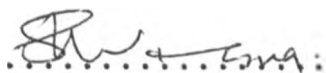


66  
**YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT: EFFECTS ON HOSTS  
IN AN URBAN SETTING, NAIROBI** 7

By  
SERAH M. WAMBUA

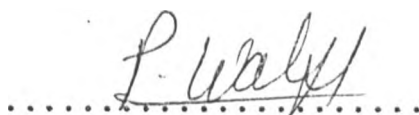
A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF  
NAIROBI, 1992.

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

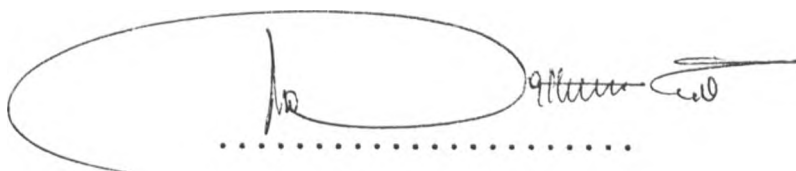


.....  
Serah M. Wambua

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors.



.....  
Dr. Parvin Walji  
University supervisor



.....  
Dr. Walter Abilla  
University supervisor

Dedicated to:

My children Mark, John and Matthew whose hope  
for employment in a deteriorating economy  
remains so grim.

97

TABLE CONTENTS

	Page
* TABLE OF CONTENTS . . . . .	i
* LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENT . . . . .	iv
* ABSTRACT . . . . .	v
CHAPTER ONE . . . . .	1
Statement of the Problem. . . . .	1
The Study Hypotheses. . . . .	11
Operational Defination . . . . .	12
Justification of the Study . . . . .	14
CHAPTER TWO . . . . .	17
Theory and Review of Literature. . . . .	17
Review of Literature . . . . .	20
Characteristics of the urban based unemployed. . . . .	24
Sources of support for the unemployed in urban areas. . . . .	29
Hypotheses. . . . .	38
CHAPTER THREE . . . . .	40
Methodology . . . . .	40
Site Selection and Description . . . . .	40
Sampling . . . . .	42
Methods of Data Collection . . . . .	44
Units of Analysis . . . . .	46
Problems Encountered in the Field . . . . .	46
CHAPTER FOUR . . . . .	47
Descriptive Analysis of the Sample . . . . .	47
General Characteristics . . . . .	47
Ethnic Distribution . . . . .	48
The age distribution of youths and hosts. . . . .	49
Educational levels of youths and hosts . . . . .	51
Characteristic of Youths in our sample . . . . .	54
Sources of Support For Job Seekers. . . . .	58
Characteristics of Hosts in our Sample. . . . .	67
Social-economic backgrounds of Hosts. . . . .	68
Hosting period of youths. . . . .	70
Relationship between host and youth by years of hosting . . . . .	71
Attitude of hosts towards hosting job-seekers . . . . .	74

CHAPTER FIVE . . . . .	80
Statistical Analysis and Data Interpretation . . . . .	80
H <sub>1</sub> The Socio-Economic Status of the Host Influences the Period of Hosting of the Unemployed. . . . .	82
Income of hosts of unemployed youths . . . . .	88
H <sub>2</sub> The type of relationship between the host and the unemployed youth influences the period of hosting . . . .	91
H <sub>3</sub> : Reciprocity between the host and the unemployed youth influences the hosting periods . . . . .	95
CHAPTER SIX . . . . .	103
Conclusions, Implications and Recommendations . . . . .	103
Summary of Findings and their Implications . . . . .	104
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	110
APPENDIX . . . . .	117

2

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
4.1 Ethnic distribution of hosts and youths . . . . .	49
4.2 Marital Status of Hosts and Youths . . . . .	50
4.3 Educational Level of Hosts . . . . .	52
4.4 Levels of Training of Youths and Hosts . . . . .	53
4.5 Period of Time in Nairobi . . . . .	55
4.6 Length of Time with Hosts by Monthly Financial Assistance . . . . .	57
4.7 Relationship Between Youths and Hosts . . . . .	58
4.8 Youths' Expectations of Hosts by Period of Hosting . . . . .	62
4.9 Expectations of Youths by their Hosts . . . . .	64
4.10 Hosts' Expectations of Youths . . . . .	65
4.11 Age of Hosts by Years of Hosting . . . . .	70
4.12 Relationship by Years of Hosting . . . . .	72
4.13 Factors Influencing Hosting Period . . . . .	73
4.14 Hosts' Feeling about Youths not Invited . . . . .%	75
4.15 Expectations by Youths of Hosts . . . . .	76
5.1 Education by Period of Hosting . . . . .	82
5.2 Occupation by Period of Hosting . . . . .	86
5.3 Expenditure on Host by Period of Hosting . . . . .	89
5.4 Relationship with Host by Period of Hosting . . . . .	92
5.5 Attitude of Youth Towards Hospitality by Period of Hosting . . . . .	97
5.6 Manner of Coming in by Feelings of Host Towards Youths' Expectations . . . . .	98
5.7 Reciprocity by Period of Hosting . . . . .	100

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to record my appreciation for the assistance I received from various people in the course of this study.

I would first wish to thank my Departmental Supervisors Dr. P. Walji and Dr. W. Abilla for the guidance and advise received through out this study. This thesis would never have been what it is had it not been for their encouragement and support.

I also wish to thank my family, my husband and children for their continued encouragement especially when everything looked so dim. My special gratitude goes to the clients I interviewed in the field particularly the unemployed youths whose co-operation during the data collection exercise cannot be appreciated enough. The same goes to hosts of the unemployed for their availability even at odd times.

I wish to finally convey my special appreciation to the Sociology Department for funding this study. This assistance was greatly appreciated without which this study would not have been realised.

ABSTRACT

This study set out to establish the sources of support for the urban based unemployed youths living in Nairobi. Specifically, the study sought to examine the problems experienced by hosts in Nairobi based on certain expectations by these youths. It was observed that some unemployed youths took prolonged periods of time as they waited to be employed. Our study therefore attempted to establish some of the major factors that determine the period of hosting. In the same connection, the study sought to establish some of the experiences of hosts as they put up with job-seekers for such periods. The period of hosting was viewed as critical in the light of changing attitudes towards the African extended family system, the inflation rate in a developing country like ours as well as the population growth rate.

The study population consisted of both male and female household heads hosting unemployed youths in Nairobi on the one hand. On the other hand, were unemployed youths who formed the second group. The youths were interviewed first for purposes of directing us to their hosts.

A total of 170 questionnaires were administered, in this manner; 100 to the youths and 70 to the hosts. The research instrument consisted of standardised interviewer administered questionnaires made up of both closed and open-ended questions.



It was postulated that the socio-economic conditions, extended family ties, kinship ties and reciprocity have an influence on the period of hosting. Our three hypothesis were tested using percentages, contingency coefficients, gamma coefficients and the pearson product moment correlation coefficients.

This study arrived at the conclusion that most unemployed youths get their support from their urban based relatives. The second most important group supporting job-seekers in urban areas were found to be friends. The findings were that hosts of unemployed youths have taken over a major responsibility in the upkeep, socialisation and general welfare of the unemployed during the waiting period. During this period of waiting, the unemployed become part and parcel of the households and hence the socialisation process continues.

## CHAPTER ONE

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Our Study sought to answer the following questions:-

Who are the urban based unemployed? What are their sources of support? What is the basis of this support and how long is it given while they wait for employment? How is the host-guest relationship especially during the interim period?

It is noted that since Independence the problem of unemployment of school leavers has become increasingly disturbing to Kenyans. Unemployment is always a serious socio-economic problem in any society. It is demoralising and wasteful of human resources. Consequently the Government has since focused attention on the problem with a view to curbing it. Employment creation has indeed taken prominence in most Official Policy documents including all the five development plans.

Urban unemployment basically affecting the younger generation is still an important theme among African Scholars and Policy Makers. The fifth development plan and the Sessional Paper No.1 of 1986 for instance highlights the importance of employment creation in Kenya in an effort to absorb the fast growing labour force.

As a concept, employment has certain definitional problems which make it rather difficult to establish its extent especially in developing

countries. Despite these problems, unemployment in developing countries is accepted as a condition in which individuals lack access to income generating activities. Weeks (1973) defines unemployment as the : denial of individual access to the resources complementary to human labour which are necessary to enable the gaining of a livelihood (Weeks 1973:4).

Weeks definition comes closer to the kind of job-seekers handled in this study. These were persons who basically lacked access to income generating activities and hence lacked a livelihood. They were youths living in Nairobi who had left all other options in search for some urban based employment, preferably White collar employment.

Urban unemployment is one of the basic features of the urban phenomenon in many developing countries today. It is marked more significantly by the rate of urban population growth in these countries. In Nairobi for instance the population grew from 108,900 in 1944 to 970,000 in 1984 which means a growth rate nine times in less than 50 years. (Ishumi 1984).

It is argued that since Independence, the important areas of wage employment in African countries have tended to be in the towns (Rempel H. 1970:75). This seems to explain the fact that large numbers of school leavers flock to urban areas in search for employment. In a working paper on Education and Inequality in Kenya, Kinyanjui P.K (1981:5-6) tells us that the establishment of Nairobi at the turn of the century as the political, economic and administrative centre of the then East African

protectorate,

Heralded the penetration into the hinterland of the capitalist mode of production based on settler capital.

He further states that the completion of the Kenya-Uganda railway in 1902 and the White settlement establishment stimulated and shaped the social and economic character of Nairobi. Africans who since 1906 formed more than 50 percent of the population in Nairobi were not regarded as permanent residents of the city. But the assumption of Independence by Kenyan Africans marked a major economic, social and political impact on the population of Nairobi and Kenya as a whole. It followed that Africans started entering into the economic and social life of Nairobi previously held by Europeans and Asians. Most of these entrants came from the rural areas to the urban centres in search of employment. As Rempel puts it;

”

A distinctive characteristic of labour markets in Africa has been the immigration of people from a home area to those areas where wage employment was available (Rempel 1970:75)

Wage employment was believed to be available in urban centres such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru e.t.c. Majority of those who moved were those Africans who were better educated and hence needed White collar jobs (Hunter G. 1974:8). It is in this connection, that Teshome Mulat (1975:7-17) notes the problem of youth unemployment in developing countries recognised as such only in the late 1960's. It is associated

with the educational expansion programmes of the colonial era.

Similar views are expressed by Kibua (1984:1) who argues that during the colonial days, education was 'elitist in nature' and that one was educated in order to get a job. He argues that the principle has been carried along even after Independence such that education is oriented towards 'working in offices'. This kind of work is indeed what the urban based unemployed discussed in our study is seeking to do. It keeps them waiting for prolonged periods in our centres particularly in Nairobi.

The view that education is meant to lead to employment has led many scholars and policy makers to blame the education system in many developing countries for the unemployment situation. Yamba (1986:1) for instance expresses this when he states:

As Kenya's political leaders and the general public tend to see it, increasing unemployment among school leavers is a consequence of either the largely theoretical or academic education which the youth get in our schools or related to that of the youths' acquired preference for white collar jobs.

We note however that while some view the education system in many developing countries as the problem, other scholars refute this such of Kinyanjui (1974) and Gakuru (1979). Gakuru for instance argues, unemployment is not an educational problem but rather a problem rooted in the basic structure of the society. His views are along similar lines as

Kinyanjui's who argues that unemployment is an economic and not an educational problem. He states in the same connection that:

If it is to be adequately tackled, it entails dealing with the question of restructuring the economy and the distribution of the economic benefits.

As the urban unemployment problem continues to be a thorn in the flesh for many Kenyans, some notable characteristics of the urban based unemployed emerge. Among these include the fact that most of these job-seekers are young, basically between the ages 15-25 years, (Rampel 1970), Mbithi 1975, Caldwell 1969). In this connection Mbithi (1975) observes that:

The problem of unemployment of youth has become more recognized as perhaps the most critical of all other forms of employment owing to the fact that their population includes school leavers who are mostly job-seekers and a foundation of a more efficient trained man power (Mbithi 1975:6).

The problem of youth unemployment is articulated further by a United Nations Bulletin (1985). This Bulletin asserts that the youth of the world consists about half the world's population. This high young population growth is particularly pronounced in third world countries. Due to their age and exposure to aspirations, they are a category needing a lot of attention. It is not surprising therefore that the United

Nations declared 1985 the International Youth Year to;

Alert the world public opinion about the aspirations of youth people and to ensure that they participate more actively in the economic and social development and in the construction of peace (Bennaars - 1985:7).

The question of youth participation in economic and social development raises world concern especially because youth unemployment is the order of the day. Their young age and aspirations partly created in schools as well as by their move to urban areas, in search for employment enhances this concern. In many cases these youths do not find the kind of employment they come for in urban areas i.e. white collar jobs. As a result they are forced to wait for some prolonged periods while knocking from one office to the other. The central question in our study is, what happens during this interim period as they wait for employment to come?

For such youthful persons the period of waiting can be a very frustrating time. This is perhaps why Bennaars states:

This particular group is the most vulnerable as they come from a 'co-operative' type of society to a highly competitive one, marked by a struggle for survival and a battle against moral and material deprivation (Bennaars 1985:8).

Yet we note with concern that migration of young people to urban areas in search of jobs is on the increase as long as Government departments and other forms of institutional employment continue to be located in urban areas. The Economic Survey (1987) for instance states that urban wage employment in Kenya accounted for 51 percent of the country's modern sector employment. This alone explains why the youths believe that most employment is to be found in the urban areas such as Nairobi. On arrival in town these youths have certain specific needs which include food, shelter and basic survival not withstanding the need for employment. This period is therefore critical for the young person who not only does not know how to get the job he needs, but also lacks knowledge of the town.

Scholars have found out that most job-seekers survive either on their relatives or friends who have gone to urban areas ahead of them. In this connection, Ndegwa and Powelson tell us:

The first awareness of unemployment came not from the statistics, but from the people seen in cities who obviously had nothing to do. They arrived in increasing numbers, lived in shanty towns and many received help from relatives who had preceded them (Ndegwa and powelson (1973:1).

Caldwell comes out with a similar observation. In his survey on rural-urban migration in Ghana, Caldwell (1969) found out that the majority of the migrants came to urban areas to live with their relatives;



indeed he found that:-

Over half of the potential migrants in the rural areas expected to stay at first with relatives or fellow villagers (Caldwell 1969, 129-130).

Relatives therefore play a crucial role in hosting the unemployed in urban areas. The extended family system seems to have taken a new role of hosting in the urban areas unlike what existed traditionally whereby members lived as one family in the rural areas. Thus since this system seems to be such an important source of support and inspiration for the urban unemployed, we found it necessary to establish how these hosts cope with an ever increasing burden of the unemployed.

We note that over the years the problem of youth unemployment has continued with the Kenyan Government making attempts to curb it unsuccessfully. The 1964 voluntary tripartite agreement for instance was one such attempt whose purpose was to create 40,000 new jobs in the shortest time possible (Harris J.R. and Tadaro H. 1968:8). A second tripartite agreement signed in 1970 also failed to alleviate the unemployment problem. More recent studies indicate that urban unemployment is on the increase (Kibua 1984, February 1986 Weekly Review, and Nzioka 1987). The Government blames the problem on the population growth rate estimated at 4.1 percent currently (Republic of Kenya 1984-1988). This population growth rate places Kenya as the country with the highest population growth rate in the continent.

Given therefore the grim picture of the employment situation in Kenya and an economy that promises no prospects for unimprovement, one wonders how these large numbers of school leavers who join the already saturated job market survive. This indeed formed the basis of our study.

It is further noted that very few scholars have addressed the issue of these support systems in the urban areas. Some of these few scholars who include Hutton C. (1970), Rempel H. (1980) and Ishumi (1984) have indicated that most of these youths get their support from their relatives and friends. This support ranges from food to shelter as well as employment. This support has been facilitated by the African Society whose traditional system encourages support of relatives. However, as Kayongo Male and Onyango (1984) tell us, it is not always easy to support a job seeker in town who on occasions may live with one indefinitely. This coupled with the current inflation particularly in the urban areas aggravates the situation. We note that in addition to all this, the extended family system has suffered serious threats from Western influence which is particularly significant in the urban areas.

A contradiction to this is seen in that, way back in the 1960's scholars such as Gutkind (1967) highlighted some of the problems suffered by job-seekers in urban areas as they put up with hosts. These problems were based on differing expectations on the part of the two parties. Gutkind discusses how hosts in Nairobi and Lagos complained of the burden of supporting their kin while looking for employment.

It is therefore in the light of this background of increased numbers of school leavers, increased challenges on the extended family as a support system as well as increased inflation rate that this study was found necessary. It was particularly aimed at establishing the problems of hosts who bear the burden of their unemployed relatives and friends. As Ishumi puts it, they are:

The bearers of the burden, the brunt of urban unemployment even though they, on their part may be happily employed and occupationally stable (Ishumi A.G.M. 1984:61).

Given therefore that the African extended family has been such a noble feature providing both social and economic security to its members, one would like to examine these threats facing it. Kayongo Male and Onyango (1984) indicate that a common statement in many African settings, which states 'your success is ours', a statement meant to emphasise the strength of brotherhood in Africa.

In this study therefore, we viewed this statement in the light of changing attitudes towards the African extended family system. The essence of our study was therefore an attempt to understand this support system as it exists today in Nairobi. We tried to establish the attitudes of hosts towards this increased responsibility in an atmosphere characterised by changing values and norms.

### OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of this study are stated below:-

What are the sources of support for the unemployed in urban areas?

What happens during the interim period (waiting period)?

What is the host-guest relationship during the waiting period?

How is the unemployed situation viewed by the two parties?

How do hosts view this responsibility in the light of the current social change?

### THE STUDY HYPOTHESES

On the basis of concerns expressed in the preceding Chapters, the following hypotheses were generated to establish factors that led hosts to provide support to job seekers:-

1. The socio-economic status of the host influences the period of hosting the unemployed.
2. The type of relationship between the host and the unemployed youth influences the period of hosting.

3. Reciprocity between the host and the unemployed youth influences the period of hosting.

## OPERATIONAL DEFINATION

### Independent Variables

We have attempted to operationalise our independent variables as indicated. Socio-economic status variables in our study referred to income, occupation and education. Socio-economic status variables were used as independent variables.

- 1.1 Income: Income referred to the salary or any other benefits accrued to the host on a monthly basis. Income was categorised to represent high, middle and low incomes.
- 1.2 Occupation: In our case occupation was measured by one's career, proffession or job. It referred to any income-earning activity either out of a paid salary or self-employment.
- 1.3 Education: Education as a variable was used in our study to stand for both years of schooling as well as certificates obtained. It referred to the levels of academic achievement.

1.4 Type of Relationship: Type of relationship in our study was used to differentiate both the type of blood relationship and any other relationship such as that of friendship or being neighbours. Type of relationship was therefore categorised into close relatives, distant relatives and others mainly covering friends, neighbours and clansmen. Type of relationship was therefore used as an independent variable.

1.5 Reciprocity: Reciprocity was defined in terms of help rendered to the host by the youth or vice versa. It was viewed as a show of gratitude or appreciation for the hospitality extended on the part of the youth by the host. On the other hand, hosts could show appreciation by continued hospitality. Reciprocity was therefore seen as a two way process. Reciprocity was used in our study as an independent variable.

#### Dependent Variables

1.6 Period of Hosting: The period of hosting in our study was used as a key dependent variable. This variable was used to refer to the time frame hosts

had given either in terms of accommodation and food or both to the youths. The period of hosting was used as the dependent variable for the three hypothesis in this study. It is therefore viewed as a very significant variable in out study.

### JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The relevance of the study to development policy in Kenya is underscored by the fact that rapid creation of employment is a primary goal for development planners in Kenya. This is reflected in all five development plans for Kenya. It is especially significant in the light of high population growth rate currently reported at 4.1 percent. The implication here is that the potential labour force which stood at 7.6 million in 1981 is likely to rise to 14.5 million by the year 2000 (Nyoike 1985)

Concern for the youth is world wide. Indeed the declaration of the year 1985 as the International Youth Year marked the global concern for the welfare of the youth. According to the Berg Bulletin of 1985 the need to pay attention to the youth emanates from the actual problems and aspirations of today's youth who as a broad social category form 45 percent of the worlds population. In essence this marks a large category which cannot possibly be ignored. The youthful population is even more

pronounced in third world countries due to its demographic character.

According to the 1984-88 development plan, in 1981 the out put of about 40 percent of the population in Kenya had to support the remaining 60 percent made up of those who were either very young or very old and those not in the labour force even though they were in the working age group. This high dependency is as a consequence of the high population growth rate which imposes a burden on the society in general.

If indeed as highlighted in the literature reviewed, the present social-economic conditions are difficult for this generation, they are likely to be more disastrous in the very near future. Thus, it is only important that the problems of the unemployed and those who bear the burden be examined before it is too late. Such a study will give us a better understanding on issues related to the difficulties of the unemployed and those who host them in urban areas. This understanding will bring insight to planners and policy makers who concern themselves with this aching problem.

The Minister for Finance, Hon. Saitoti during the 1988 budget day (15th June 1988) stated that unemployment is the most serious social problem facing Kenya today. It has been enhanced in the urban areas by the rate of urbanisation. According to Henning (1973), immediately after independence the African population in urban areas was increasing at a rate of 8 percent per annum. This problem is echoed further by an ILO 1970 mission which reckoned that about 15 percent of the urban population



was unemployed then. The situation should be worse today with increased rates of rural-to-urban migration in an economy that has not been generating adequate employment.

Given its adverse effects on society as a whole, unemployment has become an area of great concern. This is perhaps why scholars such as Ishumi (1984:20) state concerning the same that;

Because of its peculiar manifestation and its adverse effects on the victims as well as the public, this aspect assumes special significance not only for sociological study and sociological theory but also for remedial social policy.

Thus although the significance of this topic is understood and its causes fairly analysed in Kenya, its extent and effects on the victims and those related to them has not been examined. Our study is therefore an attempt to understand the problems of unemployment on the part of the victim as well as on hosts who support them during this difficult time. Hosts of job seekers, although playing a crucial role seem to have received little concern from scholars and policy makers. Yet this is the group that contains the situation from exploding and causing danger to the whole social-economic set up.

CHAPTER TWO

\*THEORY AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

The Social exchange theory purports to explain peoples actions in terms of why people behave the way they do in any social context. The logic of the social exchange theory leads to the generalisation that individuals will do what they can to optimise their gains.

As Blau (1964) has argued, a fundamental characteristic of social exchange is that an individual who supplies rewarding services to another obligates him. To discharge this obligation, the second must furnish benefits to the first in turn. Secondly in social exchange, there is a pretence of disinterested generosity. Indeed, Blau claims that this is the most important aspect in which social exchange differs from economic exchange. In social exchange for instance a return is ~~s~~ expected, but it involves diffuse future obligations and not specified ones and again the nature of the return cannot be bargained about but must be left to the benefit of the one who makes it.

Social exchange theory applies to our present study of host and guest (Youth) relationship because as it asserts, hosts expect returns for their generosity such as respect, honour, some future help or even immediate help with the housework. These are expectations that are not precisely specified like in economic exchange. On many occasions, the host leaves these obligations at the discretion of his guest to determine

both the time and manner of return or reciprocity.

Hence, as the theory asserts, people mainly interact with each other or in groups for utilitarian or self-interest purposes which may be intrinsic or extrinsic. This means that psychological rewards are also important aspects of interaction which may be expressed in approval or prestige as indicated in our particular study. But this interaction will only continue if the parties concerned see any gain in it.

Social exchange therefore, as Blau argues, is based on trust, it requires the individuals or parties concerned to trust each other. For instance an individual who gives another an expensive gift must trust him to reciprocate in a proper or similar fashion. Social exchange will therefore engender feeling of gratitude and trust, but on the other hand failure to make a worthy return leads to loss of face. Thus, Blau, indeed argues that a person who gives others valuable gifts or renders them important services makes a claim for superior status by obligating them to himself. If they fail to reciprocate with benefits that are at least as important to him as his are to them they validate his claim to superior status. It is clear therefore that social exchange theory focuses greatly on reciprocity. It asserts that reciprocity operates more in the informal than in formal contexts. Its application in the relationship between hosts and guests puts it in an informal situation where these two parties do not have their expectations of each other written out, but instead trust that each will perform the expected duties.

In our context, reciprocity can be measured by the amount of help given in terms of house help, submission, obedience or recognition of the host by the youth. This can be expressed in words of gratitude from the hosted to the host. On the other hand, reciprocity will be seen to continue by not only giving hospitality on the part of the host, but by giving counsel, direction and financial support. When a youth joins his host in town, there is usually no contractual or formal agreement signed; they live together on a very informal basis as said earlier.

Hosts are therefore at liberty to dismiss their guests when they wish and especially when they realise that they cannot get along and hence they have nothing to gain from the relationship. But this liberty is restrained by certain societal expectations and obligations especially characteristic of the African set up where the extended family system binds one despite the fact that he/she feels he should not continue giving hospitality. One of the concerns of our study was to test how binding the African extended family system is in our urban areas in the light of changing attitudes towards the system.

Blau argues that each party to a potential exchange has something which the other wants. But in some cases, one party may have nothing to offer immediately. Blau therefore argues that such a person can only offer the other alieu on future services by offering submission which is an acceptance of power.

Power exists when one party can regularly use a threat of punishment or withdrawal of facilities from another in order to gain compliance. In our study, the unemployed youth does not have any immediate services of the same magnitude to give to his host. In the circumstances, he is therefore expected to offer submission and obedience especially when assigned certain duties by his host since he is at his mercy. Failure to make such an offer may lead to the withdrawal of facilities or hospitality rendered to him by his host. These facilities could be accommodation, food, financial as well as moral support rendered to him by his host which he values.

It is therefore clear that the concept of reciprocity as used by Blau is very crucial in this study as we relate host and guest relationship and factors that influence termination or continued hospitality. Blau's social exchange theory will therefore form the basic framework for our study.

#### \* REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Youth unemployment in urban areas is still a topic of concern and considerable importance in many developing countries. It is one of the many features of the urban phenomenon in many third world countries today. While its causes are beginning to be understood and policies advocated such as the 8.4.4: education system in Kenya as well as the District focus for rural development, its extent has been rather difficult to measure. This is owing to conceptual difficulties of definition and manpower constraints on

actual data collection as discussed in Chapter one.

During the last two decades, studies on urban unemployment in developing countries have considerably increased. They have basically tackled the causes and proposed solutions to the problem in these countries, but few have focused themselves on the sources of support and the effects this has on the hosts and the society as a whole. The limited studies which are going to be discussed here have only made references to these issues without directly focussing on them. Although our study did not wish to focus on the causes of unemployment in Kenya, a few introductory points will serve to highlight some of the general trends and causes of unemployment discussed by scholars and policy makers. In East Africa, for instance, during the first decade of Independence, most of the governments urged or forced job seekers to go back to the land. Such policies included the 'go back to the land' policy in Kenya which was much lighter than the 'Ujamaa policy' that literally forced people to go back to the rural areas in Tanzania for agricultural purposes.

Walter Elkan (1970:1-2) argued that the reasons for failing to get employment in both Kenya and Uganda were, first because the population had grown faster than the total wage employment and secondly because jobs had not been created due to the use of capital intensive technology in labour-intensive set ups. The issue of population growth rate had been pointed out by many as one of the causes of this problem. The development plan (1984-1988) for instance explained the unemployment problem in Kenya in terms of population growth rate estimated at 3.9

percent. It noted that the World development report of 1982 forecasted a higher growth rate of 4.1 percent for Kenya's population between 1980 to the year 2,000 which is the highest population growth rate in the world. According to the Ministry of labour estimates, about 7.1% of able-bodied Kenyans seeking employment in 1977 had no jobs. By 1983 the figure had risen to 11.7 percent and to about 16.5 percent in 1985.

As Elkan therefore argues, the situation is made worse by the fact that while so many are looking for jobs, the economy is not expanding fast enough to cope not only with the new comers to the market but also with the existing labour force. Scholars who have discussed the employment problem in developing countries have not failed to point the fact that most of these countries use capital-intensive technology while they have excessive human labour. Elkan is therefore just one of those who have pointed out this as one of the shortcomings. This is also pointed out by Mbithi P.M. (1975), Weekly Review of February 1986 and Gakuru O.N. (1979) among others.

For along time Kenya's education system has been cited as one of the major factors contributing to unemployment. The National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies report of 1976 for instance blamed the education system as one of the factors resulting to unemployment. At the same time, the Committee on unemployment appointed by the President in 1982, also identified the system of education as one of the major problems leading to unemployment. This committee identified job selectivity and skills imbalance as one of the major weakness arising from the education

system which was blamed for creating white collar mentality among the youths as opposed to 'blue collar' jobs. Other critics who have also blamed the education system for creating aspirations among the youth which are unrealistic include the Development plan (1984-1988), Mbithi P.M. (1975) and Ndegwa and Powelson (1973).

On the contrary, others believe that the education system is not responsible for the unemployment problem in Kenya. Kinyanjui (1974a) states that the unemployment problem is not entirely an educational but an economic problem. He therefore concludes that solutions to the problem have to be sought outside the education system. Indeed, he discards the common view that since the education system has failed to produce people with practical skills, technical education is therefore the answer. On the contrary he points out the fact that even those with technical education desire to have white collar jobs. Gakuru O.N. (1979) argues along similar lines by strongly pointing out that the main causes of unemployment are rooted in the basic structure of the society. He argues in defence of the education system when he states that what the education system has done is to interact with an already unequal socio-economic system. He criticise the National Committee on Educational Objectives and policies for recommending that the unemployed should identify with the rural areas and the informal sector, sectors that are "characterised with unemployment, low incomes and general deprivation (Gakuru O.N. 1979).

The arguments discussed above indicate clearly that there is no single cause of unemployment in a country like Kenya, rather causes of



unemployment are many and varied. As such therefore, scholars have not come to a consensus on these causes. Consequently solutions to the unemployment problem are as varied as the causes. They range from the 'go back to the land' policies to educational reforms', 'rural development', 'family planning' to 'improvement economies'.

It is however noted that despite attempts to solve the unemployment problem in Kenya, the problem has instead increased considerably as each year sees thousands of school leavers at different levels join the labour market. The problem becomes more sensitive because of the nature of those who seek these jobs. They are young people with ambitions and aspirations which need to be attended to, yet their employment chances are extremely limited.

#### Characteristics of the urban based unemployed.

?

Studies on the urban based unemployed generally agree on broadly four typical features of the unemployed in urban areas. In terms of their origin, scholars basically agree that majority of the urban-based unemployed are migrants from the rural areas who come to towns in search for employment.

Rempel and House (1972:12) for instance argue that competition for the available jobs has been associated with extensive rural to urban migration and growing urban unemployment. In an earlier paper Rempel (1970:1) actually asserts that since the 1960s, there was a distinctive

'drift' of people from rural to urban areas resulting in a situation of urban unemployment. This point is further articulated by Mbithi P.M (1975) who argues that the growth of a white collar mentality of rural youth accompanied by the growth of urban centres with higher incomes and amenities are seen to cause a dynamic flow of school leavers to urban centres.

It is clear therefore that school leavers come to towns in search of a better life. Indeed, Caldwell C. (1969) found out that rural to urban migrants moved to towns in search of employment as far away from farming as possible. This argument seems to go along similar lines as Mbithi's 'White collar' mentality. Thus Ishumi (1984:51:57) found out that 89% of the unemployed youths in Dar-es-salaam were rural migrants. In conclusion therefore one can safely argue that these youths are predominantly rural migrants who come to towns in search of better employment than found in their rural sector. A second character of the urban-based unemployed is that majority of them are young in the age category 15 to 34 years. Mbithi P.M. (1975) for instance, found out that these youths ranged between 15 to 24 years of age. Sabot R.H. (1977:4) also found out that, the unemployed in urban areas in Tanzania, were 24 years or younger and covered over 80% of those who were job-seekers.

The above assertions get a lot of support from most scholars who write in the area of unemployment. Boubakar (1985:) for instance states that:

Most of the migrants who pour into towns and cities from the country side are, as in most third world countries young people..... (Boubakar by 1985:5).

He continues to argue that young people who have been exposed to education form a large proportion of the migrant masses since education makes it more difficult for them to accept employment in the rural areas. These youths require alot of concern because they move from a co-operative form of community to a highly competitive and individualistic one (Bennaars. 1985:7). Kinyanjui P.K. (1974a), writing on the opportunities for school leavers outside the major towns of Kenya, points out that most job-seekers in urban centres are young school leavers who:

are struggling day and night in our major towns looking for employment opportunities which are not there (Kinyanjui P.K 1974).

All the above scholars seem to hold to the view that the unemployed are young school leavers who are looking for better opportunities in urban centres. This point is further articulated by King K. (1976:1:2) who argues that while it was sensible in the 1950's and early 1960's for primary school graduates to set off for the urban areas, the more recent migration has come from the secondary school graduates who still believe there is room for them in urban areas.

This therefore leads us to the third basic characteristic of the urban based unemployed, namely that most of them are better educated than their rural folk. Kibua T.N.(1984), discussing the possible solutions to the unemployment problem in Kenya, states that most job-seekers in urban areas are school leavers who join the search after completing a certain terminal level. He argues that their entry into an already saturated job market complicates an already intricate problem.

As Bennaars (1985) explains it, after independence, most African countries increased the number of schools and as a result a large majority of youths gained education. Unfortunately this education system, continued to train for white collar jobs without formal industries to compare the increase in educational enrolment and the employment increase.

According to the Weekly Review of February 1986, of the 334,000 pupils who did their Kenya Certificate of Primary Education, in 1985, only about 140,000 found vacancies in secondary schools, with the rest joining the labour market. The same paper also reported that of the 120,000 students who sat for their Kenya Certificate of Education in 1985, only about 12,000 were expected to continue to form five, while about half of the remaining were expected to get into colleges leaving the other half to join the ranks of the unemployed. This situation seems true when one analyses all the educational levels. Despite all this, it is noted that the economy does not generate enough jobs to meet this need. In fact, Gakuru O.N. (1979) points out how difficult it is to create jobs. He argues that creating a formal sector job may cost as much as 200,000 Kenya

shillings, a figure which is rather enormous.

Education therefore has been given priority in most developing nations since Independence. Indeed in most third world countries, it continues to take a large share of the country's resources. This is very true of Kenya with education accounting for nearly 7.2 percent of the country's domestic product.

The reason why one finds more educated job-seekers in urban areas is because individuals with high levels of education tend to be more informed about employment opportunities. Coupled with this is the particular type of education in many African countries which tends to create a bias against rural employment and particularly agricultural work.

‡ A fourth and final major character of the urban based unemployed is that majority of them are males. Migot Adholla (1977:16s) for instance states that most migration studies in Africa show clearly that males are more migratory than females. Caldwell (1969:20) supports this view but states that more recently, females have played an increasingly larger role in migration. The fact that males have dominated the migration scene could perhaps be explained from the understanding that in the African society men tend to be the bread winners and hence are more aggressive in going out to get work in order to provide for their families. With increased education affecting both males and females this trend seems to be changing slowly.

This section has therefore discussed some of the basic characteristics of the unemployed in urban areas and particularly in most third world countries. These characteristics are in line with the characteristics of youths interviewed in our study.

#### Sources of support for the unemployed in urban areas.

This section will review literature on sources of support for job-seekers in urban areas as well as the nature and extent of this support.

For a rural resident, the move to a town, involves significant costs. Initially there is the cost of travelling to town and once there, there is the need to obtain the other basic necessities such as shelter, food and the cost of searching for the job. Bairoch (1973:47) writing on urban unemployment in developing countries states that:

"/

In much of the third world countries the unemployed person benefits socially and economically from the extended family system. \*

He argues that this happens because the unemployed are seriously affected by the absence of any system of unemployment benefits as is the case in the developed nations where job-seekers are granted some allowance to survive on.

Once a migrant arrives in town, therefore he faces a whole range of urgent problems. In addition to the cost of travelling, he realises that everything must be paid for, including the common foodstuffs, housing as well as travelling, items that are easily available in the rural areas. If he cannot find someone to provide these items, he must have income from home in the form of proceeds or he must find casual work in town (Hutton C:1970:9). These costs can be significantly reduced if the youth finds a relative or friend to provide assistance in town. Thus the presence of kinsmen or friends in town serves as a shock-absorber, reducing the impact of uncomfortable experiences on the part of the youth.

According to Weisner (1976:200) the likelihood of a male migration depends on two factors, namely:-

- i) His own perception of the probability of success in obtaining employment in town and,
- ii) the nature of the social and economic support available to the migrant in the countryside and in the city.

The second reason implies that in addition to any form of assistance available in the city, migration to towns can also take place when one has some financial backing from his rural home. This is in fact the point Hutton (1970) is putting across when she talks of income in the

form of proceeds from home. She however, argues that the general tendency is that of youths living with their urban relatives. In this connection, she also indicates that as the unemployment situation heightened in Kampala and Jinja, life became more and more difficult for hosts especially those whose families lived with them in town. She however noted that support continued particularly towards the very close relatives especially as regards shelter.

Guy Hunter (1974:10) observes a similar pattern when he states that the great majority of migrants go first to a kinsman at least for a place to sleep. He states that in some cases there are some "Well worn paths", from a particular village to a group of tribesmen and relatives in particular areas in town. He argues like Weisner that those without kinsmen in town are in more danger because they not only miss the initial support, but their continued stay in town becomes difficult unless they are fortunate enough to find employment on arrival which is rather uncommon in most developing countries.

In addition, it is commonly believed that the urban based unemployed are granted hospitality for a limited period because whether employed or unemployed, urban living is difficult and often strenuous to all. Infact, Hutton (1970:9:12) argues that in most cases the unemployed are taken in on temporary basis, the means and good will of their hosts diminishing as the period of unemployment lengthens. This indeed was one of the concerns of this study. We wished to find out whether prolonged unemployment meant diminishing assistance or whether assistance continued despite the length



of the unemployment period.

As Moock (1973), argues, once a decision to come to town has been taken, the type of kin relationships become important. The extent of assistance provided by the hosts of the unemployed determines the length of time a youth will stay in town looking for employment unless he has alternative ways of survival such as help from his rural home. This assistance or support from the rural areas is not a very common practice. Indeed Ishumi (1984:58) argues in his study that the most predominant host in town is a relative such as a brother and sister with friends coming second.

In his study of rural-urban migration and urban unemployment in Kenya, Rempel (1981:113), found out that an average of 82% received support from kin. A different study done in Uganda by Hutton C. (1970:9:12)) found out that roughly half of the population interviewed lived with relatives, most commonly with their close relatives. She argues that although majority of the youths got their food from their hosts, provision of shelter did not necessarily mean that food for the unemployed visitor was always available. She found out for instance, that about 20 percent of the unemployed were either not getting food regularly from any one or lived on their own. Those fed by hosts did not get food regularly, meaning they had to rely on food from their rural homes or had to do casual work to survive.

The situation in town is not similar to the one in rural areas in terms of expenses. An extra man to feed in town presents a heavy burden for most employed people and more especially to the unskilled workers. However, Sabot R.H.(1977:41) argues that in the absence of Government relief schemes for the unemployed in many developing countries, costs have to be redistributed from the unemployed to the employed in order to maintain the consumption of food, housing, clothing and health services above the level of serious deprivation. This in essence means that the employed relatives have got to shoulder the burden of their unemployed youths.

While the implication given so far is that these youths get assistance partly, others are sometimes hosted not only for prolonged periods but their expenses are also fully covered by their hosts. It is infact very difficult in an African setting to ask a relative to leave especially in the absence of an alternative. This is because right from the beginning the African is taught the spirit of brotherhood. This is perhaps why Ishumi (1984) makes the statement below in connection with a parent, who said.

What I want is good education for my child, who will then be able to get a good job and help his brothers and sisters.  
(Ishumi A.G.M:1984:51).

The implication here is that parents in our society may take a child to school because they are a future asset for them. This practice in fact

is not limited only to the very close relatives, it stretches further to more distant relatives who feel that the success of one of them in the community also means their success because they expect to benefit in one way or the other.

Despite the fact that many Africans have been brought up to respect their extended family system, it is noted that life has been gradually changing and many of them are feeling the pinch of having to continue supporting their relatives. Indeed Kayongo-male and Onyango (1984) discussing the problems of survival in town, argue how difficult it is to feed and clothe a large extended family in town. The same ideas are expressed by Gutkind when he states that some political leaders in Africa believe that the demands by the unemployed on their kin and friends in Africa is an impediment to economic progress. He quotes Tom Mboya in 1966, the then Minister for Commerce and Industry Stating that:

“

Growth depends on initiative and initiative can be badly stifled if the individual who makes the effort is required to share the reward with many others whose claims can only be justified on moral grounds. In every part of East Africa, one can witness the undesirable situation in which a member of a family whose income increases is suddenly and constantly besieged by demands of support from a large number of distant relatives (East African Standard, Nairobi, September 19th, 1966).

One of the aims of our study was to establish the attitudes of hosts as a result of supporting their unemployed relatives. If the hosts felt the burden of having to shelter their relatives twenty or so years ago, one would be interested to examine the situation today in an inflated economy especially felt most in our urban areas with unlimited exposure to the Western style of life which discourages the extended family system.

Gutkind (1967) in a comparative study of the urban based unemployed in Lagos and Nairobi traced their sources of support from relatives and friends. This support was based mainly on kinship ties developed in the rural areas . He pointed out issues of concern for this study. He found out for instance hosts and youths (unemployed) had differing expectations; while youths expected more support than they got, hosts on the other hand, had their own limitations based on their urban experiences. He pointed out that hosts complained about the burden of looking after their relatives in addition to their families.

Gutkinds' study seems to draw a lot of support from Onyango A (1978:29-30) whose study focussed on employment problems in Kenya. He observed that few job-seekers cared to write to their hosts about their intentions to join them, an issue which resulted in considerable annoyance on the part of the hosts. He reported that hosts complained bitterly that they had to cut down their standard of living and that of their families in order to meet the expenses of their guests. He continues to say that, while some of the unemployed may have been conscious of the

additional burden they placed on their relatives, some felt that they (hosts) owed them a living, an attitude which resulted in quarrels with the cumulative effect of a guest moving from one host to the other. He argues that during such times, such persons used the network of the family and kin to the fullest.

Onyango's study was aimed at evaluating the extend of the employment problem in Kenya and therefore touched only slightly on the sources of support for job-seekers in urban areas. The present study used some of the variables highlighted by Onyango in particular the burdensome nature of youths and the fact of job-seekers moving from host to host, to examine the situation more critically. We tried to build on these variables touching on the relationship between hosts and guests.

In his study of six cases of educated job-seekers in Nairobi, King K (1976:6) found out that job-seekers were young inexperienced migrants from the rural areas who obtained most of their support from relatives and friends. His study looked at unemployment as viewed by the victims. Concerning their sources of support he tells us that:-

Beyond the mere exercise of lodging and eating free with relatives and friends, it is important to note the other small expenses that the occupation of a job-seeker demands.

He argues that to a large extent, the job-seeker almost wholly depends on his host in terms of food, accommodation and any other financial and sometimes moral support he requires. Indeed King talks about youths getting a monthly stipend from hosts who on the other hand find it increasingly burdensome.

This situation becomes more pronounced with prolonged unemployment and as a result, some of the hosts start being hostile to the youths while youths become increasingly sensitive due to their situation of uncertainty. It is not surprising then that some job-seekers become bitter and extremely frustrated as expressed by this school leaver.

A school leaver is nobody's friend, even the relatives and the best friends who helped him while at school have the tendency to avoid him especially in town. (Kinyanjui :1974:1).

”

The bitterness expressed by this school leaver not only indicates his frustration after failing to obtain employment, but it portrays a strained relationship with his host in town, a situation that seems to have been seriously aggravated by prolonged unemployment.

The literature discussed in this chapter has looked at youth unemployment in relation to their sources of support in urban areas. In the process of bringing out this literature, some gaps have been identified. While there is a lot of literature on the causes and solutions proposed to the problem of youth unemployment in developing countries such

as Kenya, Literature is scarce on the source of support for these youths who as discussed are basically migrants from the rural area.

The problems faced by hosts in urban areas as a result of shouldering the problems of youths who are unemployed have not been tackled before, the few studies that have discussed issues of host-guest relationship in urban areas have mentioned these problems on the passing. The author sees this as a gap that needs to be filled particularly in a country where unemployment gets more pronounced every year as school leavers join the labour market. It is noted in our study that increased unemployment is being experienced at a time when the Western way of life which advocates for individualism is also greatly pronounced. It was therefore found necessary to try and establish the views and attitudes of hosts towards the support they render to the urban unemployed.

#### HYPOTHESES.

On the basis of the concerns expressed in the preceding chapters, the following hypotheses were generated to establish factors that led hosts to provide support to job-seekers. The period of hosting was viewed as an important dependent variable after a realisation that it was one thing to host and quite another to offer prolonged hosting.

The three hypotheses are as indicated below:-

1. The socio-economic status of the host influences the period of hosting the unemployed.

2. The type of relationship between the host and the unemployed youth influences the period of hosting.
3. Reciprocity between the host and the unemployed youth influences the hosting period.

We plan to test the three hypotheses in the following Chapters.



### CHAPTER THREE

#### METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the research methodology which includes the selection and description of the site, the units of analysis, sampling procedures used and the techniques of data collection employed. As Bailey (1978) has put it, Methodology includes the assumptions and values that serve as rationale for research and the standard criteria used by the researcher in the collection of data in order to reach certain conclusions.

#### SITE SELECTION AND DESCRIPTION

The choice of Nairobi is justified by the very nature of the study. Since the study aimed at establishing the sources of support for job-seekers in urban areas, it was necessary to select an urban setting for the study. Nairobi region which hosts most unemployed persons by virtue of its central position as both the capital city of Kenya as well as the chief industrial centre was found most ideal.

The city area covers about 266 square miles with a population of over 800,000 as per the 1981 statistics. The city has an altitude of 5,452 feet above the sea level. Nairobi being the chief city of Kenya, hosts most of the important offices in the country including the head offices of all Government Ministries and parastatals as well as head

offices of most private organisations. The Nairobi region contains the majority of the manufacturing industries in Kenya whether measured by the number of establishments, the total employed or by the value of the output (Morgan W.T.W. 1967).

The population in Nairobi is distributed in varying densities over the city. According to Ngau (1979), there is a general pattern of decline of population densities with distance away from the city centre. The centre of gravity is in the Eastlands residential areas with decreasing population densities as one approaches the Western sides of the town.

The primary source of population growth in Nairobi has been migration from the rural areas. According to Ominde (1968), in 1962 for instance, less than 25 percent of Nairobi's population had been born in Nairobi, the rest had come to Nairobi as migrants basically in search for employment.

In Nairobi, the city centre is assumed to be the centre of employment and business transaction (Ngau, 1979). The city's industries and factories are situated in the industrial area which is the centre of activity in the city. Most of the employees in Nairobi work in this area. This explains perhaps why the labour exchange department is located in the same area, in order to cater for the needs of both employers and the job-seekers.

Our research was basically carried out in the labour exchange office where job-seekers come in large numbers to register themselves every day. This is the office charged with the responsibility of registering all unemployed persons in the country with a view to assisting them to get employed. It should however be noted that this office registers only those who come to them for registration. In this case therefore, it would not be fair to consider their list as the total universe of the unemployed in Kenya.

#### SAMPLING

In the absence of any existing lists of population of unemployed persons in Kenya and in Nairobi particularly, the researcher had to work out other ways of getting a sample of job-seekers. The Ministry of labour, employment bureau which registers job-seekers in the country who come to them, was found most suitable.

Although the office lacked any reliable and systematic list of job-seekers, job-seekers themselves came on a daily basis and in large numbers to this office. These job-seekers came to register their names in an effort to get employment (mainly casual in nature) from the neighbouring industries, through the bureau.

We took down a list of names of all secondary school leavers with the help of the staff of the bureau. This was done on a daily basis because we found that it was not necessarily those who came to the bureau

one day who also came the following day. Thus to select the secondary school leavers for the interviews, the researcher employed the purposive sampling procedure. Nachimas (1976:26) states that in the purposive sampling, the units of research are selected subjectively to obtain a representative sample. In purposive sampling the researcher uses his own judgement to pick the items best suited for his study. In this particular case, the researcher wished to study the sources of support for job-seekers who had not worked before and it was believed that most of them would be secondary school leavers since most primary school leavers had started understanding that urban areas had no opportunities for them with increased secondary school leavers (King;1976). Indeed the researcher found that most primary school leavers had left school many years ago and had therefore worked previously but came to the bureau either because they had lost their jobs or were looking for better ones.

After compiling the list of job-seekers who consisted of men and women, the researcher then invited them for the interview on a random basis. Job-seeker number one would for instance be invited and then the researcher would skip job-seeker number two and invite job-seeker number three. This process would be repeated a fresh the following day because we had come to realise that usually different people showed up the following day and using the same list would not achieve much. It is clear here therefore that the researcher used the principles of simple random sampling.

As Moser and Kalton (1979:80-82) have put it, simple random sampling gives each sample of the different units an equal chance of being selected. In our sample therefore each individual job-seeker had an equal chance of being selected.

The above process led us to obtain one sample of 100 youths. We also needed to interview hosts of unemployed youths. In order to get hold of these hosts, each individual job-seeker (respondent) was asked for the contact of his host which was normally in the form of the host's office location or his telephone contact. The sampling procedure employed in getting the hosts was 'snowball' or 'mudball' sampling. In this procedure an individual youth who had been interviewed would direct us to his host. Using this procedure, we were able to get at least 70 percent of the original sample of hosts planned for.

The researcher therefore interviewed 100 youths and 70 hosts totalling to 170 respondents.

#### METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Our study adopted the survey research design with the interview schedule as the major tool for data collection. Interviewing was preferred to other methods because of the nature of our research which was exploratory. Although the schedule consisted of both pre-coded and open-ended questions, many questions were open-ended and needed probing which was possible in an interview schedule.

The study used two interview schedules, one for the youths and a separate one for the hosts. The researcher personally administered all the questionnaires. The questionnaire consisted of key socio-economic variables such as age, sex, education and income as well as variables on periods of unemployment for the youths or periods one had worked for the hosts as well as attitudes towards the extended family system on the part of hosts.

The strategy to interview the youths and hosts separately was aimed at minimising the bias from mutual collaboration, lack of freedom or even victimisation of the youths by the host if they said something unpleasant.

Secondary data in the form of documentary materials was obtained from all possible sources in the Labour Ministry. These were in the form of policy materials on the role and responsibilities of the labour exchange bureau and terms and conditions of registration of job-seekers. The researcher was also able to look at the files in these offices which enriched our data and also ascertained some of the information obtained from the youths.

Reading materials on the problems of youth unemployment in Kenya and elsewhere as well as some materials on their sources of support were obtained from the libraries in the country.

### UNITS OF ANALYSIS

Our study as already indicated had two units of analysis, namely the host who was either a household head or his wife in his absence and the unemployed youth who was being hosted. The youths were mainly secondary school graduates who were active job-seekers by the fact of their presence in the labour exchange offices as well as their own confession.

### PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE FIELD

When setting out to the field, it had been assumed that sampling of the youths would be done once, since it was assumed that those who came to register would always be easily available: On the contrary it was found that different job seekers came on different days and this presented some sampling problems. We therefore decided to sample them on a daily basis provided the names of those already interviewed were kept separately. This meant that the respondent had to start working at about 10.00 a.m every day, an involvement which lengthened the exercise than was expected.

On the other hand hosts were found to be scattered all over the city unlike the youths who were interviewed in one place. This made the exercise of tracing hosts, time consuming and rather expensive. The other problem we faced was to do with the tracing of hosts. Most of the hosts were working and so the researcher had to make appointments by telephone either to talk to them in the evenings after work or to visit them in their offices which was not always convenient.

CHAPTER FOUR

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SAMPLE

This chapter discusses the main characteristics of the sample studied, it consisted of unemployed youths on the one hand and their hosts in Nairobi on the other. It starts off by giving a general overview of the two sample groups before tackling the specific characteristics pertaining to each group. The host sample is discussed towards the end to pave the way for the next chapter which basically tests the three hypotheses based on the data from the host group.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The sample studied consisted of 170 respondents in total. This comprised 100 unemployed youths residing in Nairobi and 70<sup>1</sup>/<sub>7</sub> hosts of these youths. As earlier stated, the interviews for the youths were all carried out in the labour exchange offices in the industrial area. On the other hand, hosts who were scattered all over the city of Nairobi were interviewed at different places. Some were interviewed in their offices while others were interviewed in their homes depending on their convenience. While interviews with the hosts of job seekers aimed at establishing their experiences as a result of granting both initial and continued support to these youths, interviews with the youths were meant to supplement and counter check this data. This gave us an opportunity to assess the validity of the data obtained from youths, besides using the



youths to direct us to their hosts. Additionally, it gave us a unique opportunity to understand not only the problems experienced by the hosts but also problems suffered by those being hosted.

### Ethnic Distribution

In order to get a clear background of our sample groups, we found it necessary to establish the ethnic distribution of the two sample groups.

Data on some personal characteristics of both the youths and hosts was collected to give the background required for the study. These characteristics were viewed as important because they gave us a better understanding of our two sample groups.

### Ethnic Distribution

Table No.4.1 gives us the ethnic distribution of both the youth and the host groups. As the table indicates, majority of youths as well as hosts were Kikuyus from Central Province. Perhaps this could be explained by the fact that Central Province is nearest to Nairobi relative to other provinces. Additionally, land has been more scarce in Central Province especially for to the younger generation. However, the question of population pressure cannot be dismissed. The Kikuyus of Central Province form the largest ethnic group in Kenya and as such it would be expected that they would be in the majority especially in an urban centre like Nairobi

Table 4.1: Ethnic Distribution of Hosts and Youths

Ethnic Group	Number		Percentages	
	Host	Youth	Host	Youth
Kikuyus	25	28	35.7	28
Luhia	10	26	14.3	26
Luo	11	18	15.7	18
Kamba	13	17	18.6	17
Kalenjin	7	6	10.0	6
Kisii	4	5	5.7	5
N=	70	100	100	100

which is neighbouring Central Province. Indeed the table above (4.1) indicates a representative distribution of the ethnic groups in Kenya in order of their sizes. As expected most youths were hosted by their fellow tribes men except for the few who were hosted by friends. One therefore sees in this table corresponding numbers of both youths and their hosts, for instance Kikuyus tended to host other Kikuyus while Luos hosted other Luos. This hosting pattern therefore seems to have been influenced by ethnicity.

The Age Distribution of Youths and Hosts

Age was viewed as another important variable in our study. Youths interviewed ranged between ages 18 to 31, ages during which many people go out looking for employment. This seems to agree with scholars who have studied in the field of migration. Mbithi (1975) for instance states that job seekers in urban areas are between 15 and 24 years of age, while Kinyanjui (1974) states that they are young school leavers who come to

towns in search for employment. The same argument is asserted by Migot (1977) who argues, rightly that most of the migrants to towns are young school leavers who are relatively more educated than the rest of the rural folk.

Unlike youths who were relatively young, in our study, hosts had varied ages. It was expected that the ages of the hosts would be higher since they were in the working group category unlike youths who were basically school leavers. Indeed most of the hosts had worked for several years ranging between two to twenty five years with an average of 10.7 years. It follows therefore that having worked for several years, many hosts were much older.

As expected, due to their age and state of joblessness, most youths were found to be single (81%), while only 19% were married. On the contrary, many hosts were found to be married men and women. Table 4.2 shows the percentage distribution by marital status for both hosts and youths.

Table 4.2: Marital Status of Hosts and Youths Frequency Distribution

	Hosts %	Youth %
Married	48	18
Single	15	82
Divorced	4	0
Widowed	3	0
Total	70	100
N=	100	100

As shown in the table 4.2 48% of hosts were married. Perhaps the fact of being married makes one more stable because one is likely to have a house where an extra person can be accommodated. In addition, such persons are in a better position to accommodate an extra person because there is usually someone to take care of the home. On the contrary, it is rather difficult for a bachelor who leaves home in the morning and comes back in the evening to be consistent in providing for a needy person such as a job-seeker. Indeed many unemployed youths in the sample complained that their hosts (mainly bachelors or married men with their wives in the countryside) left in the morning only to come back late in the evening leaving the youths to go hungry the whole day.

We also found that a sizeable majority, covering 83% of the youths interviewed, were males while the rest were females. A similar trend is found among hosts who consisted of 70 percent males and 30 percent females. In the past male migration to urban areas has been more pronounced than female migration. (Caldwell 1969). This however is taking a different trend as more and more females begin to get education and consequently move to urban areas to look for jobs.

#### Educational levels of youths and hosts

As stated earlier, we interviewed secondary school leavers who had attained either form four or form six levels of education. An important point that came out of these interviews was that majority of those interviewed were 'O'level graduates (83 percent) while only (17 percent)

were 'A'Level graduates. This trend stems from the fact that the 'O'Level or fourth form graduates seems to be the commonest grade obtained by most people. For instance, according to the Weekly Review, February 1986 issue, of 120,000 students who sat for the 'O'Level examinations, only about 12,000 proceeded to form five, about half of them were fixed in training institutions while the remaining joined the unemployed group. This serves to explain why there would be more 'O'Level than 'A'Level graduates seeking for employment in an urban setting like Nairobi. On the other hand the educational level of hosts was rather diverse. Table 4.3 below gives the level of education of hosts interviewed in our study.

Table 4.3: Educational Level of Hosts

Level	Number of Hosts	Percentage
Primary	14	14.0
Secondary	45	84.3
University	11	15.7
Total	70	100.0

As table 4.3 (above) indicates, hosts had more diversified levels of education than the youths. It should however be noted that we went out to the field with the assumption of interviewing secondary school leavers who were believed to be predominant among the job-seekers in Nairobi. King (1976) argues that while in the 1960s the primary school leavers believed they had opportunities for employment in urban areas, in the 1970's and 1980's with increased numbers of secondary school leavers, many primary school leavers started reckoning with the fact that opportunities for them were limited. Our study however, came across some primary level

job seekers, but we found that most of them were either trained artisans such as drivers, masons, carpenters, etc. or had worked for several years. For one reason or the other such people had lost their jobs and therefore were around the exchange bureau in an effort to get employed again. The level of training for both youths and hosts was also considered in our study since it was seen as closely related to the level of education. Table 4.4 below gives the distribution of the training levels for both youths and their hosts interviewed in our study.

Table 4.4: Levels of Training of Youths and Hosts

Level of Training	Youths	Hosts
Artisan	9	16
Certificate	20	12
Diploma	2	23
University	-	11
None	69	8
Total	100	70

It is clear from the table above that a sizeable majority of the youths (69%) had no training at all. This was an expected observation. It stems from the fact that most job seekers are school leavers who had mainly left school in the last two or three years. As a result one found that most of them had no opportunities for training notwithstanding that most of them came from poor backgrounds where parents were only able to see them through school with difficulties. We found however, that 28% of them were fortunate enough to have undergone some training either in motor vehicle mechanics, accounting, tailoring, driving or carpentry in some of the institutes of technology or village polytechnics. The hosts on the

other hand seem to have had a fair deal of training as table 4.4 indicates. The level of training seems reasonably distributed among the four levels with the diploma level taking a slightly higher number than the others. Under diploma level training, we included such levels of training as teacher training after form four or form six, training at the Utalii College and other technical training institutes which offer diplomas at the end of the course. This should however not give an impression that many hosts were fairly well placed. On the contrary, many hosts indeed were found to come from the lower income category. Training in this case included on-the-job training and would include such occupations as messengers, artisans, drivers or carpenters. Thus some of the hosts who were trained were not trained in order to get well paid jobs; rather training covered all levels, from the lowest to the highest.

The foregoing has been a discussion on the general characteristics of our host and youth samples. This was deemed necessary before discussing the particular characteristics of each sample group. It gives us a general understanding of the two groups studied especially in areas where they compared and contrasted.

#### Characteristic of Youths in our sample

Our study was designed in such a way that we interviewed both youths who were job-seekers as well as their hosts separately. The youths directed us to their hosts, enabling us to carry out the interviews with hosts. All the youths interviewed, except for 5% said they had come to

Nairobi to look for employment. The few who said they had come to Nairobi for other reasons gave such reasons as 'coming to visit relatives' or coming to 'look for training' as their reasons for coming to Nairobi. The majority of youths however said they came to Nairobi to look for employment because they believed Nairobi was the best place for that purpose.

Youths were asked to state the length of time they had been in Nairobi. The table 4.5 below shows the length of time youths had stayed in Nairobi.

Table 4.5: Period Youths had Stayed in Nairobi

Length of time in Nairobi (in years)	No. of Youths	Percentage
1	33	33
2	25	25
3	15	15
4	10	10
5	8	8
6	1	1
7	1	1
8	3	3
9	1	1
10	2	2
N=	100	100

As table 4.5 above shows, over half of the youths (58%) stated they had been in Nairobi for a period of one to two years looking for employment, while more than 90% had stayed in Nairobi as job-seekers for a period of one to five years. This indicates the plight of job-seekers in an urban area such as Nairobi. As Kinyanjui (1974a) tells us, most



school leavers look for jobs for many years before they are able to land on one.

On many occasions such school leavers end up dropping their initial expectations and dreams of white collar jobs to take up any available jobs. Sometimes such job-seekers have involved themselves in illegal practices in town. King (1976:77) states that once school leavers move to towns, they begin a process that may take two to three years to resolve. With so many years of waiting, not only do the job-seekers become desperate and hopeless but their hosts as well get frustrated and the tendency is for hosts to treat them unkindly with the view to passing on the message that 'time has expired'. Yet many youths believe that it pays to keep waiting in case of a rainy day. As King (1976) puts it, despite the problems experienced by job-seekers during the waiting period, the gap to be crossed to the world of employment seems too small that there is "everything to be gained in waiting and watching". This perhaps explains why some job-seekers would wait for even up to ten years with the hope that some day they would meet their luck.

It is also important to note here that most of the long waiting job-seekers were found to have done some casual jobs for a period of two weeks, one or even two months. Once this type of employment came to an end they found reason to wait for either a similar thing or for a more permanent employment. Indeed this was the nature of employment at the labour exchange office. This means that this office made arrangements for these young people to be employed in the nearby factories whenever the

factories indicated they needed workers. This however was not always forthcoming, not withstanding that only about ten to twenty workers were normally the required number at one given time.

Table 4.6: Length of Time with Host by Monthly Financial Assistance

Time	No.	Ksh.100-500	Ksh. Over 500	Total
Period	Assistance	P.M	P.M	
1-3 yrs	45	28	3	76
4-6 yrs	11	8	0	19
Over 6 yrs	1	4	0	5
Total	57	40	3	100

As table 4.6 indicates, the less the period of hosting the more assistance was given. This means that financial assistance decreased as the period of hosting lengthened. In other words most hosts gave out some assistance to their guests for a limited period, but with prolonged stay, they became increasingly unable to continue giving financial assistance. Many youths complained that initially their hosts assisted them financially and psychologically but as the period of unemployment lengthened, this assistance decreased. It should however be pointed out here that youths were mainly granted assistance in terms of accommodation and food or one of them.

The question of the hosting period is very critical for the unemployed person whose search for employment is uncertain. This is because the unemployed person does not determine when he would be employed. A question was therefore put forward to the youths as to what

period of hosting they thought was reasonable. Out of 100 youths, 86% of them felt that job-seekers should not be given a time limit, hence they gave the answer 'indefinitely'. Only 14% said hosting should be between one and three years. Thus many youths felt that limiting the hosting period was unfair since they did not know how long it would take before they found employment. On the contrary, many hosts believed that a time limit should be set. This would not only help the youths to be more aggressive in their search, but it would also serve to indicate that if a jobseeker had failed to get employed within some reasonable period, he is probably not likely to get a job and hence he should get the message.

Sources of Support For Job Seekers.

Youths were asked to state their sources of support or more specifically who their hosts were in town. Table 4.7 indicates the responses given by youths to the question 'who do you live with or who supports you in town?'

Table 4.7: Relationships between the Youth and Hosts

Relationship	No. of Youths	Percentage
Brother/Sister	32	32
Uncle/Aunt	19	19
Friend	17	17
Cousin	16	16
In-Law	7	7
Parents	9	9
N=	100	100

The Table 4:7 indicates that most of the unemployed youths (83%) were hosted by close relatives, majority of them being hosted by their brothers and sisters. The second most popular relative hosting job-seekers was the uncle or aunt. Friends also seem to be rather popular in rendering support to job-seekers. This is perhaps why Adholla (1977) asserts that the choice of destination for migrants to urban areas is influenced by the prior presence there of relatives and friends. He states that this provides them with "the necessary shock absorber or the emotional mooring ameliorating the impact of discomforting experiences and offering reinforcement.' Adholla (1977).

While discussing urban joblessness in East Africa, Ishumi (1984) argues along similar lines. He states that the most predominant urban host is a relative, meaning a brother, sister, aunt, son, mothers's brother, in-law or any other distant kinsman. He states further that friends form the second largest group of hosts. These findings are in agreement with the findings of our study as indicated in Table 4.7. Relatives in our study together form the largest single group of hosts. It is however, important to note that many youths in our study who were hosted by friends had initially lived with relatives then moved out for reasons ranging from disagreement to the relatives being transferred. Many youths who had initially lived with relatives then changed and started living with friends, complaining that relatives expected too much from them while not giving them any freedom. These youths said they preferred living with friends because even though they assisted them in a limited manner, they gave them freedom and many of them treated them as

equals. As Gutkind (1967) stated, these friendships developed during school days. In addition, we also found that some of these friendships were developed at the labour exchange office as they waited for employment.

Rempel's (1981) study on the role of kin in urban areas, indicates 82 percent of job-seekers receiving support from their kin. This is however lower than what is reported in two other studies. Byertse (1976) found that about 90% of migrants interviewed in Sierra Leone received support from their kin when they arrived. Similarly, Blenefield and Sabot (1972), in a study done in Tanzania indicated that 90 percent of them interviewed received material aid on arrival from their relatives in urban areas. But this assistance was not always granted consistently; while one may have got it on arrival, continued assistance was not guaranteed for those who did not get jobs immediately. Indeed Rempel's study indicates that this assistance diminished as the period of unemployment increased. He found out for instance, that even though 82% of these men (job-seekers) received assistance at one time, by the end of the first full quarter after migration, only 43 percent were receiving housing and the proportion receiving food only had dropped to 30%.

The implications here is that even though hosts may have provided fully for unemployed relatives on arrival, there was no assurance that this assistance would be continued in the same manner when employment was not forthcoming. Indeed in this particular study, 32% of the respondents said that after a time relatives assisted youths reluctantly which meant

that sometimes they provided some and not all the items required or at least the items given on arrival. Accommodation, for instance, was easily given. But items such as food, especially mid-day food, when many hosts were away on duty was not always given. This was especially so for guests who had suffered prolonged unemployment. Hence the argument by Rempel that assistance diminished as the period of unemployment increased is supported in our study.

Closely related to the sources of support for youths (job-seekers) was their manner of coming in as well as their mobility rate. Youths were asked to state how they came to join their hosts. It is interesting to note that 71% of the youths had come at the invitation of their hosts. This is however the testimony given by youths themselves. Those who were not invited indicate that they simply came or were brought by their parents.

”

Onyango (1978) observes that many job-seekers came to urban areas to join their relatives without prior notice. He says this practice becomes a source of many quarrels. We note however that 71% of the youths in our study claimed to have been invited by their hosts. The attitude of the hosts will however be discussed later to establish the number of hosts who claimed to have invited their guests and those who said they came without any invitation.

To establish further the relationship between hosts and youths a question was put forward to the youths which aimed at discovering their

mobility rate once they came to town. Onyango (1978), argues that many job-seekers moved from one host to the other, whenever they disagreed, utilising fully the system of the extended family. We therefore found it necessary to ascertain this in our study by asking youths whether they had moved since they started living with their first host. Our study found out that only 31% of the youths had moved from one host to another, while 69% had remained with their first host. The impression given by Onyango that job-seekers moved from one host to the other does not seem to get much support from our study. Some of the youths who moved (31%), said they disagreed with their hosts while the rest gave reasons ranging from their hosts getting transferred to hosts' families joining them and therefore leaving no room for the youth to stay.

Our study went further to establish whether expectations by the youth on arrival had any effect on the period of hosting. Table 4:8 on gives a break down of youths' expectations by the years of hosting.

**Table 4.8: Youths' Expectations of Host by Period of Hosting**

Expectation	Years of Hosting			Total
	1-3	4-6	Over 6	
Accommodation and Food	24	5	1	30
Accommodation, food and Transport	48	12	4	64
All Needs	4	2	0	6
Total	76	19	5	100

As table 4.8 indicates the expectations by the youths of their hosts does not seem to significantly affect the period of hosting. It was found that 48 youths with high expectations such as accommodation, food and transport from their hosts were hosted for a period ranging from one to three years while 12 of them were hosted for a period of four to six years and 4 of them were hosted for over 6 years. The explanation here can be obtained from the fact that many hosts accepted as their duty most of the expectations youths came with. Food and accommodation for instance were obvious expectations once one was invited to live with a host in town.

The one single item that most hosts discouraged was providing transport to job-seekers. Indeed many hosts felt that transport was not a necessity but a luxury for job-seekers. This means many hosts believed youths should walk to recruitment centres when they went out to look for jobs. One can therefore argue that the level of expectations of youths did not have much bearing on the years they were hosted.

Unemployed youths in our sample were further asked to state the expectations their hosts had of them on the other hand. Table 4.9 gives the responses of the youths.



Table 4.9: Expectations of Youths by their Hosts

Expectations	No. of Youths	Percentage
1. Help with household	64	64
2. Act like a servant	17	17
3. Nothing at all	16	16
4. Behave well	1	1
5. 2 and 4	2	2
N=	100	100

Table 4.9 (above) shows that according to the youths many hosts had certain expectations of them as far as household chores, are concerned, these included cleaning the house, cooking or looking after the children especially as far as female job-seekers were concerned. 17% of the youths, however claimed that their hosts expected them to be like their servants. Often this category was fostering a lot of bitterness against their hosts and were only living with them because of lack of an alternative. Youths were further asked to state their attitude towards helping with housework; 71% did not mind rendering these services since they were getting assistance anyway. On the contrary 24% considered this as mistreatment which they tolerated for lack of a better alternative. A small number covering 5% were neutral about their feelings towards hosts' expectations of them. On the other hand hosts were asked to state their expectations of their guests (youths). Table 4.10 compares well with table 4.9 concerning what the youths stated was expected of them.

Table 4.10: Hosts Expectations of Youths

Expectations	No. of Hosts	Percentage
Help part of the household	45	64.3
All household (act as servants)	14	20.0
Nothing at all	9	12.9
Pay back	2	2.9
N=	70	100

Table 4:10 gives the expectations by hosts of youths. The most remarkable findings was that both the youths and their hosts pointed out 'helping with housework' as the most pronounced expectation. Thus helping with housework might here be viewed as a normal expectation. In fact many youths in line with the African tradition felt obliged to do it since most hosts were their seniors in terms of age. Additionally youths stayed at home while hosts went to work, hence the need to help with household chores.

A further question was asked as a follow up on the relationship between youths and their hosts. Youths were asked whether they felt they were a burden to their hosts. A significant number of youths (79%) answered in the affirmative, while 19% said they were not and 2% said they did not know. whether they were a burden or not. The issue of being a burden should not be construed as necessarily implying a negative relationship only. In fact 41% of the youths believed they were burdensome to their hosts because their hosts had other commitments and responsibilities to attend to. Many youths therefore recommended that the Government should take over the responsibility of caring for the

unemployed since it was taxing their hosts.

Gutkind (1967) while writing on the plight of job-seekers in Nairobi and Lagos reported how such youths complained bitterly that their hosts had turned them into servants. Our study indicates that youths who believed they were expected to act like servants (Table 4.9) to their hosts were not a very significant group (17%). On the other hand table 4.10 indicates that only 20% of hosts expected youths to act as servants for them doing all the housework.

The study went further to establish how youths spent their time in the course of the week. We took a breakdown of how their time was spent in an effort to get to understand the time they spent doing housework against the time they spent searching for employment. On the whole our study found that many youths spent the better part of their week looking for employment (Monday to Friday). Infact 70% of the youths indicated that they spent all their time looking for employment while 29% indicated that they spent half of their time looking for employment. The rest covering only 1 percent spent a quarter of their time looking for jobs. We found out that many youths did most of the work expected of them over the weekends, in the early mornings or in the evenings, after the search hours. This therefore enabled them to go about their duties during the week.

Although the study found that most youths planned their time fairly well to meet the expectations of their hosts, we would not want to give

the impression that this area had no problem. Indeed some youths as Gutkind argues complained bitterly about their hosts demands on them. Some youths in our sample said that they had been turned into servants without salaries. Unlike what hosts said, 32 percent of the youths in our study claimed that their hosts expected some payment either by way of actual paying of the expenses once they got employed, by doing all or part of the housework or even assisting other relatives who would otherwise have been a responsibility of their host. In addition 17% of youths said their hosts expected obedience and recognition which included abiding by the rules of the house. However, we found that generally most job-seekers looked upon helping their hosts in the house positively and therefore felt obliged to do it even without being asked to. This was acceptable to most youths because many hosts were out working most of the day while youths did not have a strict schedule of being necessarily out everyday or even the whole day. As a result many youths generally accepted to assist with household chores.

#### Characteristics of Hosts in our Sample.

This section will discuss the major characteristics of our host sample. The host sample formed the main focus of our study which attempted to establish the role played by this group in supporting unemployed youths in Nairobi. Consequently the host data is very crucial as it forms the backbone of our study, supplemented by the data obtained from the unemployed youths which has been discussed before this section.

Social-economic backgrounds of Hosts.

It has already been indicated in the section discussing the general characteristics of our two samples that unlike the youths, hosts varied widely by education as well as in training. They ranged from subordinate staff such as messengers to directors or executives of companies or in the public service. Thus some hosts were of very low socio-economic status earning as low as five hundred Kenya shillings per month, while others had high socio-economic statuses earning up to thirty thousand Kenya shillings a month. As indicated in table 4.4, many hosts had received some training. The hosts differed from the youths in that only 11.4% of hosts had no training at the time of the interview while 69% of the youths had received no training. This alone indicates the differences in the socio-economic statuses of the two groups, notwithstanding that youths were unemployed and hence could not acquire any meaningful status before they got employed. As a result of the different levels of income, hosts in our sample lived in different localities in the city. These areas ranged from low-income areas in the city such as Muthurwa estate, to such high-income areas as Lavington Green.

We found that about 80 percent of hosts came from the low income areas of Eastlands, Kibera, Kangemi etc. The explanation for this stems from the fact that while most low income people did not gain access to employment opportunities the high income people managed to get job-seekers placed more easily due to their influence and contacts. Infact the statement, "if you do not know any big man, then you cannot get a job in

Nairobi" was repeatedly stated by many job-seekers in the exchange bureau. This means that many youths believed that unless you had a relative or close friend who was well placed, the chances of getting a job were extremely limited.

All the 70 hosts interviewed in our sample were working although as indicated earlier, 27% earned between 500 to 2000 per month. A good number of them therefore fell in the category of the working poor by virtue of the salaries they earned.

The period hosts had worked was also taken into consideration in our study. The working period of hosts ranged between two years to twenty five years and this brought the average period to 10.7 years. The implication is that majority of the hosts were not newly employed. This perhaps explains why they felt that they were in position to support their needy relatives or friends.

The age and period of working were considered important variables in our study. This was viewed so in the light of the attitudes of the younger generation as opposed to the older generation towards the extended family system. Age was considered particularly important because of the influence it could have on any decision to host or grant continued hospitality to youths who had suffered prolonged unemployment.

Hosting period of youths.

The period of hosting of unemployed youths was considered a key dependent variable in our sample. This was because while it was considered relatively easy to grant hospitality for a limited period of time, it was considered quite another issue to continue hosting one who had failed to get employed for a long time. Several variables were therefore put against the hosting period in order to establish which variables were more significant in determining the period of hosting which ranged from one to ten years.

Table 4.11: Age of Hosts by Period of Hosting

Age of Host	Period of Hosting			Total
	1-3 yrs	4-6 yrs	Over 6 yrs	
25-35	27	4	4	35
35-45	19	5	1	25
45-55	7	3	0	10
Total	53	12	5	70

It was expected that age would have a bearing both on the decision to host as well as the decision to grant continued assistance. This was considered in the light of the older generation being seen as more sympathetic to the extended family system than the younger generation which has been exposed to the western style of life. However, as table 4:11 indicates, age seems to have the opposite effect on period of hosting. This table shows that the younger seem to host more youths than the older folk. Younger hosts ranging between 25 to 35 years, hosting for

a period between one to three years are 27, while those between ages 35 to 45 hosting unemployed youths are 19. On the contrary only 7 out of 13 hosts between ages 45 to 55 were found to host youths for a period of one to three years.

Thus we can conclude here that the younger hosted unemployed persons for longer periods than the older persons. This perhaps stems from the fact that the younger have less family commitments than the older group. But this can also be explained by the fact that the younger would feel more comfortable in the company of their ages mates.

Baubakar (1985) states that most migrants in third world countries who move to urban areas are young. This is supported by many scholars, among them Mbithi (1975) who argues that these youths range between ages 15 and 24 years. Our study similarly supports this argument as has been indicated

#### Relationship between host and youth by years of hosting

The type of blood relationship between the host and the youth was compared with the period of hosting as shown in Table 4:12.



Table 4.12: Relationship by Years of Hosting

Relationship	Period of Hosting			Total
	1-3 yrs	4-6 yrs	Over 6 yrs	
Brother/sister	17	5	4	26
Nephew/Niece	9	3	0	12
Son/Daughter	5	2	0	7
Friend	6	0	0	6
Other	16	2	1	19
Total	53	12	5	70

As the table (above) indicates the number of youths hosted dropped as the period of hosting increased. This appears to be the case for all regardless of the relationship either in terms of blood relationship or friendship. Generally however, brothers and sisters seem to be the most predominant hosts. In addition they also appear to host for longer periods than the other relatives or friends. The other group that seems to host most and for longer periods takes the category of 'other' which includes all other relatives such as in-laws, clansmen or any other relatives mentioned in the other columns. Relationship between hosts and youth therefore may be said to be related to hosting. Taken together relatives seem to host for longer periods as observed on table 4:12. It is noteworthy however that friends seem to host for shorter periods than relatives. This appears logical as relatives would be expected to host for longer periods.

The fact of being hosted by relatives was also found to have its own problems. Indeed this was testified by some of the job-seekers, who

said that while friends hosted for some limited period, they preferred them to relatives who hosted for longer periods but laid heavy demands on them.

Hosts were further asked to state the factors that influenced the hosting period. Table 4:13 below gives a distribution of the responses given to the question "what factors influence the duration of stay with an unemployed youth"?

Table 4.13: Factors Influencing Hosting Period

Factors	Number	Percentage
Relationship	17	24.3
My financial state	1	1.4
Gravity of youths' problem	1	1.4
Friendship	1	1.4
Guest behaviour	4	5.7
1 and 2	20	28.6
1, 2 and 3	7	10.0
1 and 5	19	27.1
Total	70	100

As observed in Table 4.13 the major factors which influence the hosting period of youths' included the type of relationship (blood) between the two parties, the type of relationship combined with the financial position of the host and relationship combined with the behaviour of the youth.

The type of blood relationship therefore seems to play a major role in determining the period youths were hosted. Type of relationship here denotes blood relationship such as brother, a sister, a cousin or an uncle. This was a finding by most of the writers in this field as discussed in our Literature review. Other factors which influenced hosting period were the financial position of the host as well as the behaviour of the youth. Thus many hosts said they also weighed the request for hosting on their capacity to afford basic demands such as food and shelter.

In addition, many other hosts said the behaviour of the unemployed youth was a factor to reckon with. They expressed the fact that they could not put up with a youth who was unco-operative. They felt that it would be unwarranted to live with such a jobseeker given that they were providing for them. Thus, many hosts indicated that they expected their guests to behave well in addition to meeting certain basic household demands.

#### Attitude of hosts towards hosting job-seekers

Some questions were designed with a view to establishing the feelings of hosts about the assistance or support they rendered the unemployed. Hosts for instance were asked to state the manner of coming in by the youths. While 71% of youths claimed to have been invited by their hosts, only 31.4% of hosts said they had invited their guests (youths). On the contrary 68.6% of hosts claimed not to have invited

their guests. Hosts who said they did not invite their guests were further asked to state the manner in which they (youths) came. In response 45.7% said their guests just walked in, while 4.3% said their parents brought them and 17.1% their guests came first as visitors and then asked to live with them while they were already with them. Thus one therefore notes the difference between responses given by the youths and the ones given by hosts. Hosts who had not invited their guests were asked how they felt about it. Table 4:14 gives a distribution of the responses given to that question.

**Table 4.14: Hosts Feeling about Youths not Invited**

Feelings	Number	Percentage
Indifferent	19	27.1
My duty	17	24.3
Uncomfortable	10	14.3

As observed on table 4.14 majority of the hosts who had not invited their guests (46 out of 70) had negative feelings about living with them. Only 17 of the 48 hosts considered it their duty to live with their unemployed relatives regardless of the manner of coming in. The rest did it because they had a duty. In other words since there was no one else to render such services they just went ahead to help without necessarily taking it as their duty. In other words, such hosts were rather indifferent about this assistance. In order to establish further the feelings of hosts about this situation, they were asked to state what their guests expected of them. Table 4.15 gives a distribution of the

responses given.

Table 4.15: Expectations by Youths of Hosts

Expectations	Number	Percentage
1. Everything	58	82.9
2. Food and Accommodation	7	10.0
3. 2 and transport	1	1.4
4. 2,3, Guidance and Counselling	4	5.7
N=	70	100

One observes in table 4.15 that while 58 hosts or 83% said they provided everything to youths, only a small number of youths (6%) said they got everything they expected (i.e. youths were asked the same question). This shows a discrepancy between the expectations by youths of hosts and the hosts' expectations of youths. Specifically this has to do with what the host believed he ought to have been providing/as opposed to what the youth was getting based on his expectations. This is perhaps why Gutkind (1967) states that while youths complained bitterly about being mistreated by their hosts in town, hosts, on the other hand complained about the high expectations their unemployed relatives had of them which burdened them. In our study, infact some hosts complained that youths (job-seekers) were unrealistic in their expectations. The social exchange theory discussed in chapter two asserts that people mainly interact with each other for utilitarian motives. These motives may be intrinsic or extrinsic. Hosts for instance expected youths to show reciprocity for the hospitality extended to them. When this was not forthcoming hosts

complained that youths were unrealistic in their expectations.

We further asked hosts to state whether they had any problems with their guests . Out of 70 hosts, 47.1% said they had experienced some problems while 52.9% said they had not experienced any problems. The 47.1% who said they had problems said their problems were based either on bad behaviour, high expectations or both.

One of the factors that came out as important in determining the hosting period was reciprocity. Many hosts believed they were playing an important role of supporting job-seekers. Consequently they felt that job-seekers should reciprocate through certain gestures of appreciation, such as assisting with house work which is a way of showing reciprocity on the part of the youth being hosted. Hosts were asked to indicate whether they thought guests appreciated their assistance. Out of the 70 hosts, 75.7% said they believed their guests appreciated while 18.6% said their guests did not appreciate, with 25.7% stating that they did not know whether their guests appreciated or not. One of the major reasons that led to lack of appreciation was based on failure to understand the difficulties of urban living on the part of the guest. This was viewed as a source of misunderstanding between hosts and their guests.

Hutton (1971), tells us that an extra mouth to feed in town presents a heavy burden especially for the unskilled workers. She makes this point in relation to the availability of food in the rural areas as opposed to the urban areas. Hence sometimes difficulties arose between hosts and

youths simply because the two parties did not take time to appreciate the problems of each other. This is important because, adjusting to life in the city always took time and as Ishumi put it:

"the period in which the respondents adjusted to life in the city and began to 'think' or 'behave' as town men varied a great deal .It ranged from an indefinitely long time of job-hunting under the helping hand of a host relative to a relatively short transition for some who had no relative or friend to call and, who had to scout and struggle to get a job to keep bone and flesh together" Ishumi A G M (1984:54)

Thus the important role played by relatives as hosts of job-seekers cannot be overemphasised. They are a source of support and encouragement to job-seekers who came to town from the rural areas. Problems in any interaction process cannot be ruled out. As indicated earlier some guests fail to appreciate the kindness extended to them while some hosts fail to understand the difficulties of job-seekers.

Generally hosts felt the burden of taking care of unemployed relatives but as expressed earlier they found themselves without any alternative and consequently accepted it as one of their many responsibilities. As discussed therefore the responsibility of an extra 'mouth' in an urban area is not to be underestimated. Most hosts as we saw came from the middle and lower income groups and this meant their houses were hardly able to cater for their own accommodation, yet they

found themselves faced with the responsibility of hosting others. This definitely meant a lot of sacrifice and strain on their part a factor, which caused them to put certain expectations on their guests. Such expectations included helping with house work or making any other contribution towards the housekeep.

As this chapter has outlined, some of these expectations were viewed negatively by the unemployed youths. Consequently, certain misunderstandings occurred at times. This chapter has tried to bring out the understanding that majority of youths lived with their relatives. This is a clear indication that despite the difficulties outlined, youths and hosts had no alternative but to live with each other. Hence the important role played by relatives in urban areas is spelt out. They are a source of support and encouragement to new comers in town who are often younger and less experienced. Due to the employment situation, this hospitality sometimes stretched for prolonged periods.

We have discussed some of the major variables in our study in this Chapter. This was deemed necessary in order to have a better understanding of the next chapter which will test our hypotheses.



CHAPTER FIVE

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS AND DATA INTERPRETATION

This chapter deals with the statistical analysis of data with a view to testing the three hypotheses stated earlier. Three basic statistical tools are employed which include the contingency coefficient, the gamma coefficient and the Pearson product moment correlation coefficient (r).

Except in one or two cases, our study deliberately avoided the use of statistics such as chi-square due to the small size of the sample being statistically analysed. As earlier indicated two different groups of respondents were interviewed which included the youths on the one hand and the hosts on the other. Different questionnaires were administered for each of these groups, making it impossible to combine the results for statistical analysis. The data on hosts who was the main focus of our study was analysed and supplemented by the data on youths.

The gamma statistic is used in our study as a measure of association. It indicates the direction and strength of the association between two cross-tabulated variables (Prewitt 1974, 114). It varies between + 1.00 for a perfect positive relationship to -1.00 for a perfect negative relationship.

Its computational formula is:

$$\text{Gamma} = \frac{(A \times D) - (B \times C)}{(A \times D) + (B \times C)}$$

The gamma statistic measures the extent to which the cases are concentrated in the opposite diagonal minus the extent to which they are concentrated in one diagonal.

Another measure of association used in our study is the contingency coefficient which is based on chi-square. Its formula is:

$$C = \frac{\chi^2}{\chi^2 + N}$$

According to Siegel (1965) the contingency coefficient is a measure of the extent to association between two sets of attributes. The use of contingency coefficient was found most appropriate for our data due to the fact that it can be used with a table of any size. The contingency coefficient ranges from 0 to 1 with the upper limit depending on the size of the table. It has a limitation however, in that it cannot be used to compare tables of different dimension.

The third measure of association used in our study was the pearson product moment correlation coefficient or simple r. It was especially employed in cases where data was continuous in order to establish the strength of the association between two variables . To facilitate the use of coefficient some of our qualitative data was turned into 'dummy' variables. Correlation coefficient or simple r is used in our study as a measure of the strength and direction of a linear relationship. It ranges between 1.0 for a perfect positive relationship to -1.0 for a perfect negative relationship.

We tested three hypotheses which were stated earlier. The first hypothesis stated:-

H<sub>1</sub> The Socio-Economic Status of the Host Influences the Period of Hosting of the Unemployed.

The level of education, the type of occupation and the income of the hosts were used as indicators of the socio-economic status. Each of these three indicators of the socio-economic status was related to the hosting period of the youth to establish whether any relationship existed.

Table 5.1 below gives us some analysis of the type of relationship between the level of education of hosts and the years youths were hosted.

Table 5.1: Education by Period of Hosting

Education	Period of Hosting			Total
	0-1 yrs	2-3 yrs	3 and more	
Primary	2	7	5	14
Secondary	17	21	7	45
University	4	2	5	11
Total	23	30	17	70

C = .31880

Table 5:1 which correlates the education of hosts with the period they hosted youths indicates a moderate relationship between the educational level of the host and the period he hosted unemployed youths.

This in essence means that as the level of education increased the hosting period of the unemployed youths also increased. The value of the contingency coefficient however indicates that the effect of education on the period of hosting was not highly significant. In order to make use of the Pearson product moment correlation coefficient, the educational levels were changed into 'dummies'. This meant turning each variable and correlating each of these variables with the period of hosting. The primary level of education correlated with the period of hosting (in years) came to a value of .0836 indicating a very weak relationship between these two variables. On the other hand, a correlation between secondary education and the period of hosting of unemployed youths indicated a negative relationship of  $-0.3364$ . This implied a moderate but negative relationship between secondary education and the years of hosting. On the contrary the correlation between university education and the period of hosting was found to be .3510 indicating a fairly considerable positive relationship between these variable.

A few points need to be discussed in order to enable us to make the interpretation of these coefficient values. It should be noted for instance that a sizeable majority (64.3%) of the hosts were of secondary school level of education. Incidentally majority of unemployed youths had attained the secondary school education basically fourth form school leavers (83%). Among hosts however, the other two categories, the primary and university educated hosts were fairly distributed with 20 and 15.7% respectively.

The negative relationship between those who had attained secondary education and the period of hosting deserves some discussion. This is especially important in view of the fact that majority of the hosts of unemployed youths had attained secondary education as mentioned earlier. The explanation to this stems from the fact that although many secondary educated hosts are willing to grant hospitality (64.3%) to unemployed youths, most of them are not in a position to grant this hospitality for too long. This becomes especially true because of their limited means and resources. It is commonly held that in a highly populated country such as Kenya, many secondary level graduates are employed as clerks unless they have undergone some training. These are normally lowly paid jobs. It is often possible to grant hospitality once a relative arrives but continued hospitality is not always easy. This is especially strenuous when the host has little income which is the case with many secondary level hosts.

”

Our study found that majority of those who had been educated up to primary level were more elderly than those who had attained secondary education. In addition most of them were found to have worked for a considerably longer period since they had arrived earlier in town. This meant that they were fairly established with their families living with them and hence in a better position to grant hospitality to job seekers for a longer period. Our second observation here needs to be mentioned. It was found that despite the low incomes obtained by most primary level hosts, they had a lot of sympathy for the extended family system. This sympathy perhaps stems from the fact that majority of them were

beneficiaries of the system earlier on.

Although the primary level hosts as discussed above would have seemed to be in a better position to grant a longer period of hospitality, other important factors related to them made it difficult for them to grant continued hospitality. These factors ranged between low incomes to large families which were found to be characteristic of this group. This explains the weak correlation between hosts educated upto primary level and the period they hosted unemployed youths. In essence therefore hosts of the primary level of education hosted unemployed youths for limited periods. This is attributed to their low incomes which meant poor living conditions for them.

Closely related to the question of status is the age of the host. A correlation between the age of the host and the period he had worked or more precisely the working experience was found rather high i.e. 0.8442. This means that the older the host the more years he had worked in town. This finding is an indication that age relates with experience as would be expected.

On the other hand a correlation between hosts educated upto University level and the period they granted hospitality to youths indicated a considerable association between the two variables. A correlation coefficient of .3510 indicates that hosts educated upto university level granted longer periods of hospitality to unemployed youths than all the other categories of hosts. The explanation to this

stems from the fact that such highly educated hosts are perhaps in a better position economically to cater for the unemployed for longer periods than the other groups. Additionally we know that the society expects more from hosts who had attained university education than their counterparts. Consequently, such hosts felt more obliged to meet these expectations by perhaps giving hospitality for longer periods. Finally one would perhaps also argue that hosts who had attained university education had more accessibility to employment opportunities than their counterparts in the lower categories.

In conclusion therefore our study found out that hosts who had attained university education hosted unemployed youths longer while hosts of the primary level hosted for shorter periods. On the contrary, although hosts who had attained secondary education formed the majority, they hosted for limited periods.

Table 5.2: Occupation by Period of Hosting

Occupational level	Hosting Period			Total
	0-1	2-3	3 & Over	
Low	11	16	6	33
Medium	7	10	6	23
High	5	4	5	14
Total	23	30	17	70

C = .17763

The type of occupation of hosts as stated earlier was viewed as an important indicator of the hosts socio-economic status. The aim was to test whether the type of occupation of the host influenced the hosting of unemployed youths. This was viewed in the light of high status occupations having higher financial benefits compared to low status occupations. Our study therefore attempted to establish how the different occupations affected the hosting period of unemployed youths.

A contingency coefficient of .17763 between the type of occupation of hosts and the period of hosting unemployed youths indicates some relationship between these two variables albeit weak. We tested further the relationship between the type of occupation of hosts and the period they hosted unemployed youths. The Pearson product moment correlation coefficient was employed to test this relationship. Our type of data (qualitative) necessitated the use of 'dummy variables'. Thus the different occupational categories were turned into dummies in order to facilitate simple correlation ( $r$ ). Each particular occupational category was then correlated with the hosting period and a correlation coefficient value was obtained for each occupational category. A correlation between the lower occupational category and the period of hosting unemployed youths indicated an inverse relationship. A correlation value of  $-0.408$  showed a negative though insignificant relationship between these two variables. This lower category included subordinate staff such as messengers, cleaners, drivers as well as clerks. Consequently, the medium occupational category correlated with the hosting period also indicated a negative ( $-0.0298$ ) though not a significant relationship between these two



variables. The medium occupational category composed of such occupations as technicians, nurses, primary school teachers etc.

However, we found a correlation value of .2925 between the higher occupations and the period of hosting. Occupations covered in the category included the managerial type. As indicated the correlation between this category of occupation and the period they hosted unemployed youths was positive though moderate. This in essence indicates that the highly placed hosts provided hospitality for longer periods than the lowly placed. These findings agree with our earlier observation where we found some relationship existed between the university educated hosts and the period they hosted unemployed youths. Our argument in this study is that most hosts holding managerial positions were basically the more highly educated perhaps who had attained university education. Thus both the university level hosts as well as hosts in managerial positions correlated with the hosting period showed a considerable relationship. However since the relationships were not found very significant, there must be other factors not considered in our study which influenced the hosting period of unemployed youths.

#### Income of hosts of unemployed youths

The hosts' income was the other variable used as an indicator of the hosts socio-economic status. It was felt that income was closely related to the type of occupation as well as the educational level of hosts. A coefficient value of .1772 was obtained after correlating income

with the period of hosting. This coefficient value indicates that some relationship exists between the income of hosts and the period they hosted unemployed youths. This relationship is however insignificant. We can therefore state here that although income influenced the period of hosting unemployed youths, its influence was not of much significance as indicated by the coefficient value. The monthly expenditure by the host on the unemployed youth was also considered an important element in determining the period of hosting. Table 5.3 gives us a contingency coefficient of .385411 which indicates a considerable relationship between the amount of money spent on the youth per month by the hosting period.

Table 5.3: Expenditure on Youth by Period of Hosting

Ksh.	0-1 yrs	1-3 yrs	3 and over	Total
0-500	16	18	5	39
500-1000	6	11	7	24
1000 +	1	1	5	7
Total	23	30	17	70

$$C = .38541$$

A contingency coefficient value in table 5:3 of .38541 shows a considerable relationship between the hosts expenditure on the youth and the hosting period. This in essence means that the longer the period of hosting, the more expensive it was for the host. This however does not imply that the longer the hosting period the better the treatment youths received. Indeed, on the contrary, many youths complained that as the period of hosting increased, treatment from their hosts changed for the

worse. Thus youths increasingly lost their privileges as their hosts got more and more impatient about their stay. Many youths claimed that while at first their hosts were willing to host them, their reluctance increased with prolonged unemployment. King (1976) came up with similar findings as ours on this point. Indeed our study found many hosts opposed to the idea of prolonged hosting periods. This was actually an area of friction between the two parties. Conflicts arose as a result of feelings by many youths that their hosting periods should not be limited. Youths argued that since they did not determine the time they would be employed, their hosting period should not be limited to a certain duration.

On the contrary, hosts complained about indefinite hosting periods which cost them a lot financially and emotionally. This caused them frustration which prompted them at times to push the unemployed youths into certain jobs which they considered rather low. Misunderstandings such as these resulted in disagreements which sometimes resulted in youths moving out to live elsewhere. Ishumi(1984) came up with similar findings as ours. He noted that demands by the unemployed caused problems between them and their hosts which resulted in disagreements.

In conclusion, our findings were that the socio-economic status of hosts influenced the period they hosted youths. Socio-economic status in our study was basically measured by the level of education, the occupation and income levels of the hosts. The effects on hosting periods contributed by the socio-economic status of hosts is however not highly significant as indicated by the value of the coefficients. Other

variables not considered in our study must therefore be responsible for the period of hosting of unemployed youths.

H<sub>2</sub> The type of relationship between the host and the unemployed youth influences the period of hosting

One of the most important factors considered by hosts before they granted hospitality to youths was their blood relationship. Our frequency distribution tables indicate that 60 percent of hosts considered the question of blood relationship before they accepted to live with unemployed youths. In our study, 'type of relationship' was used to differentiate both the type of blood relationship as well as any other relationship such as friendship or one of being a neighbour in the countryside.

Relationship was categorised in our study into three separate categories as outlined below:-

- (i) Close relatives - these referred to close blood relatives such as brothers, sisters, sons, daughters.
- (ii) Distant relatives- these referred to such relatives as nephew, niece, in laws, or cousins, aunts and uncles.
- (iii) Other - this category covered all other relatives including neighbours, clansmen and friends.

Table 5:4: Relationship with host by period of hosting

Relationship	0-1 yrs	2-3 yrs	3 yrs+	Total
Close Relatives	7	15	11	33
Distant Relatives	13	12	6	31
Others	3	3	0	6
Total	23	30	17	70

A contingency coefficient value of .27670 indicates that relationship as a factor influenced the period of hosting unemployed youths. Other factors however also affected the period hosts granted hospitality. These factors included the youth's behaviour, his need or the gravity of his problem or any other contract hosts may have had with the youth or his parents.

One of the points we need to discuss here is that while it was not very difficult to host the unemployed initially, it was always difficult to grant continued hospitality especially because of the uncertainty of employment. It is commonly known that job seekers in urban areas like Nairobi get promises of employment which may never materialise. Kinyanjui (1974) reports on the frustration job seekers experience during this period of waiting. This keeps the youths in a period of uncertainty as they wait.

The idea of waiting is deceptive because it creates hope for them which may never be realised. This was the kind of fear expressed by hosts because this uncertainty not only affected the youths but also hosts who

had to put up with a situation of waiting for the day of employment to come.

We asked youths to state what length of time (hosting) they expected their hosts to give them. Many youths felt that the idea of a time limit was unfair because of the uncertain nature of employment. It is noted that 86% of youths expressed that they should be hosted indefinitely as long as they were unemployed. A few youths (8%) however felt that a duration of two years of waiting was good enough for one to decide for other options. In order to establish further whether a relationship existed between the type of relationship and the hosting period of unemployed youths, we carried out a further test. We tested this relationship further by the use of the Pearson product moment correlation coefficient simple ( $r$ ). This was only possible through the use of 'dummies'. The variable 'type of relationship' was therefore turned into a dummy variable catering for the three categories, under 'type of relationship'. Thus each particular category became a variable by itself.

A correlation coefficient of .2213 between close relatives and the period of hosting unemployed youths indicates that close relatives hosted youths longer than the more distant relatives. Thus one can state that the closer the relation the longer the hosting period. On the contrary a correlation coefficient value of  $-.1479$  between distant relatives and the period of hosting indicates an inverse relationship between the two variables. Thus the more distant the relations, the less the period of hosting.

Our third category 'other' which stood for friends, neighbours and the more distant associations was also correlated with the period of hosting. The result was again a negative relationship (-0.726) between the two variables. This meant that as the relationship went further from the 'blood' relationship, the shorter was the period of hosting.

Our findings agree with scholars such as Ishumi(1984). He states for instance that the most predominant urban host is a close relative, meaning a brother, sister, aunt, uncle etc. Similar findings are supported by Hutton (1970). In her study in Kampala, she found that half of her sample stayed with relatives, most commonly their brothers, sisters, aunts or uncles. Although these studies highlight the fact that majority of unemployed persons in urban areas live with their relatives, they fail to say anything about how the two parties get along.

Our study therefore found it necessary to establish the periods hosts were willing to grant hospitality to the unemployed. We went further to try and establish which type of relative hosted for longer periods. Our findings indicate that closer relatives standing for either father, mother, brother or sister hosted for longer periods compared to the more distant relatives and friends. This was an expected observation, although some youths still complained that living with a relative was sometimes more demanding due to their expectations of them. This finding also serves to explain an earlier observation that with changing attitudes towards the extended family, and with the rate of inflation, many hosts are feeling the pinch. Thus although they may be willing to extend their

hospitality to their less fortunate relatives and friends, the hospitality period is gradually getting curtailed.

A further argument drawn from the above facts is that job availability is almost non-existent in our urban areas today. Youths are therefore gradually beginning to realise that it does not pay to keep on waiting and trying. Consequently they are choosing other options such as farming or skill training which are options leading towards self-employment.

Our hypotheses stating that the type of relationship between hosts and youths influences the hosting period is proved to be true to a reasonable extent. Our findings indicate that closer relatives tend to host for longer periods than the more distant relatives or associations. The strength and direction of these relationships are indicated by the value of the coefficients.

**H<sub>3</sub>: Reciprocity between the host and the unemployed youth influences the hosting periods**

Our study viewed reciprocity as an important element in the relationship between the host and his guest. Reciprocity was defined in terms of help rendered to the host either with house-hold chores or in any other way which was meant to show appreciation on the part of the youth for the hospitality extended our third hypothesis therefore states that youths who were able to give some service to their hosts were hosted longer than those who failed to give this kind of service.



Scholars who have written about the relationship between hosts in urban areas and their unemployed relatives who come to lodge with them have touched on the constraints suffered by these two groups. Kayongo - Male and Onyango (1984) for instance argue that job seekers come to towns from the rural areas expecting to live off their working relatives. They assert that such a situation sometimes causes conflicts which may result in the job-seekers being asked to leave. Similarly Gutkind (1967) states that many unemployed persons he interviewed in Nairobi and Lagos complained bitterly that their urban based kin had reduced them to servants when they came to live with them. On the other hand, he reported, that hosts complained of the heavy burden placed on them by their unemployed relatives. Our study therefore attempted to establish the situation as it exists in Nairobi today. The idea was to find out for instance whether hosts asked for any payment either in monetary terms or as reciprocity. We attempted also to establish further whether youths who reciprocated were hosted for longer periods.

A few factors were viewed as good indicators of a healthy relationship between hosts and youths. The attitude of the youth for instance in terms of whether he appreciated the hospitality extended to him by his host or not was viewed as an important factor in the relationship. It was expected that if the unemployed youth was appreciative of this hospitality extended to him, he would relate positively towards his host and this would probably influence his host to host him for a longer period. A question was therefore administered to the youths concerning his/her attitude towards the hospitality extended to him by his host. The

responses to this question are reflected in Table 5:5. As the table indicates it is apparent that many youths appreciated the hospitality granted to them.

Table 5.5: Attitude of Youth towards Hospitality by Period of Hosting

Attitude	0 - 1 yrs	2 - 3 yrs	3 & Over Yrs	Total
Positive	12	18	9	39
Negative	4	6	3	13
Neutral	7	6	5	18
Total	23	30	17	70

C = .11284

Hosts were also asked whether they thought their guests appreciated the hospitality they gave them. More than half (55.7%) of hosts thought their guests appreciated this hospitality. Majority of them were made to think this way on the basis of the attitude of guests towards them. On the other hand, 18.6 percent thought their guests did not appreciate the hospitality given to them, while 25.7% stated that their guests were indifferent or neutral about this hospitality. These reactions could be explained in many ways as discussed earlier. In certain cases hosts felt that their guests were a burden to them while guests complained of improper treatment. These reasons may be used to explain the different reactions expressed by hosts.

Table 5:5 correlates the attitude of youths towards the hosts by the period they were hosted. A contingency coefficient value of .11284 between these two variables indicates a weak relationship. This in

essence means that although it was important for guests to show their appreciation by having a good attitude towards their hosts, this did not determine the period they would be hosted. Our study indeed found out that hosts continued to grant hospitality to their guests especially to their relatives despite their attitudes. Other factors such as the fact of being related or fearing reactions from the extended family were enough grounds for continued hospitality even when attitudes by guest's may not have been as expected.

Table 5.6: The Manner of Coming in by feeling of Host Towards Youths' Expectations

	A burden	Not a burden	Total
Invited	15 (15.7142)	7 (8.2857)	22
Not invited	35 (34.2857)	13 (13.7142)	48
Total	50	20	70

$\chi^2 = .16572$  at idf

A chi-square value of .16572 at one degree of freedom suggests that no relationship exists between the youths style of coming in and the feelings by hosts towards the expectations of the youth. The style of coming in, in our case meant either the youth had come in by invitation or by imposition especially by the extended relations. Our study had set a probability level of .05 which means 95 percent confidence level. The chi-square ( $\chi^2$ )value therefore indicates a value lower than our set standard of confidence which indicates that no relationship existed between the two variables tested.

A further test was carried out on the same variables using the contingency coefficient. Similarly a contingency coefficient value of .04866 suggests that hardly any relationship exists between the youths style of coming in and the reaction or feeling of the hosts about his expectations. This means that the youths' style of coming into the hosts house does not affect the feelings of the host towards the expectations he presents to him. This however should not be construed to mean that the host is always ready to meet the expectations of the youth. It simply implies that whether youths are invited or not, hosts have to deal with their problems when they come.

In their study on the family, Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1984) tells us that guests coming to towns to look for employment simply walk in and start living with their urban based relatives without prior notice. A similar argument is stressed by Gutkind (1967) as well as Onyango (1978). These scholars argue that when rural based relatives wish to come to urban areas to join their relatives, the idea of prior warning does not arise. This is based on the feeling among many rural based relatives that they have a right to be hosted by their kinsmen in town, either by virtue of their relationship or by virtue of having contributed to their (urban based) education in one way or the other. Onyango (1978) in fact argues that this practice of coming in without prior notice or invitation breeds quarrels between the two parties. Thus we found it necessary in our study to examine whether the style or manner, of coming in had any bearing on the feelings of hosts towards the expectations of the youth.

Table 5.7: Reciprocity by Period of Hosting

Reciprocity	0 - 1	2 - 3	3 and over	Total
Yes	20	26	14	60
No	1	2	1	4
Neutral	2	2	2	6
Total	23	30	17	70

C = .1716

A contingency coefficient of .1716 in table 5.7 indicates a positive but rather weak relationship between reciprocity and the period of hosting unemployed youths. This infact does not imply that reciprocity was insignificant in the guest host relationship. On the contrary, reciprocity was an expectation from the youths by their hosts. Indeed 86% percent of hosts indicated that they preferred youths who reciprocated especially by assisting in total household chores. The implication therefore is that while reciprocity was a significant variable, it did not determine the period youths were hosted in any significant way.

A further test was found necessary in order to establish whether any relationship existed between the period youths were hosted and reciprocity. The Pearson product moment correlation coefficient (Simple r) was used by turning the responses against reciprocity into dummy variable. These three responses, 'yes', 'No' and 'neutral' were each correlated with the period of hosting and the coefficient values obtained were 0.0496, 0.0365 and 0.0318 respectively.

The three coefficients obtained indicate weak relationships between reciprocity and the period of hosting youths. As has been discussed already, the implication here is that although reciprocity was an expectation by hosts, it does not seem to affect the period of hosting in any significant manner. A multiplicity of factors seem to effect the period of hosting of unemployed youths. These factors range from the type of blood relationship between the two parties to the style of coming of the youth as well as the behaviour of the youth once he started living with his host. Other factors may include the social economic status of the youth as well as their ethnic background. The above factors are among some of the factors that may affect the hosting period. This means no single factor is responsible for the period youths were hosted by their hosts.

We would like to point out that our study was exploratory in nature. It was therefore difficult in a research undertaking of this kind to predict with accuracy certain relationships between variables. It is always difficult to predict human life accurately without incorporating a multiplicity of factors. In our research this was particularly enhanced by the fact that there was no trace of any study with a similar concern and focus. We would like to urge therefore that although no strong relationships were apparent, other factors not discussed in our study must have affected these relationships.

In conclusion therefore it is apparent that hosts suffer the burden of accommodating and putting up with the unemployed in urban areas. While

the consideration for African brotherhood is rather strong, it has become more and more burdensome to put up with such guests. This is enhanced by the social-economic situation in our country as well as exposure to urban situations which are influenced by Western values and which give little room for such concerns. As a result many unemployed youths are having to put up with very difficult situations as they wait to be employed; employment which may never come their way. The Government should examine more seriously this problem with a view to getting a meaningful solution. One way of doing this is by focusing on hosts whose burden has continued to escalate.

7

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study sought to highlight the sources of support for the urban based, unemployed youths. This was done with a view to establishing some of the major constraints suffered by hosts in urban areas as a result of hosting their unemployed relatives.

It was initially observed that due to increased unemployment, coupled with increased inflation rates, unemployed youths in urban areas faced difficulties in getting food, accommodation and other basic needs. It was further observed that this situation was enhanced by changing attitudes towards the African extended family system which has served as a support system in most African cultures. Our study therefore basically attempted to establish some of the major factors that precipitated this hospitality on the part of hosts. It sought to further examine the duration this hospitality was granted.

Interest in this study emanated from the observation that past studies in this area had not focussed on the hosts but on the unemployed. Yet our study held the view that this is a category that cannot be ignored when discussing urban unemployment. Their role and contribution in supporting the unemployed in urban areas is indisputable. While we talk of welfare states in the industrialised countries, in the developing countries these are the people who bear the burden and responsibility of



providing for the unemployed. One wonders what it would be like if we did not have these support units in our urban areas.

Given therefore the essential role played by hosts of job seekers in urban areas, a secondary and yet critical aspect of this situation was examined. It has been argued that the demands of modern living and the introduction of alien values have dwindled the African extended family system. This indeed is a threat to the African style of living that has existed over the years. The unemployed in urban areas are sure victims of this cultural erosion.

Our study therefore found it necessary to examine the question of hosting as well as the periods hosting was given to these youths. We argued in our study that it was one thing to host and quite another to continue hosting for prolonged periods. Yet finding employment is an exercise known to take prolonged periods. The above were therefore the basic concerns of our study which was exploratory in nature.

#### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

One of the basic findings of our study was that majority of the unemployed youths in Nairobi lived with relatives. These were relatives ranging from a parent, to a brother, a cousin or an in-law for that matter. Indeed our study found out that one of the most significant factors considered by hosts before granting hospitality was relationship meaning 'blood relationship.' Specifically, our study found 85% of youths

lived with relatives of different categories in including a brother, sister, aunt, uncle or cousin.

Our findings agree with of Ishumi's (1984) who asserted that the most prominent urban host was a relative. A similar finding was arrived at by Caldwell (1969) in his book on the African rural urban migration. Rempel's (1981) study on the role of kin in urban areas indicates an average of 82% of job seekers receiving support from relatives. This percentage is indeed very close to our finding of 85%. In other words these findings are strengthened by our finding in as far as this aspect is concerned.

In our study we further examined the type of relationship between the host and the hosted and the period hosting was granted. Three distinct categories were identified marking 'the close', the 'more distant relatives' and 'other'. The Pearson product moment correlation coefficient was employed to test the relationship between these two variables. A correlation coefficient ( $r$ ) of 0.2213 indicated a positive though not a strong relationship between close relatives and the period they hosted the unemployed. In essence this meant that the closer the relationship the longer the hosting period. On the other hand, a correlation between the more distant relatives and the period of hosting indicated a negative correlation  $-0.1479$ . This was an indication that the more distant the relationship, the shorter the period of hosting. The implication of these findings is that urban relatives have increasingly taken up the responsibility of caring for the unemployed. The rate of unemployment in

developing countries has further enhanced this situation. The employed in urban areas who also suffer high inflation rates have continued to bear this responsibility.

Although it might sound premature in a developing country like ours, we would like to recommend a review of the current situation with a view to relieving the heavy burden placed on the urban hosts by job-seekers. It is observed that the industrialised states provide social services for their unemployed. We note with concern that there is no clear policy on the part of the Government catering for the welfare and support of the unemployed in urban areas. We recommend that policy makers focus their attention on those who support the unemployed in urban areas. The situation was found to be more critical for those who have to put up with more than one unemployed persons.

It was observed in our study that incomes of many of the unemployed in urban areas remained low partly because they had to cater for their employed brothers, sisters, sons and daughters. This is an area which should concern planners and policy makers alike. The significance of this support cannot be over emphasised. As it was observed in this study it is not only economic in nature but it is also social and psychological. It provides a social base for the unemployed in our urban set ups. We can almost state with certainty that the rate of criminality in our urban centres would have increased tremendously if it were not for this provision. Yet we found out in our study that majority of those who supported job-seekers belonged to the low income category.

In the review of literature, we pointed out that as early as the 1960's, Tom Mboya, then Minister of Economic Planning observed some negative economic factors related to sharing one's income with relatives. If indeed this sharing was viewed as economically undesirable in the early years after independence, it should concern us more today. As the concept of cost-sharing is being introduced in many sectors of our economy we would not hesitate to call upon the Government to look into the possibility of sharing the cost of looking after the unemployed.

As already discussed in our study, the unemployed are almost invariably youthful in nature. They are mainly school leavers who lack basic skills. This finding reinforces many others discussed earlier, among them Mbithi's (1975) and Kinyanjui's (1974). Implicit in these finding is the lack of training among these youths. In the first place these are young persons who have not only left school but also ones who cannot afford to sponsor themselves for any training. We found that majority of them had applied to Government institutions where the training fees was more or less guaranteed but had met with little or no success.

Our study would like to recommend that the Government as well as voluntary agencies seek alternative ways of training these young people. Many youths in our study commended the Government's efforts to train young people in the youth service. They indicated skills obtained from such training schemes were remarkably useful and would go along way in lessening the unemployment problem. Many of these young people felt that there was need for the Government and other related agencies to look for

alternative training and employment programmes for them.

Government policies urging job-seekers to go back to the land were viewed as unrealistic and leaving a lot to be desired since one had to have the land in the first place. The push for farming jobs in the rural areas was seen as yet another way of perpetuating the working poor, which is yet another category deserving concern.

The observation that the African extended family system is still strong especially in our urban areas should be seen as a point of strength. This study would like to recommend that the Government should recognise efforts relatives have made towards the welfare of the unemployed. The current development plan estimates that the total population will grow from an estimated figure of 22.7 million in 1988 to 27.2 million in 1993. This indeed raises concern in a country where the rate of unemployment has been increasing. In a situation like this, hosts of job seekers are likely to continue with the same problem unless the Government devises practical ways of counteracting the problem.

This study observed and was made aware of the financial difficulties suffered by hosts in putting up with the unemployed in urban areas. Hosts recommended that some of the ways the Government could have assisted them included salary reviews which should not only look at the economy but also examine the responsibility they put up with in catering for the unemployed. Although the Government has tried over the years to campaign against school leavers flocking into urban areas, this has not

achieved much success. The rate of rural-urban migration is still alarming. Although the district focus for rural development is a development strategy aimed at bringing the rural areas to closer levels with the urban areas, one finds it difficult to predict how this might affect rural-urban migration. Our study would like to recommend a more serious effort on the part of the Government to industrialise the rural and semi-rural areas in an effort to contain some of the youths in those sectors.

Finally this study would like to recommend a specific national study on the part of the Government aimed at establishing the extent of dependency on hosts by job-seekers in urban areas. We observed in this study that in almost every African family living in Nairobi, there was a job seeker. With the current rate of population growth especially affecting the youths, it is difficult to imagine what the situation will be like a few years hence. It is felt that such a study should also examine the whole question of job creation for our growing population. It is observed that we have undertaken too much, the use of capital intensive machinery in a labour-intensive country. The multinational agencies in our country have especially worked towards this end. Our study would like to recommend that the Government examines such moves with a view to establishing their effect on the country's economy and take the necessary measures. This is important for our nation now and is especially important for the future in a fast growing population like ours with an economy that looks so grim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blau P.

- 1964 Exchange and Power in Social Life. John Wiley and Sons, Inc.  
New York.

Bairoch P.

- 1973 Urban Unemployment in Developing Countries: the nature of the  
problem and proposals for its solution: International Labour  
Office.

Bailey, K. D.

Methods of Social Research New York, Free Press

Bennaars G. A.

- 1985 "African Youth in the 1980's Documentation" in Basic Education  
Resources Centre Bulletin, Vol.12, Nairobi.

Bourbakarly

"Youth and Society in Africa" in Basic Education Resource  
Centre Bulletin, No. 12, Nairobi.

Byerlee and Eisher

- 1976 African Rural Employment Study, Rural Employment Migration and  
Economic Development. International Labour Office.

Caldwell J. C.

1969 African Rural Urban Migration. The Movement to Ghana Towns,  
Australian National University Press, Canberra.

Elkan W.

1970 Urban Unemployment in Kenya and Uganda in Manpower and  
Unemployment Research in Africa, Newsletter, Vol. 3 No. 2.

Gakuru O.N.

1979 Employment Creation in the Light of the Report on the National  
Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies, University  
of Nairobi, IDS WP No. 349.

Gutkind C.

1967 "The Energy of Despair" in Social Organisation of the  
Unemployed in Lagos and Nairobi, in African Social Studies.

7

Harris J.R. and Todaro

1968 Urban unemployment in East Africa: An Economic Analysis of  
Policy Alternative. I.D.S. Discussion Paper No.71.

Henning P.

1974 The Popular Sector, a framework for the Analysis of Urban  
Employment Problems in Kenya IDS WP NO. 140.

Hunter G.

1974 Rural-urban Migration in Tropical Africa, IDS WP No. 141.



Hutton C.

1970 Urban challenges in East Africa "How the Unemployed Survive in Town" in Manpower and Employment Research in Africa, East Africa Publishing House.

Ishumi,

1984 The Urban Jobless in eastern Africa, A Study of the Unemployed Population in the Growing Urban Centres, with special reference to Tanzania; Scandinevian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala.

Kibua T. N.

1984 Youth Unemployment in Kenya; Paper to the Kenya Economic Ass; Nairobi, Friedrich Elbert Foundation.

Kinyanjui P.K.

1974 Opportunities for School Leavers Outside the Major Towns in Kenya, Journal of Eastern Africa Research and Development.

Kayongo Male and Onyango

1984 The Sociology of the African Family, Specific Problem Areas of families, Longman, London and New York.

King K.

1976 "The Jobless in Kenya. A Case Study of Educated Unemployed" Bureau of Education Research, University of Nairobi.

Mbithi P.M.

1975 Youth Unemployment Problems, London, Common Wealth Secretariat.

Migot-Adholla

1977 Migration and Rural Differential in Kenya, IDS.

Morgan W.T.W.

1967 Nairobi City and Region. Oxford University Press.

Moser and Kaiton

1958 Survey Methods in Social Investigation, London Heinmann Educational Books Ltd.

Mulat T.

1973 Education and Employment in the Sudan in World Employment Programme, ILO Geneva, WP No. 5.

Ndegwa and Powelson

1973 "Introduction" An Article in ILO Employment in Africa, some Critical Issues, Geneva.

Nie Norman et al.,

1975 Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) New York, Macgraw Hill Inc.

Ngau

- 1979 The Internal Structure of Residential Area in Nairobi. M.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Nairobi.

Onyango

- 1978 The Employment Problem in Kenya, Trend, Causes and Policy Implication. M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi.

Prewitt K.

- 1974 "Introduction to Research Methodology East African Applications" Occasional Paper No. 10, University of Nairobi, IDS.

Rempel H.

- 1970 Labour Migration into Urban Centres and Urban Unemployment in Kenya. Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1970.

- 
- 1981 Rural-Urban Labour Migration and Urban Unemployment in Kenya. International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis, Australia.

Rempel H.

- 1972 The Kenya Employment Problem: An Analysis of the Modern Sector Labour Market. Oxford University Press, Nairobi.

Republic of Kenya

1984-1988 Kenya Government Development Plan, Government Printers,  
Nairobi.

---

1986 Sessional Paper on Employment No. 10, Government Printers,  
Nairobi. Government Printers, Nairobi.

---

1976 The National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies  
Report.

---

1970 Report on the Select committee on Unemployment Government  
printers, Nairobi.

---

1970 The Tripartite Agreement in Kenya. Government Printers,  
Nairobi.

Sabot R.H.

1977 Open Unemployment and the Employed Compound of Urban Surplus  
IDS WP No. 74.

Siegel, S.

1956 Non-Parametric Statistics for the Behavioural Sciences, New  
York, Mcgraw-Hill Book Co.

Weekly Review

1986 Kenyas' Jobless; City Commission in Jobs Problems, Febuary.

Weeks J.

1973 The Employment Effects of Wage Changes in Poor Countries, Birbeck Collage, Department of Economics; Discussion Paper No. 8.

Weisner T.S.

One Family two Households, Rural-Urban Network Model of Urbanism, Proceedings of the East African Universities Social Science Council 5<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, Nairobi Vol. 11.

Yambo M.

1986 "Technical Training and Work Experience in Kenya", Final Report on the Tracer Study of the Leavers of Harambee Institutes of Technology and youth Polytechnics.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE - UNEMPLOYED YOUTHS

Good day! I am a student at the University of Nairobi, interested in establishing the sources of support for the urban based unemployed. I would appreciate any information you can give me in this connection. Please note that this information will be kept in strict confidence.

Date of Interview -----

Place of Interview -----

1. Name of Respondent -----

Age ----- Date of Birth ----- 2

Sex ----- Home District -----

Tribe ----- Marital Status -----

Religion -----

2. (a) Years of Schooling -----

(i) 0-8 ----- (ii) 9-12 -----

(iii) 13-14 ----- (iv) 15-17 -----

(v) 17 and above -----

(b) What is the highest academic qualifications you have attained? -----

(c) Indicate any professional certificates you have obtained

-----  
-----

3. When did you come to Nairobi? Month ----- Year -----

4. What was your purpose of coming to Nairobi? -----  
-----

5. Who do you live with in Nairobi?

(i) Parent ----- (ii) Brother -----

(iii) Sister ----- (iv) Uncle -----

(v) Aunt ----- (vi) Cousin -----

6. How long have you been living with your present host?  
-----

7. (a) Have you lived with any body else in Nairobi prior to living with your present host?

Yes ----- No -----

(b) If yes, Please state who it was and for how long you lived with him and the reasons for moving out.

Name of host (relation) -----

Length of time lived with him -----

Reasons for moving out -----

8. Were you invited by your host (present) to come and live with him/her in Nairobi?

(i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

If No, Please state how you happened to start living with him.

9. How long have you been living with your (present) host?

-----

10. When you joined your host what did you expect him to do for you?

(i) Grant me accommodation and food -----

(ii) Grant me (i) plus transport -----

(iii) Grant me (i) and (ii) plus assisting me get a job

-----<sup>2</sup>-----

(iv) Other (Specify) -----

11. Was your host ready to offer you what you wished to have (stated above)?

(i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

If 'No' what did you do? -----

If 'Yes' would you say your host is still ready to grant you the same today? -----

-----



12. If your host has changed his mind about assisting you, what would you think is the reason for the change?

-----  
-----

13. What length of time would you think a host in Nairobi should live with an unemployed person?

-----  
-----

14. A part from food and accommodation, indicate any financial assistance you get from your host on a monthly basis.

- (i) Under 100 ----- (ii) 100-300 -----  
(iii) 300-500 ----- (iv) Over 500 -----

15. Are you satisfied with the general assistance you receive from your host?

- (i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

Please explain your answer -----  
-----

16. (a) Does your host expect anything in return for this assistance?

- (i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

(b) If yes, explain what he expects? -----  
-----

(c) If No please explain on what basis he gives this assistance-----  
-----

17. (a) Do you think the African kinship ties play a role in the decision by your host to live with you.

(i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

(b) Please explain your answer -----  
-----

18. (a) What would you say about the role of the extended family system in urban areas as a support system for the unemployed

(i) Weakening ----- (ii) Still strong -----

(iii) Neutral ----- (iv) Other (specify) -----

----- / -----

19. (a) What expectations does your host have on you apart from looking for employment?

(i) help with house work -----

(ii) Act as a maid (servant) -----

(iii) Nothing more -----

(b) Are you happy with these expectations?

(i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

Please explain your answer -----  
-----

20. Do you think you have been a burden to your host?

(i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

Explain your answer -----  
-----

21. (a) After you have been employed, would you like to continue living with your host?

(i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

Explain your answer -----  
-----

22. (a) Apart from relatives and friends, who else do you think should support the unemployed while they search for jobs in urban areas?

(i) The Government -----

(ii) Charitable Organisations -----

(iii) Both (i) and (ii) -----

(iv) Other (specify) -----

(b) Please explain your answer -----  
-----

23. What do you think should be done to curb unemployment in Kenya? -----  
-----

24. (a) State how much time you allocate to job searching in a week?

(i) The whole week -----

(ii) Half the week -----

(iii) A quarter the week -----

(b) Explain what you do the rest of the week? [if answer is not (i)]

-----  
-----  
-----

4

QUESTIONNAIRE - HOST

Good day! I am a student of the University of Nairobi interested in finding out the sources of support for the unemployed in urban areas. I would appreciate any information you can give me in this connection.

Date of Interview -----

Place of Interview -----

1. Name of respondent -----

Age ----- Years, born in -----

Sex ----- Home District -----

Tribe ----- Marital Status -----

Religion -----

2. (a) Indicate the years of your schooling in the space below;

(i) 0 - 8 -----

(ii) 9-12 -----

(iii) 13-14 -----

(iv) 15-17 -----

(v) 17 and above -----

(b) Indicate the professional certificates you hold ---  
-----  
-----

3. (a) What is your occupation? -----  
(b) Place of work -----  
(c) Actual duties -----  
(d) How long have you been working? -----  
(e) Monthly income -----

4. (a) Do you own or rent your residence?  
(i) Own ----- Rent -----  
(iii) Government/Company house -----  
(iv) Other (specify) -----  
(b) What is your rental fee or repayment per month?  
----- 2 -----  
(c) How many bedrooms does your house have? -----  
(d) Total number of people living with you? -----

5. (a) Does your family live with you here in Nairobi?  
(i) No ----- (ii) Yes -----  
(b) If yes, indicate which family members  
(i) Wife ----- (ii) Children -----  
(iii) Other (specify) -----  
(c) Indicate who of these are dependents on you apart  
from your children -----



(iii) To do part of the house work -----

(iv) Host them for free -----

(v) Other (specify) -----

(b) Please give reasons for your answer -----

-----

11. (a) If your guest was a brother/sister, what would you expect of him/her? -----

-----

-----

Why? -----

-----

(b) If your guest was a brother-in-law/sister-in-law what would you expect of him/her? -----

-----

-----

Why?-----

-----

(c) If your guest was a nephew/niece what would you expect of him/her? -----

-----

Why?-----

-----

(d) If your guest was a cousin, what would you expect of him/her? -----

-----



Why?-----  
-----

12. (a) Please state what you feel your guest expects of you-----  
-----  
-----

(b) How do you feel about these expectations? -----  
-----

13. What factors do you consider when deciding which guest to live with?

(i) Relationship -----

(ii) Friendship -----

(iii) Financial -----

(iv) Other (specify) -----

14. (a) Would you feel more obliged to live with a guest who gives you help in the house than one who does not?

(i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

(b) Please give reasons for your answer -----  
-----

15. What other factors would influence your decision to give accommodation to an unemployed youth? -----  
-----

16. Do you treat such guest(s) as part of your family or as guest(s)?

(i) Part of my family -----

(ii) Guest(s) -----

(iii) Other (specify) -----

Please state reasons for your answer -----

-----

-----

17. (a) Do you feel that your guest appreciates the hospitality you are giving?

(i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

(b) Please give reasons for your answer -----

-----

18. (a) Have you ever had any problems ~~With~~ with your guest since you started living together?

(i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

(b) What was the problem mainly based on? [if answer is

(i)]-----

-----

(c) How did you solve the problem? -----

-----

19. What factors do you think influence the duration of staying with an unemployed youth?

- (i) Relation ----- (ii) Reciprocity -----
- (iii) Behaviour of Guest -----
- (iv) Parental influence -----

20. What do you take to be your responsibility when staying with an unemployed youth?

- (i) Provide accommodation and food -----
- (ii) Provide (i) above plus transport -----
- (iii) Provide (i) and (ii) plus assist in searching for employment -----
- (iv) Other (specify) -----

21. Does this responsibility change depending on the type of relative you are living with?

- (i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

Please state the reasons for your answer -----  
-----

22. (a) Approximately how much do you spend on your guest per month? -----

(b) How do you feel about this? -----  
-----

23. (a) What do you think about the African extended family system in urban areas? -----  
-----

(b) Is your decision to host an unemployed relative based on this system?

(i) Yes ----- (ii) No -----

Please specify -----

24. What is your general view about the employment problem in Kenya? -----  
-----

25. (a) Who do you think should bear the burden of the unemployed in Kenya? -----  
-----

(b) Please state reasons for your answer -----  
-----  
-----

Thank you very much.