation would promote industrial diversification and, in turn, create an impact on employment. Using the data for 1976 and 1984 on tables 2(a) and 2(b), the relationship between unemployment and urban size was tested and found to be positive for Nigeria thus showing that urbanisation had contributed positively to the unemployment problem in

¹The definition used for urban population is that of agglomerations (settlements) larger than 20,000 inhabitants. See P. Bairoch [22, p. 18]. The aspect of urbanisation referred to here is that of "geographical concentration of non-agricultural population and activities in an urban setting varying in form and size" [22, p. 17].

²These population statistics may be found in the Fourth Plan [34, pp. 361-362], Social Statistics in Nigeria [38, p. 84], and Facts and Figures [37, p. 4].

Nigeria.¹ A comparison of the results for the two years, however, showed that the relationship was even stronger (i.e. worsening unemployment) for the more recent year 1984 and 19 state capitals, than for 1976 and 12 state capitals. This implies that state creation and urbanisation did not mitigate the problem of unemployment. Although bureaucracies were established, the degree of industrial diversification was significantly low to have the desired impact on employment. This then suggests a case for increased widening of the country's industrial base.

B. Consequences of Unemployment

Although it is sometimes difficult to reach consensus on the causes of unemployment owing to its political sensitivity, much evidence has accumulated from studies (particularly in developed countries) regarding the political, economic, social, health and psychological consequences of unemployment. Also, such consequences may have implications for individuals, families, communities, and the society at large. Furthermore, unemployment may have 'differential vulnerability' or impact on those currently experiencing changes in their employment status depending on their ages, their financial commitments, and family responsibilities. A few of these issues are discussed in what follows.

In the literature on Health Economics, possible physical and psychological health consequences of unemployment have been shown to include stress, suicide, parasuicide, alcoholism, malnutrition, deprivation, etc. Studies have been conducted to determine the ill-health effects of unemployment such as, the stress of redundancy or the stress of long-term unemployment. Other studies have even gone much further to determine suicide effects, such as, the Boor (4) study which tested the relationship between unemployment rates and suicide rates in eight Western countries between 1962 and 1976 and found a positive correlation, with the exception of Britain and Italy. In a related work, Platt (22) examined the influence of unemployment on parasuicide (i.e. non-fatal deliberate self-harm) in Edinburgh from 1968 to 1982 and some of his findings can be summarised as follows:

- (i) a strong positive association exists between unemployment and parasuicide;
- (ii) the highest risk is to be found in those unemployed for more than one year; and
- (iii) the areas with the highest unemployment rates had the highest parasuicide rates.

From the standpoint of neonatal and infant health which happen to be the most sensitive indicators of deprivation, research findings have suggested that through malnutrition, unemployment (of the head of household or his wife) could, affect birthweight and growth during the first year of life (Cole et. al. 1983).

In discussing the relationship between unemployment and psychological health, Eisemberg & Lazarsfed (1983), among others, concentrated on such responses as apathy, resignation,

self-doubt, depression and fatalistic beliefs as indicators of psychological health. But the points of primary concern to Jackson (1985) have been the assessment of the pattern and extent of vulnerability to the psychological consequences of unemployment, as well as the association between the duration of unemployment and psychological ill-health. Vulnerability has of course been defined in terms of the 'greater need for changes in life-style to adjust to unemployment'. and in the adoption of 'maladaptive coping strategies'. Effects of higher vulnerability could thus show up in great initial stress response arising from job loss. Also, increasing discouragement may occur if job searches by unemployed workers result in persistent failures. Among the teenage unemployed, longer period of unemployment may not necessarily lead to a decline in health mainly because the financial pressures on them are generally not as great as for the older unemployed people since many teenagers live with their parents or relations. By the same token, the unemployed, if nearing retirement age, would be less vulnerable because his family responsibilities and financial commitments would likely be far less than is the case for the younger group. Age could, therefore, be a critical factor in determining vulnerability to the psychological effects of unemployment.

It should be remarked that even though systematic studies do not appear to have been carried out in Nigeria regarding the health effects of unemployment owing to lack of the relevant data, much observational evidence, however, exists in that respect. A good deal of the reported armed robbery cases affecting innocent souls on the streets and in their homes, all over the country, have been indicative of stress responses due to unemployment. Also, cases of suicide and parasuicide particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as cases of psychological ill-health in recent times can be similarly linked.

The economic effects of unemployment are indeed many and only a few can be mentioned here. When the economy operates at less than full-employment of human and material resources, the level of aggregate output would fall and, as demand remains the same, an upward pressure on the general price level would ensue which would encourage labour unions to press for increased wages, which would in turn lead employers to retrench workers. This cumulative process has been given recognition in the literature through the so-called, unemployment-inflation trade-off, implying a real choice by policy-makers between degrees of inflation that are compatible with acceptable levels of unemployment. However, recent experiences of chronic disequilibria in national economies arising from prolonged periods of world-wide economic recession have brought to light the stark possibility of a stagflation whereby inflation and unemployment would co-exist. Available evidence at least in the 1980s does confirm this possibility for Nigeria as increasing inflation rates have co-existed with rising unemployment rates leading to devastating recession of the worst kind in the Nigerian economic history.

¹Let U , U_U , U_R , CS represent unemployment rate, urban unemployment rate, rural unemployment rate and city size respectively. The regression equation for 1976 under the 12 States' structure was found to be,

$$U = 7.266 + 5.1564 CS \dots\dots\dots(1)$$

(2,127)
 $R^2 = 0.0044$

For 1984, under the 19 States' structure, the regression equations came to,

$$U_U = 6.58 + 0.0074 CS \dots\dots\dots(2)$$

(1.370)
 $R^2 = 0.10$

$$U_R = 2.83 + 0.0069 CS \dots\dots\dots(3)$$

(1.42)
 $R^2 = 0.105$

Notice that figures in parenthesis are t- ratios.

The seriousness of the situation particularly since 1982 has been marked by: the closure of the Nigerian land borders (from 1984 to 1986) in order to stem the smuggling of essential commodities into neighbouring countries and so check the incidence of inflation; the negotiations and subsequent abandonment of an IMF-balance-of-payments support loan; the progressive depreciation in 1985 of the Naira exchange rate vis-à-vis the intervention currencies notably US dollar and Pound Sterling; the declaration of a 15-month emergency period from October 1985 to December 1986 and the pronouncement of far-reaching economic policies aimed at restoring internal and external equilibria; the negotiations with

the creditors for the rescheduling of Nigeria's external debt commitments; the resort to counter-trade agreements to bolster-up crude oil sales and foreign exchange reserves, etc.

Finally, unemployment may have a feed-back effect on the labour supply function in the following way i.e. if it causes foreign-trained Nigerians to stay abroad on the premise that job opportunities in their home country are limited, and also if, as a result of demonstration effect, potential entrants into polytechnics and universities get discouraged about the prospects of job after their education and, therefore, opt for some other engagement, say, in the informal sector.

IV Summary & Policy Implications

(A) Summary

This paper has examined the problem of unemployment and under-employment in Nigeria for the period 1966 to 1985 with a view to determining its scope, finding explanations for the observed trend, postulating consequences for unemployment, and deriving policy implications from the findings obtained. In this final section of the paper, a summary of the findings is presented followed by the policy implications.

Owing to the rather fragmentary nature of manpower statistics in Nigeria, it has not been possible to really undertake the kind of empirical work that could have validated a good deal of the hypotheses discussed in this paper. That notwithstanding, however, it would appear that some worthwhile findings have been obtained from this study that merit highlighting for the purpose of deriving the necessary policy implications.

The study has shown that while the overall rate of unemployment fluctuated upwards from 1.7 per cent in 1966/67 to 4.3 per cent in 1976, unemployment in Nigeria has remained largely an urban phenomenon i.e. the so-called 'open unemployment'. Analysis by sex showed that male unemployment fluctuated between 2.4 per cent in 1966/67 and 5.9 per cent in 1976 and was also more serious in the urban than rural areas at upper limits of 10.4 per cent and 6.1 per cent respectively. Female unemployment rate fluctuated irregularly from 0.9 per cent in 1966/67 to 6.8 per cent in 1974 dropping to 1.9 per cent in 1976. In the urban areas, the rates which stood at 6.8 per cent and 10.6 per cent in 1974 and 1983 respectively exceeded those for men at 5.8 per cent in both years, while they roughly equalled the rates for men in the rural areas.

Analysis by states showed that in certain instances, e.g. 1974, some states (Mid-West, Rivers, South East) recorded double-digit unemployment rates up to 15.0 per cent while others (North West, Kano, Kwara) recorded single rates as low as 1 per cent and 3 per cent. This picture altered in 1976 with aggregate unemployment rate falling and many states sharing in the fall. Also, states that previously experienced single-digit rates changed positions with those that had double-digit rates. This was explained by the incidence of drought and pests which crippled economic life in most of the Northern States. As for the state capitals, the situation was even much worse with unemployment reaching 22 per cent in some of them (e.g. Calabar in 1976) but declining thereafter to 14 per cent by 1984.

Among the characteristics of unemployed persons as revealed in this study is the fact that unemployment rates have

been most pronounced among primary and secondary school leavers. Over the period 1966 to 1976, the rates, however, fluctuated downwards from 19.6 per cent to 6.2 per cent and 13.9 per cent to 2.8 per cent for both categories respectively. As for graduates of polytechnics and universities, the rates stayed at levels ranging from zero to a little above 1 per cent. Interestingly enough, unemployment rates for female primary and secondary school-leavers were more than double those for their male counterparts. As a result of the free educational programme of the civilian regime in the Second Republic, unemployment had become more critical for secondary school-leavers and graduates.

The distribution of the unemployed by duration showed that in the 1970s particularly, a higher proportion of the people were unemployed for a shorter period of one to twelve months than otherwise and the proportion seemed to narrow down as the duration of unemployment increased to over two years. Also, females were unemployed for as long as their male counterparts. As from 1983, search unemployment had reverted to its pre-civil war pattern of more people remaining unemployed for a much longer time period owing mainly to the prolonged economic depression.

Between 1983 and 1984, the extent of under-employment among the urban labour force increased, more for involuntary than voluntary reason. The situation was attributable to reduced capacity utilisation in many industries. The extent of under-employment in rural areas by 1984 was roughly four times the level in urban areas. This was naturally to be expected in view of the scope of disguised unemployment in the agrarian sector.

The study went on to examine the causes of unemployment in Nigeria. It was shown that unemployment had its root cause in the enclave type of economic arrangement which prevailed during the colonial era and which the post-independence government sought to correct through an open-door industrialisation policy of import-substitution. The labour absorption capability of the industries was so limited that unemployment among primary school-leavers in the 1960's was a common occurrence. Although the civil war provided a temporary respite for policy-makers through military enlistment, post-war demobilisation as well as the expansion in educational facilities not matched by employment opportunities led to unemployment among secondary school-leavers in the 1970s.

While the NYSC programme sought to contain for one year the unemployment problem among graduates as from the mid-1970s, both the employment embargo and lay-offs in the

public and private sectors generated massive unemployment in the 1980s. The influence of migration from neighbouring countries was also discussed as well as the role of population growth and urbanisation.

The study went further to highlight the social, health, political and economic consequences of unemployment and indicated the significance of unemployment on suicide and parasuicide cases, stress, malnutrition and the like. The co-existence of inflation and unemployment leading to depression in the domestic economy since 1982 and the various policy measures taken by government to manage the situation vividly showed some of the economic effects of unemployment during the course of economic development. It is now time to wrap up this study by discussing the policy implications deriving therefrom.

(B) Policy Implications and Recommendations

Despite the importance of the subject matter of unemployment, space limitation in a paper of this sort would not permit a full-scale treatment of possible solutions to combat the problem. Consequently, the following suggestions represent a sample of those policy implications/recommendations that can be put forward for government attention:

- (i) a good deal of career guidance and counselling should be given by parents and teachers from primary school to university level so as to ensure that students are placed on courses that really fit their natural aptitude and interest thus guaranteeing their right placement into jobs at the end of their courses;
- (ii) job placement units should be established in every institution of higher learning in the country which would assist fresh graduates to find jobs in the public and private sectors. This should be reinforced by the requirement that all labour offices in all the states should maintain registers where all graduates would enrol their names and particulars for purposes of contact on a two-way basis. In this manner, the anomaly of vacancies co-existing with rising unemployment would be minimised if not eliminated;
- (iii) under the new educational system dubbed '6-3-3-4', the type of envisaged restructuring in the educational system should be captured such that education would be made more functional than before and so permit self employment in a fairly general way;
- (iv) where the problem of the unemployed is lack of or inadequate practical training, this can be remedied by organising retraining courses for them that would last one to two years. This is the context in which some have argued, and rightly too, that the NYSC programme can be extended from one to two years where the second year would be made voluntary. The type of practical training which is envisaged here can be covered under the proposed National Apprenticeship scheme discussed in the 4th Plan. Under it, national standards and guidance would be provided on the conditions of apprenticeship, duration, standard of skills and knowledge to be acquired in various trades such as electricians, plumbers, automobile mechanics, etc;

- (v) governments at all levels should seek to remove all impediments to the free mobility of labour all over the country since this would mitigate the unemployment problem and also foster the much-talked-about spirit of national unity;
- (vi) the school-to-land programme which has been started in some states should be generalised for the whole country as this would have the potential of substantially reducing rural-urban migration and the incidence of urban unemployment;
- (vii) small-scale enterprises in rural and urban areas should continue to receive government and banking-sector assistance through loan facilities at special interest rates, and the waiver of stringent collateral and other conditions;
- (viii) the granting of import licence should vary directly with the amount of capital invested and a proof that the normal capital-labour ratio of the company would be restored. Under this arrangement industries that have folded up should be able to reopen for business while those that have been operating at reduced capacity should step up production and recall their retrenched workers;
- (ix) as a result of the serious social, health and political consequences of unemployment, Government should consider the urgent establishment of a National Unemployment Insurance Scheme which would provide unemployment benefit for the short- and long-term unemployed;
- (x) measures for the development of rural infrastructure and industries which are agro-based, cattle-based, and forest-based should be implemented without delay thus generating employment opportunities and also ensuring the development of rural areas;
- (xi) a National Employment Board to be financed jointly by the public and private sectors should be created which would, among other things, service the labour centres, university placement centres and, carry out other functions including vocational guidance, employment counselling, collection and dissemination of employment news through information supplied by employers of 20 or more people;
- (xii) while the frequency of labour force sample surveys has shifted in the last three years to an annual affair, the coverage of the items should be increased to include, for instance, information on states on a regular basis. This would allow for a more rational manpower planning that is consistent with overall and sectoral growth rates of the economy;
- (xiii) finally, Government's recent effort at reconstituting the committee on gainful employment is commendable and it is hoped the committee would come up with feasible recommendations for timely implementation by Government.

REFERENCES

1. Abraham, K. G., "Structural/Frictional Vs Deficient Demand Unemployment", *The American Economic Review*, September 1983.
2. Bairoch, P., *Urban Unemployment in Developing Countries*, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1973.
3. Berry, A. and Sabot, R. H., "Unemployment and Economic Development", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 33, No. 1 October 1984, pp. 99-116.
4. Boor, M. (1980), "Relations between unemployment rates and suicide rates in eight countries 1962-76", *Psychological Reports*, 47, pp. 1095-1101, cited in Cook (6).
- 5a. Cole, T. J., Donnet, M. L. and Stanfield, J. P. (1983) "Unemployment, birth weight and growth in the first year: a survey of babies born in Glasgow", *Archives of Disease in childhood*, 58, pp. 717-721, cited in Cook (6).
- 5b. Cole, W. E. and Sanders, R. D., "Internal Migration and Urban Employment in the Third World", *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 75, No. 3, June 1985, pp. 481-494.
6. Cook, D. G., "A critical view of the unemployment and health debate", *The Statistician*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 1985, pp. 73-82.
7. Darby, M. R., Haltiwanger, J. and Plant, M., "Unemployment Rate Dynamics and Persistent Unemployment under Rational Expectations", *The American Economic Review*, September 1985, pp. 614-637.
8. Eisenberg, P. and Lazarsfield, P. R. (1938), "The Psychological Effects of Unemployment", *Psychological Bulletin*, 35, pp. 358-390, cited in Jackson (12).
9. Feather, N. T. and Davenport, P. R. (1981), "Unemployment and depressive effect: A motivational analysis", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 41, pp. 422-436, cited in Jackson (12).
10. Hakim, C. (1982), "The Social Consequences of High Unemployment", *Journal of Social Policy*, 11, pp. 433-467, cited in Cook (6).
11. International Labour Office, *International Labour Review*, Geneva, Vol. 117, No. 6, 1978.
12. Jackson, P. R. "Differential Vulnerability and Psychological Health in Unemployment", *The Statistician*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 1985, pp. 83-92.
13. Jackson, P. R. and Warr, P. B. (1984), "Unemployment and psychological ill-health: The moderating role of duration and age", *Psychological Medicine*, 14, pp. 605-614, cited in Jackson (12).
14. Jhingan, M. L., *The Economics of Development and Planning*, Fifteenth Revised Edition, Vikas Publishing House PVT Ltd., 1982.
15. Krishna, R., "The Growth of Aggregate Unemployment in India: Trends, sources and macroeconomic policy options", *World Bank Staff Working Papers*, No. 638.
16. Lal, D., *Unemployment and wage inflation in Industrial Economies*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, 1977.
17. McGee, T. G., *The Urbanised Process in the Third World*, London: G. Bell & Sons, 1971.
18. Miller, R. L. and Williams, R. M., *Unemployment and Inflation: the new economics of the wage-price spiral*, West Publishing Co., New York, 1974.
19. Okorafor, A. E. and Iwuji, E. C., "Urban employment problems in Nigeria", *Proceedings of the 1977 Annual Conference of the Nigerian Economic Society*, pp. 99-110.
20. Ojo, F., "The urban employment problem", *Proceedings of the 1977 Annual Conference of the Nigerian Economic Society*, pp. 125-142.
21. Perry, G. L., *Unemployment, money wage rates and inflation*, The M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts, 1965.
22. Platt, S. (1983), "Unemployment and Parasuicide (attempted Suicide) in Edinburgh 1968-1982", *Unemployment Unit Bulletin*, 10, pp. 4-5, cited in Cook (6).
23. Platt, S. (1984), "Unemployment and suicidal behaviour: a review of the literature", *Social Science and Medicine* (in press), cited in Cook (6).
24. Schofield, J. A., "Urban Size and Unemployment in Canada", *Canadian Journal of Economics*, xiii, No. 3, August 1980.
25. Sider, H., "Unemployment Duration and Incidence: 1968-82", *The American Economic Review*, June 1985.
26. Stern, J. (1983), "The relationship between unemployment, morbidity and mortality in Britain", *Population Studies*, 37, pp. 61-74.
27. Topel, R. H., "On lay-offs and unemployment insurance", *The American Economic Review*, September, 1983, pp. 541-559.
28. Turnham, D., "The unemployment problem in less developed countries", *Development Centre*, OECD, Paris, 1971.
29. Uppal, J. S., *Disguised unemployment in an Under developed Economy*, Asia Publishing House, London, 1973.
30. Warr, P. B., et. al, (1982), "Duration of unemployment and psychological well-being in young men and women", *Current Psychological Research*, 2, pp. 207-214, cited in Jackson (13).
31. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Labour Force Sample Survey*, (1966/67) NMB, FMNP, Lagos, 1979.
32. Federal Republic of Nigeria, "Report of the Labour Force Sample Survey, 1974", *National Manpower Board, Federal Ministry of National Planning*, Lagos, 1979.
33. Federal Republic of Nigeria, "Report of the 1976 Labour Force Sample Survey", *National Manpower Board, Federal Ministry of National Planning*, Lagos, 1985.
34. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Fourth National Development Plan 1981-1985*, Federal Ministry of National Planning, 1981.
35. Federal Office of Statistics, *Labour Force Sample Survey*, December 1983; Preliminary Report.
36. Federal Office of Statistics, *Economic & Social Statistics Bulletin*, Lagos, January 1985.
37. Federal Office of Statistics, *Labour Force Sample Survey*, December 1984.
38. Federal Office of Statistics, *Labour Force Sample Survey*, June 1985.
39. Federal Office of Statistics, *Facts & Figures about Nigeria*, 1985.
40. Federal Office of Statistics, *Social Statistics in Nigeria*, 1979.