African rural-urban migration explorations in search of theory and method.

Olorunfe. Taylor-Cole

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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L’AVONS RÉCU
AFRICAN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION:
EXPLORATIONS IN SEARCH OF THEORY AND METHOD

by

Olorunfe Taylor-Cole

A Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of
Sociology and Anthropology in Partial Fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts at
The University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1980
ABSTRACT

AFRICAN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION:
EXPLORATIONS IN SEARCH OF THEORY AND METHOD

by

Olorunfe Taylor-Cole

This research-review is an exploration in the search of theory and method for the study of rural-urban migration process in an African context. The thesis is divided into chapters as follows:

2. Review of literature.
3. Models of migration.
4. Typology of migration.
5. Theory of migration.
6. Theory, methodology, and conceptualization.

The analysis reveals that there is a need for a suitable conceptual framework for the study of rural-urban migration in an African context. In this regard, modifications have been suggested in three major areas which are not mutually exclusive, but tend to be interrelated at several levels. These areas of theory and method are:

1. The nature and usefulness of rural-urban distinctions.
2. Varieties of group and intra-group response to urbanization.
3. The role of micro-versus macro-factors in explaining urbanization patterns.
With reference to rural-urban distinctions, it is suggested that in Africa the large city, unlike its Western counterpart, is in large measure an agglomeration of folk societies and is thus inconsistent with prevalent Western dichotomizations of folk and urban society. In Africa, the town and village are not really separate, but part of the same social field. Thus, the systems model of rural-urban migration examines town and village as mutually interacting parts of the same social field.

The second area of modification: varieties of group and intra-group response to urbanization is linked to the first: rural-urban distinctions. The second area of modification is concerned with what happens to individuals who become city dwellers. Most of the studies on African cities report that rapid migration has not produced the alienation, anomie, psychological maladjustments and other symptoms of disorganization held in the Wirthian model to be the hallmarks of rapid urbanization. Thus, there is a need to postulate a hypothetical continuum among the urban African population: at one pole, those oriented and tied to the tribal area and at the opposite pole, those completely committed to urban life.

The conventional assumption that towns always act as agents of social transformation has been challenged. Variations have been observed, for example, in motivations for patterns of cityward migration. Evidence obtained on groups such as the Hausa, Fulani, Zabra and Red Zhoa in town indicates the differing styles of adaptation, ethnicity and
patterns of relations with other town groups that exist among people who can be said to be in the town, but not necessarily out of it.

Micro- and macro-level factors: this is the third area of theory and method that requires modification. The problem in this area is the role of local (micro) factors against the role of external (macro) factors in the explanation of the behaviour of urban migrants. It has been recognized that larger, external factors such as economic or political policies are also important in explaining the behaviour of urban migrants. External variables relevant to the city as a whole have direct and indirect institutional effects on the internal characteristics of the unit of study which cannot be understood at all without reference to these variables.

The output of this thesis is the formulation of a model and methodology for the study of rural-urban migration in an African context. A conceptual scheme is provided which attempts to link theory and method. The purpose of a conceptual scheme is to provide the basis for categorizing information and for building descriptive models for the process of rural-urban migration under investigation. The proposed model consists of pre-migration characteristics which influence an individual's decision to migrate from the rural to urban areas and situational determinants in the urban areas which attract migrants. The push-pull hypothesis is in operation in the model. Operationally, migration may be defined as a recorded move where migrants are enumerated at places that are different from where they were at some time in the past.
The proposed methodology is heuristic, integrated and multidisciplinary. It is proposed that a longitudinal study on rural-urban migration be conducted in three phases over a time period of three to five years. Phase one begins with the interviewing of potential migrants in the rural areas, followed by phase two in the urban areas where migrants from phase one are interviewed. Phase three ends with the tracing of return migrants from phase two to the rural areas where they are interviewed together with non-migrants and heads of households.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research-review is based upon secondary data, both qualitative and quantitative from the studies on the process of migration in Africa, south of the Sahara. The author is indebted to the researchers whose works have been utilized in this research-review.

During the author's graduate training at the University of Windsor, many individuals have contributed useful counsel and encouragement and their consideration is greatly appreciated. In particular, Professor Subhas Ramcharan, as chairman and thesis advisor; and Professors Mansell Blair, Jack Ransome, both readers and members of the thesis committee, have provided guidance and valuable criticism.

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CHAPTER ONE

Theme, Objectives and Method of Thesis

Introduction

Theme

The subject of this thesis, African Rural-Urban migration, is presented within a sociological framework in the search of theory and method for the study of the process of Rural-Urban migration in Africa.

Objectives of Thesis

The objectives of the thesis and the purpose of the analysis are as follows:

1. To examine the causes, effects and patterns of rural-urban migration in selected areas of Africa, south of the Sahara.

2. To examine the patterns and trends of rural-urban migration for similarities and diversities between selected areas in Western, Central and Eastern Africa.

3. To review existing theories and models of rural-urban migration for their suitability for the empirical study of rural-urban migration in an African context.

4. To develop a model and methodology for the study of rural-urban migration in an African context.

Method of Thesis

With reference to the major focus of the thesis, which is explorations in search of theory and method for the study of rural-urban migration in Africa, the thesis adopts a research-review method and thus utilizes secondary data,
both quantitative and qualitative. In this regard, relevant studies that have been conducted in Africa include the following:

Caldwell's (1969) migration survey in Ghana deals with the characteristics of rural-urban migrants. The findings show that the average migrant is young and the highest propensity to migrate falls between the 15-19 year age category.

According to Byerlee (1974) the selective nature of migration with respect to education indicates that migration involves not only a transfer of labour but also a considerable transfer of capital from the rural areas, as education is considered as investment by rural people. Sabot (1972, 1976) provides a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between education and rural-urban migration in a study conducted in Tanzania.

With reference to migration in Nigeria, Imaogene (1975) notes that the huge exodus of the most productive age-groups from the rural hinterland of the towns cause further disorganization and poverty which, in turn, constitutes push factors from rural to urban areas.

In his studies of population movements to the main urban areas of Kenya, Ominde (1965) concludes that because the age-group 20-45 forms an important proportion of the rural population their absence in the source regions constitutes a burden to those left behind.

Harvey (1968, 1975) has dealt with some of the effects of rural-urban migration such as employment problems, increasing urban housing deficits and congestions in Freetown, Sierra Leone.
Problems with Secondary Data

The thesis takes into consideration that the range of data made available in studies cited, the methods used for collecting the data, and the quality of observation and reporting vary from study to study. Attention is also directed to the fact that the studies have been conducted in a variety of urban areas and at different times. Therefore, caution is exercised in the analysis and interpretation of the data used.

Output of the Thesis

With reference to the output of the thesis which is the formulation of a model and methodology for the study of rural-urban migration in Africa, a conceptual scheme is provided which attempts to link theory and method. The purpose of a conceptual scheme is to provide the basis for categorizing information and for building descriptive models for the process of rural-urban migration under investigation.

Conceptual Framework

Rural and Urban Areas

The definition of a rural and urban area creates a problem because there are no universal standards, as each country usually defines a place that is rural or urban according to its own criteria. In the definition of rural and urban areas the following criteria have been considered:

1. Size of area and the number of inhabitants, including population density.
2. Pattern of settlement: the percent of people in agricultural and non-agricultural occupations.

3. Type of local government and administrative boundaries (Hauser, 1966, p. 9).

Migration

The process of migration is herein referred to as permanent population movements. Operationally, migration may be defined as a recorded move where respondents are enumerated at places that are different from where they were at some time in the past (Masser and Gould, 1975, p. 3).

Urbanization

A useful definition of urbanization states that urbanization is an overall process of changes such as demographic, economic, social, political, cultural and technological that occur as an increasingly high proportion of a country's population becomes urban residents (Epstein, 1967, pp. 275-284). This definition signifies that urbanization is a dynamic process and lends itself to operational measurement as it refers to the proportion of a country's total population concentrated in urban areas.

The Study of Migration

There is a variety of approaches to the study of migration, mainly due to the wide range of disciplines in the field and to the different levels of analysis from which the various aspects of the subject can be studied. For example, the economists have typically studied migration at the macro-
level and focused on adjustments in the labour market and on labour transfers; sociologists have focused on the study of motivation, social mobility and the assimilation and adaptation of migrants; and geographers have focused on the spatial patterns of mobility in an attempt to relate these to broad social, economic and environmental changes (Thadani and Todaro, 1979, p. 10).

Within the frames of reference of the different disciplines lies the issue of levels of analysis: micro or macro, structural or individualist. For example, from the perspective of economics, Thadani and Todaro note that it is possible to view the migratory process at the macro level as an inevitable consequence of the unequal spatial and sectoral distribution of factors of production and thus determined by the strategy of overall development and the allocation of scarce resources.

At the micro level, from the perspective of the individual migrant, the inducement to migrate, according to Thadani and Todaro, lies in the existence of severe urban-rural imbalances in employment opportunities and income levels (ibid, p. 11). The issue here, as Parkin notes, is how much analytical emphasis should be placed on the individual migrant as being free to decide between alternative courses of action and how much on the wider political, economic and ecological factors directing and constraining migratory flows of particular groups (Parkin, 1975, p. 9).

It is at the micro level that research has been concentrated mainly on the determinants of migration (Brown and
Newberger, 1977, p. 446). The basic questions at this level of the individual migrant have been: Who migrates? Why? With what consequences for the individual, his or her family, and for the sending and receiving communities? These questions are dealt with in the discussion of the theories and models of migration. Analysis of data from studies cited is an attempt to find the answers to the questions.
MAP 1  Population Movements in Africa

CHAPTER TWO
Review of Literature

Introduction

Population Movements in Africa: An Overview

Western Africa

Several major migratory patterns have been delineated in Africa, as shown on Map 1 on page 7. In Western Africa, most important are the movements from more remote areas to economically developed regions closer to the coast. These include:

1. Permanent and seasonal migrations to Dakar and to the peanut-growing areas of Senegal and Gambia.
2. Migration, largely within Sierra Leone and Liberia, to the cities, mines and cash cropping areas.
3. Migration, both from internal and extra-national sources, to southern Ivory Coast and Ghana, two of the most important destination areas on the continent. The largest number of migrants go to work mainly on coffee and cocoa farms in the Ivory Coast and cocoa farms in Ghana, and to the major urban centres.
4. Movements on a smaller scale to southern Togo, southern Dahomey and to Lagos and Yorubaland in Nigeria.

Middle Africa

The relatively low level of economic achievement in much of former French territories of Middle Africa is reflected in a generally less important development of migration.
The major cities: Brazzaville, Douala, Yaoundé, Bangui, Fort Lamy, and Pointe Noire have attracted migrants in increasing numbers despite high rates of unemployment. There is also a steady migration to the forest and plantation enterprises of West Cameroon (Hance, 1970, pp. 146-152).

Migrations in Zaire (formerly Congo-Kinshasa) before independence involved movements to the mining areas, plantations, estates and to the large cities, all of which were European creations. The disruptions and internal conflicts in Zaire after independence led to massive internal population movements. Hance reports that tens of thousands of Baluba were forced to migrate while as many as a half million refugees flooded into Kinshasa, the capital, mainly to seek security.

Angolans have fled to Zaire and adjacent countries as a result of the revolt in Angola. Within the country, labour migration has been heaviest from the poorer areas, usually on short-term contracts in the under-manned coffee-producing areas and on the mines (ibid, p. 152).

Central Africa and Mozambique

In Zambia, for example, the major attracting areas is the copperbelt, but the line of rail and, particularly, Lusaka, the capital, has also been important. The booming economy has led to increased opportunities in several sectors, such as construction, transport and services, and Lusaka, the capital, now the most rapidly growing city in the country, has attracted many migrants in recent years.
Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) has sought migrant labour for its farms, mines, industries and services in what has been described as one of the best-balanced and developed of tropical African economies. The extent of migration has also reflected the allocation of land by racial group, earlier restrictions on urban residence and the desire to seek foreign workers who would work for lower wages and be more docile.

Malawi and Mozambique are very important source areas of migration. The heavy dependence of Malawi on migrant earnings, which rank third after exports of tea and tobacco in exchange earnings, has led the country to adopt favourable policies toward Rhodesia under white minority rule (now Zimbabwe under black majority rule) and South Africa that have been strongly criticized by the Organization of African Unity. While Malawi's dependence on migrant earnings reflects the high population densities over much of the south, the relative poverty of much of the country and the absence of alternative employment opportunities, the position in Mozambique is more related to the failure of Portugal (the former colonial power) to exploit the potentialities of the province with sufficient rapidity to create an adequate number of jobs within the country (ibid, pp. 156-158).

Eastern Africa

Labour migration assumes importance in East Africa. Hence reports that the main destination areas are or have been the fertile crescent of Uganda, the scheduled areas of Kenya, the sisal producing zones and clove orchards of Tanzania and
the major urban centres, particularly Nairobi, Mombasa, Dar es Salaam, Kampala and Jinja. A substantial share of the population movements in Kenya was of a semi-permanent nature. European plantations and estates provided housing for families, some of whom were given rights to farm small plots and to keep livestock. Migration has not been significant in Tanzania as in the other East African countries, though substantial numbers move to the economic nodes of Tanga Province and along the central rail from Dar to Morogoro, frequently from the remote and less developed portions of Southern Highlands. Other significant movements include:

1. The annual migration of workers for the clove harvest on Zanzibar and Pemba.

2. The receipt of migrants from Burundi and Rwanda; these two small and densely populated countries comprise a major source area of migrants in Eastern Africa.

3. The migration of some thousands of Tanzanians to adjacent countries such as Zambia and Zimbabwe (ibid, pp. 152-156).

**Migration: Classifications**

Migrations may be classified using the following criteria:

1. **Source and destination areas.** Here, movements may be classified as rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban and urban-rural, or the areas may be more precisely recognized by naming the source and destination places or regions.
2. Method of movement, e.g. whether the migration takes place by land, sea or air (Hance, 1970, p. 163).

3. Tribal, racial or ethnic make-up of the migrants. Here, it is interesting to note that some ethnic or language groups are attracted and adjust to migration while others migrate only unwillingly and still others refuse to migrate. Southall cites, for example, the early enlistment by the Arabs of the Nyamwesi from the Tabora region of West-central Tanzania who became the great travellers of Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika) and have remained so ever since (Southall, 1961, p. 166).

4. Time of year and duration.

On the basis of the time of year and duration of migration, Prothero provides four types of rural-urban mobility:

a) daily, which might involve moving from the peri-urban fringe to the centre of the city;

b) seasonal, which may be related to periods of reduced agricultural activity in the source area or to increased seasonal demand in the destination areas. He notes that such movements are more common in West Africa than elsewhere, particularly from areas with a long dry season;

c) short term movements, normally not exceeding two years; and

d) definitive movements which lead to permanent settlement in destination area which may be rural or urban (Prothero, 1965, pp. 1-7).

5. By size; including numbers relative to source or destination area. Hance notes that such information is valuable
but is rarely available on a continuing basis and is not very useful as a system for classifying migrations (Hance, op. cit.; p. 164).

6. Wage level and character of destination area. Gulliver, for example, points out that there are two general types of labour migration in Africa:

a) low-wage, rural employment and

b) higher-wage, industrial employment (Gulliver, 1960, pp. 159-163).

Examples of the former are migration to cocoa farms in Ghana, to sisal estates in Tanzania, or to European farms in Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) and South Africa. Examples of the latter type are migration to the copperbelt or to manufacturing plants in urban centres.

Gulliver suggests that these types have significant differences which affect the motivation of the migrant and the impact on the individual and family.

In low-wage, rural employment, the workers live under conditions little different from those at home; the wages provide limited incentive to remain, little training or learning benefit is obtained, experience of the outside world is minimal, and low earnings minimize the impact of the movement at home. This type of employment is, therefore, attractive mainly to younger men with relatively few opportunities and obligations at home. On the other hand, higher-wage, industrial employment provides much higher wages, greater
chance for acquiring skills and for advancement, housing well above village standards, including lighting and other amenities, better access to education for the migrants as well as for the children, contact with the modern world of ideas and technology, all of which are likely to encourage the migrants to prolong their stay or frequently visit the urban centres. (Hance, op. cit., p. 166).

7. Historical Periods

Migration may be classified as pre-colonial, colonial or post-independence movements. Prothero has divided population flows on the basis of continuity and chance as follows:

a) movements that took place in the past but which no longer exist but which may help to explain the present distribution of population;

b) those that have been continued from the past into the present, such as seasonal pastoral migrations, long term migratory drift, and religious pilgrimages; and
c) movements that have developed in recent times, such as down-hill or rural-urban migrations (Prothero, 1961, p. 250).

8. The nature of employment in the destination area.

9. The motivations or causes of migration (Hance, op. cit., p. 166).

In a discussion of the causes of migration, it is also significant to consider the effects of migration such as:
a) increase in urban population growth;
b) overcrowding and the development of slums;
c) economic, social and political problems.

Motivations and Causes for Migrations

**Environmental Conditions**

The search for adequate grazing is a motivation that has existed for millennia in the arid and semiarid areas of Africa, and predates the development of settled cropping. It continues to affect hundreds of tribes of nomads and semi-nomads in the desert fringes and steppes north and south of the Sahara, in dry lands of the horn of Africa and in discontinuous zones extending through eastern Africa into southern Africa and across the continent into Angola. The nomadism of Mauritania which involves 73% of its population is divided into three types: grand nomadism, which is the most strenuous wide-ranging and continuous, and is limited to those who travel by camel; middle nomadism, where the relative closeness of watering points permits goat and sheep herding; and light nomadism, which, since it involves the herding of cows, is limited to areas where water is more abundant (Gerteiny, 1967, p. 14).

Pastoral migrations often assume a regular pattern. Seminomads south of the Sahara, for example, may be based at permanent settling points from which their annual migrations begin as the rains begin to move northward in the spring. First moving south, they then swing around and move
northward into the desert as far as the season's grass growth permits; they remain there as long as there is adequate pasturage and finally return to their settlements where forage has been reserved for the winter months (Hance, op. cit., p. 168). Hance notes that many pastoralists abandon their migration only when conditions more or less force them to adopt more intensive methods. For example, the rinderpest epidemics which hit much of Africa in the latter part of the last century and the first decades of the present century forced many Fulani to settle in West Africa; in East Africa, the impact on tribal movements played a major role in excision of the white highlands from lands which appeared to be largely empty but which had previously been used regularly by the Masai. Elsewhere, increased occupancy by agriculturalists has restricted grazing lands, while population growth of pastoral tribes has forced the abandonment of traditional migration in some areas of Africa (ibid, p. 169).

Migration in Response to Insect and Disease Infestation

An important example of this cause of migration is the evacuation of large areas as the result of virulent attacks of human trypanosomiasis, which has been necessary on occasion in Nigeria, Zaire (formerly Congo-Kinshasa) and from the low-lying shores of Lake Victoria in Uganda and Kenya (Ominde, 1968, p. 18). Additional examples of this cause of migration are: the population withdrawal from parts of the Volta River basin because of the heavy incidence of river blindness, the
shift in concentration of cocoa farmers in Ghana due to losses of producing trees from swollen shoot disease and the retraction of people Hance refers to as tribes in East Africa near the turn of the century due to a very serious rinderpest epidemic which decimated the herds of the pastoral groups (Hance, 1970, p. 170).

**Migrations Resulting from Soil Exhaustion**

In Senegal, migrations have taken place as a result of soil exhaustion. In this part of Africa, soils used monoculturally for growing peanuts have had to be abandoned resulting in a gradual landward shift in the production of this major crop. In some extreme cases, overuse of the land has led to severe soil erosion which has forced at least a short-distance migration of peasants inhabiting such regions. Examples can also be found in Iboland, Rwanda and Burundi, Ethiopia, Lesotho and Madagascar (ibid, p. 171).

**Migrations Resulting from Drought or Flooding**

Brooke cites an example of drought-induced migration in the Biharamulo district south of Bukoba in Tanzania where many people, and, at times, entire families, move to safe areas of the Bukoba and Geita districts during such times. Nearly all the migrants affected return to their homes before the next season's planting. Brooke notes that temporary movement of this kind is widespread in East Africa (Brooke, 1967, p. 340). Hance points out that not all flooding is irregular or catastrophic in nature. There is a regular seasonal ebb and flow on the broad flood plains, in the
swamps and on vast flattish areas which are inundated each year in the rainy season. This requires regular seasonal movements on the part of grazier and farmer alike and the movements may be seen along parts of the Senegal, Niger, Nile, Zambesi and Lesser streams (Hance, op. cit., p. 171).

Migrations to Relieve Excessive Pressure on Existing Lands

This motivation is sometimes referred to as the demographic factor in migration. Although Sorre accepts the argument that the great cause of migration is economic, he also believes that the demographic factor almost invariably lies behind the economic reasons and suggests that migration studies are becoming a branch of population theory (Sorre, cited in Hance, 1970, p. 172). Vermeer gives an illustration of migratory drift due to population pressure in his account of the Tiv. He observes that from a traditional homeland lying to the southeast, the Tiv have been spreading northward and have incorporated peripheral territory into their own area. Toward the northern, eastern and western margins, population densities are relatively low, but in the south, where the Tiv are bounded by areas already densely populated and where penetration is impeded, population densities have increased considerably (Vermeer, 1968, p. 22). According to Colson, the tremendous emphasis put on studies of labour migration in recent decades tends to ignore the fact that considerable movements have continued to take place as people have moved in search of new land either for subsistence purposes or to plant cash crops (Colson, 1960, p. 61).
Socio-Cultural Factors in Migration

The socio-cultural factors to be considered are: religious reasons, tribal ties and modernizing influences.

A. Modern migrations have been related both to religious beliefs and to conflict among religious groups. Included in the former is the pilgrimage of Muslims to Mecca which involves about 100,000 people from Africa annually. Hance notes that numerous pilgrims can hardly be classed as migrants since their trips may be made by plane in a short period. An example of emigration caused in part by religious antipathy is that of Jews from North Africa. Many of them have gone to Israel. Large numbers have gone to France and South America. Religious considerations have also been involved in certain other modern population movements, though other elements in a complex of factors were probably of greater weight; namely, the flight of refugees from southern Sudan, that of the Ibos from Northern Nigeria after the 1966 massacres and occasional flights of Muslims from the Eritrea Province into Sudan (Hance, op. cit., p. 177).

B. Tribal (ethnic) Considerations in Migrations

Here, because of the negative stereotypes that the concept of tribe conveys about Africans, I prefer to use the term ethnic group, which can also be regarded as a language and cultural group. Hance points out that the most important influence of the ethnic or tribal factor in migration is to make migration circular or reciprocal. The tribal system, he maintains, links together kinship relations, cultivation rights,
religious beliefs, allegiance to the chief and many other features in a single system so that each element is interrelated. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the importance of the so-called tribalism in sustaining reciprocal migration. Many Africans believe that tribalism should be abandoned in favour of nationalism and condemn tribalism along with colonialism and imperialism. As Hance suggests, there are some urban dwellers and educated elite in tropical Africa who cannot be thought of as tribally committed or oriented (ibid, p. 177).

In a study conducted by Plotnicov, he reports that tribal immigrants in Jos, in Nigeria, manifest the ideal of returning to their ancestral homes upon retirement age, but the data suggest that social forces in their tribal areas and in the city prevent the fulfillment of this ideal. Further, the data reveal that the children of these immigrants are developing into confirmed urbanites who do not manifest the tribal loyalties of their parents (Plotnicov, 1966, pp. 5-6).

Examples of ethnic or intergroup conflicts which have led to migrations in recent years, sometimes on a large scale, are those of the Baluba and Lulua in Zaire (Congo-Kinshasa), the Ibo and Hausa-Fulani in Nigeria which led to the displacement of an estimated 1.8 to 2 million people, even before the outbreak of the civil war, the Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda, and the north-south conflict in Sudan (Hance, op. cit., p. 178).
A tribal or ethnic cultural factor of interest in a study of migration is that of migration as a kind of rite de passage or initiation to adult life; something which must be done to prove one's prowess or fearlessness and to make one acceptable in marriage. In this regard, Schapera notes that emigration would replace the former necessity to kill a lion, steal some cattle or display valour in warfare as test of manhood (Schapera, 1947, p. 116). With reference to Thonga migration, Harris observes that both recruiters and recruits spread the belief that enlistment for mine labour is proof of manhood (Harris, 1959, pp. 59-60). With respect to the migration of the Mossi of Upper Volta, Skinner says that migration itself brings little lasting prestige. It is not seen as a rite de passage or even an unusual or notable act. The men who go away are not considered brave but poor (Skinner, 1960, p. 383). Leistner's inquiry among urban Africans in South Africa indicates only a one per cent response in reasons for seeking employment under the category of initiation to adult life (Leistner, 1964, pp. 253-277). On the other hand, Rouch reports that from the middle of the last century, it has become accepted in the savannah that to be a real man an individual has to have been to the coast at least once (Rouch, 1961, p. 301).

Mitchell supports Schapera who concludes that economic necessity is a more universal and the most important cause of migration. Mitchell reports that in many tribes a trip to the town has become a recognized symbol of a boy becoming
a man. He therefore achieves adult status when he pays his first tax and goes off to earn his first wages; he shows by this that he is now an independent person in the tribe or group (Mitchell, 1961, p. 237).

C. Modernizing Influences

In response to the claim that migrants are very much attracted by the bright lights, gay (happy) life and excitement of urban communities, as well as by economic incentives, Mitchell suggests that the bright-lights theory is inadequate and Skinner reports from his study of two Mossi villages that no one claims to have migrated for the pleasures of Kumasi (Mitchell, 1961, pp. 262-263; Skinner, 1960, p. 380). Much more important to many studies is the desire to obtain education for oneself or one's children which is often more readily available in the urban than in rural areas. Plauvert notes that many children leave their families and sometimes their regions to go to school and directs attention to a study of Katre and Ewe in Togo which showed that 40% of elementary and intermediate students lived outside the family group, and to a study in the Palimé region which concluded that 20% of all absent inhabitants were students (Plauvert, 1960, pp. 467-475). Lewis believes that accelerated schooling in the countryside has produced a dis-equilibrium between expectation and reality which has become a major reason for the flow to the towns (Lewis, 1967, p. 14).

Many youths have a negative attitude towards farm work and believe that town life offers rapid social advance and
liberation. For example, the Ashanti ideal is to be an absentee farm-owner and any Ashanti who can afford to do so directs his children's upbringing in such a way as to prepare him for any other occupation than cocoa farming (McCulloch, 1956, p. 94). An explanation of migration to urban areas is sickness of members of the family and the desire to move to a place where hospital or other medical facilities are more readily available (Hance, op. cit., p. 182).

**Political Motivations in Migration**

Political factors have been of increasing importance in the years immediately preceding and following independence with regard to migrations in Africa. These factors are often interwoven with ethnic, racial, religious considerations, nationalist sentiments and economic motives.

The exodus of Asians from Uganda and Kenya in East Africa have been described as political migrations. Laws passed in 1967 in Kenya gave preference to Africans in job placement; and such restrictions were placed on the Asians who have been in a difficult position because Britain has refused to accept all those who hold British passports and most do not wish to move to India or Pakistan (ibid, p. 183). Other political migrations have involved the flight or expulsion of foreign Africans from a number of countries. Cornevin notes that some of these have been caused by more or less spontaneous nationalist reflexes, including the displacement in 1959 of about 17,000 Dahomeyans and 7,000 Togolese from the Ivory Coast after riots stemming from resentment over
their holding positions in commerce and administration that might have been held by Ivoriens (Cornevin, 1965, pp. 32-35).

Examples of officially sponsored expulsion of foreign Africans are: in the case of Zaire (Congo-Kinshasa) decision of 1964 to expel all foreign persons from Congo (Brazzaville) and Burundi; this led to an actual exodus of about 30,000 persons, instead of the expected 100,000 persons. And in late 1969, Ghana ordered the repatriation of all foreign Africans not in possession of proper work permits, resulting in the exodus of about 200,000 persons in a two week period (Hance, op. cit., p. 184).

Hance reports that it is a common practice for destination countries such as Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa to restrict the immigration of foreign Africans. These countries have noted that their ability to shut off foreign migrants gives them an enviable cushion against employment difficulties which might arise in an economic recession.

Another type of political migration cited by Hance is that related to tension between the government of an independent country and minority groups of indigenous people in that country. This type of migration, for example, took place in Ghana in 1959 when about 2,000 Ewe who had been accused of plotting with their brothers (persons from the same language and cultural group) in Togo, fled from the country (Hance, 1970, p. 185)

Another type of political migration is migration associated with revolts against colonial rule or with the desire
of Africans to escape repression from any of the white dominated countries in Africa. For example, the flight from Portuguese areas such as Angola, began on a large scale after the revolt in Angola in 1961 and has been estimated to have involved 400,000 - 500,000 persons, almost all took refuge in Zaire (Congo-Kinshasa). Tanzania and Zambia have accepted a number of refugees from Zimbabwe. African refugees from South Africa and South-West Africa (Namibia) are scattered not only in other African countries but in Western Europe and the United States of America (ibid, pt 185).

Udo reports an interesting type of political migration which he calls census migration, whereby an estimated 15,000 Nigerians migrated in 1962 from their place of employment and residence to their villages to be counted there in the expectation that the benefits promised in government promotional campaigns would accrue to those communities (Udo, 1968, cited in Hapce, 1970, p. 185).

**Migration for Economic Reasons**

There is increasing evidence and agreement that the predominant motive behind most decisions to migrate is economic need and desire. Greater earnings in cash and/or in kind are desired for a variety of purposes, such as the payment of taxes, or of bride price, provision of daily needs, the purchase of cattle, or of sophisticated material goods, and the satisfying of non-material wants such as education.

Types of economic migration and examples according to type of work or profession are as follows:
A. Traders: Hance notes that several ethnic (tribal) groups are well known for their penchant as traders and market vendors. Examples are: the itinerant rug salesmen from Morocco and other North African countries who are encountered in various West European cities; the Hausa who may be seen selling handicrafts anywhere from Dakar to Lubumbashi; Yorubi market mamies found in the northern region and Ghana where they comprise 40% of the female vendors in the Kumasi market; Gao Yam vendors from Mali present in Kumasi market; woodcarvers from Machakos who set up stalls or sidewalk displays in Kenya and many East African cities.

B. Fishermen: Several groups operate considerable distances from home waters and not for the supply of their own areas. For example, a number of Ghanaians are reported as fishing regularly in Dahomey. And as many as 5,000 Fanti from Ghana fish from Liberian ports (Hance, op. cit., p. 188).

C. Military Personnel: Service in the military forces of individual nations often involves migration outside one's home district, in part because it is frequent practice not to assign a unit to the place of origin of most of its personnel. Hance reports that several countries sent troops to participate in the United Nations operations in Congo (Zaire) following the collapse of authority in that country after independence.

D. Prostitutes: It is reported that some ethnic groups train girls to engage in prostitution, usually in towns far from the home area. Examples include the Ouled of North
Africa and the Kotokoli and Bassari of Northern Togo (Froelich, et al., 1963, p. 25).

E. Labourers: Labour migration consists of the following types of employment: stevedoring, agricultural workers, mine workers and urban workers.

Stevedoring - Several ethnic groups have developed specializations in this strenuous work, including the Kru from Liberia and Sierra Leone, who are picked up on the outward voyage by vessels which are proceeding to load logs and lumber in Gabon and Congo (Brazzaville) and dropped off on the return trip.

Agricultural Workers - A very large number of Africans have migrated to work both on the farms of Africans and on the estates and plantations of non-Africans. Sometimes, the migrants go only for the purpose of harvesting, as in the case of farmers moving to the peanut (ground nuts) harvest in Senegal and Gambia or of urban residents of Omdurman, who go to the Gezira in the cotton-picking period.

In some cases, the migration can be done without interruption to the farming cycle at home, as in the case of the Masu Cin Rani of Northern Nigeria. In other cases, the migration is of longer duration or may even become permanent; for example, some Voltans in Ghana and Rwandans in Uganda have acquired their own land or tenancies (Hance, 1970, pp. 188-191).

Mine Workers - Migration to mining areas occurs on a very large scale in Katanga, the copperbelt, Zimbabwe and in
South Africa. Hence points out that not all migrants go to mining areas for employment in the mines or to be employed by the mining companies; substantial numbers are involved in service jobs or in catering in one way or another to the local population. Satellite communities often develop near to the company towns and the total African population essentially dependent on the mining industry may be far greater than is represented by the mining employees and their families.

Here, attention is directed to the fact that the patterns and characteristics of migrations to mining areas vary considerably. For example, alluvial diamond mining fields in Sierra Leone and gold fields in Ghana have attracted large numbers of bachelor migrants who pot-hole on their own account. In South Africa, most of the mine workers come on set contracts on a bachelor basis and are housed in compounds often reserved for specific ethnic or tribal groups. Most of the workers employed to work in the gold and coal mines are foreign Africans who, because of necessity, are willing to work for the low prevailing wages. In Zaire, on the other hand, the major copperbelt companies have made efforts to reduce the reliance on migrant workers by encouraging the permanent settlement of workers and their families. This policy has led to a remarkable reduction in the turnover rate of African employees in the copperbelt in this area of Africa (ibid, pp. 188-191).

Urban Workers - Very large numbers of migrants have been attracted to the urban centres of Africa, particularly
to the primate cities. The migrants seek employment in industry, government, commerce, transport and service sectors. Thus, most large cities have received more migrants in recent years than the number of jobs available. The results have been grave social, political and economic problems.

The Impact of Migration

**Effects on the Source Areas**

Schapera concluded from a study conducted in Botswana (Bechuanaland) that traditional animal husbandry and cropping had suffered because of inadequate attention resulting from the migration of men to South Africa. However, he also observed that agriculture had benefitted from new methods learned and from ploughs and other implements brought back by the migrants who made the move (Schapera, 1947, pp. 162-3). In Skinner's study of the Mossi in Upper Volta, he agreed that migration has affected the cultivation of some crops, such as cotton, partly because their production did not fit in with the migration cycle, but he observed that it was more profitable to migrate than to grow cotton. He also noted that returning migrants tend to give up farming since it provides no cash income as it does in Ghana and the Ivory Coast. Further observation reveals that dry season non-agricultural activities, such as weaving, well-cleaning and hut-building are adversely affected, although the loss is offset by cloth brought back by migrants, government well-sinking programmes and imported construction materials (Skinner, 1965, pp. 70-73).
Watson concluded from his study of the Mambwe in Zambia that disruption of the farming system was offset because men in a kinship group worked out a system by which work was shared while others were away, including the lopping of trees done by a few men working together once a year. He notes that many men traditionally did not work in agriculture since they were required to protect the village and its livestock. He suggests that when the ratio of women to men exceeds 2 to 1 disruption of the economic and social lives of the inhabitants and village may begin (Watson, 1959, pp. 281-297).

Van Velsen notes that the Tonga in northern Malawi have been able to adjust to an unusually heavy rate of migration (with 60-75% of the adult males away at any one time) because their staple diet is cassava, the cultivation of which does not require much labour and because subsistence cultivation is almost entirely in the hands of the women and does not seem to be adversely affected by the exodus of male labour (Van Velsen, 1960, p. 267). Gulliver found among the Ngoni, who had about a third of all males away at any one time and up to 50% in some areas, that the principal role of local agriculture, the provision of the family food supply, was slightly affected by the temporary absence of the average migrant (Gulliver, 1955, p. 33). Adjustments to the absence of migrants who are usually away for nine to eighteen months include the assumption of work by women, the use of community working parties who usually work for beer supplied by the owner of the field and by the preparation of any new fields.
required for the following season before the migrant leaves. Only when the migrant is away for two or more consecutive seasons may the wife experience serious difficulties, but she may then be aided by her husband's brothers or her own kinsmen (Hance, op. cit., p. 195).

Here, the major finding is that migration has the effect of draining away from the rural areas, either on a temporary or permanent basis, some of the strongest, most able, most energetic young men. On the other hand, migrants often provide income and material goods which their home villages would otherwise not have (Colson, 1960, pp. 60-67; Read, 1942, pp. 605-631). For countries which are poor in economic resources and/or densely populated, it is safe to conclude that without the remittances and other earnings of migrants, these nations would be much worse off than they are. Upper Volta, Rwanda, Burundi, Malawi, Botswana and Lesotho would be included. In some cases as Hance notes, migrants could have been used more effectively in work which would have helped to develop their own countries. Swaziland, for example, has sufficient potentialities to absorb the relatively small number of migrant workers who go to work in South Africa (Hance, op. cit., p. 197).

**Effects on Destination Areas**

First, the level of migration may be very high resulting in unemployment in the destination areas. The rise of a large class of unemployed workers in the cities puts a heavy load on the local and national governments and may contribute to
political tensions not conducive to stability. Second, migration may also be excessive to rural areas. In the Gezira, for example, the inclination of tenants to avoid physical labour to gain leisure time and prestige has led to the use of far more hired labour than would be necessary, resulting in a long run decrease in agricultural activity. Similarly, inhabitants of the fertile crescent of Uganda have not always taken advantage of the available opportunities for increasing earnings and productivity because they have chosen to employ workers when they might have done the work themselves as Hance observes (Hance, op. cit., p. 197).

Another effect of migration on recipient areas which has been criticized is the segregation of migrants into communities or quarters, present even in small towns and villages. Here, a foreigner is anyone from outside the local ethnic group or tribe. This pattern of settlement may result in resentment against those with superior skills, as in the tragic case of Ibo migrants in Northern Nigeria, or resentment against the influx of poor, unskilled workers if there is serious unemployment and local groups are willing to accept the available unskilled jobs.

Hance points out that frequent reliance on reciprocal migration has additional disadvantages. It leads to lower labour productivity because rapid turnover rates do not permit adequate selection or full development of skills, particularly in manufacturing which is not well suited to high turnover rates. He suggests that this could explain why in such
countries as Zimbabwe and South Africa local labour tends to be used for more skilled jobs and extra-territorial or domestic migrants for work requiring less skill (Hance, op. cit., p. 198). Berg notes that circular migration has advantages for some employers and receiving areas in that migrants are likely to be more docile, willing to accept lower wages and to require less expenditure on social services, housing and family support (Berg, 1965, p. 175).

Effects on Migrants and Their Families

With reference to the situation in South Africa, Randall has summarized the disadvantages of migration as follows: the complete breakup of family life, a religious and social problem of the gravest moment. He observes that under the conditions of migratory labour, it is absolutely impossible to build a stable social life and a peaceful and happy community (Randall, 1967, p. 6). Houghton points out that although migratory labour cannot suddenly be abolished because the survival of both black and white migrants depend on it, the movement should be recognized for what it is - an evil canker at the heart of the whole South African society, wasteful of labour, destructive of ambition, a wrecker of homes and a symptom of South African's fundamental failure to create a coherent and progressive economic system (Houghton, 1960, pp. 180-181). Here, Hance notes that the situation in South Africa is atypical; major contrasts between South African system and that prevailing elsewhere are: the country's rigid legalistic restrictions, the much wider sex ratios existing
in the receiving areas mainly due to proscriptions on family movements, the higher percentage of migrants living under controlled conditions in compounds and the lack of freedom of choice and representation on the part of the migrants. (Hance, op. cit., p. 200).

Another criticism of the migratory system is that the migrant may be subjected to unsatisfactory employment conditions, particularly in cases where he has no freedom of choice among employers and where labour legislation and unionization provide no protection for the workers. In this regard, voluntary associations are of value to the migrants. In many cities, various groups have their own political and mutual assistance societies and the new migrants can move to such cities and still retain close ties with their language and cultural groups (Hance, op. cit., p. 200).

Advantages open to the migrant workers include: the acquisition of new skills and experience, increased earnings and the possibility of achieving upward social mobility for themselves and their children.

Summary

Migrations may be classified in a variety of ways using criteria such as: source and destination areas, method of movement, ethnic make-up of migrants, size including numbers relative to source or destination area, historical period, nature of employment in destination areas and the causes of migration.
Major causes of migration are: environmental factors, socio-cultural factors, political factors and economic factors. Evidence shows that the predominant motive behind most decisions to migrate is economic need or desire.

Population movements have mainly been accounted for by the push and pull theory of migration. Most African migrants are believed to be pushed from the rural areas by factors such as static resources, poverty, political instability and insecurity, towards the urban areas which offer better wages, health, education and social amenities.

The effects of migration involve advantages as well as disadvantages for both source and destination areas. The loss of able-bodied men from the rural areas sometimes results in a reduction in the amount and variety of food produced and in a deterioration of the local agricultural system. On the other hand, agriculture has benefitted from new methods learned abroad and from ploughs and other implements brought back by the migrants.

Very high level of migration to the destination areas leads to unemployment. The rise of a large class of unemployed workers in the cities places a heavy load on the local and national governments and may contribute to grave social, political and economic problems.

The effects of migration can be both negative and positive on the migrants and their families. A negative effect is the break-up of family life, especially for migrants who do not take their families with them. On the other hand, migrant
workers in the urban areas are in a position to acquire new skills and experience, high wages and the chance to achieve upward social mobility for themselves and their children.
CHAPTER THREE
Models of Migration

Introduction

It has been pointed out that the concepts and approaches borrowed from Western-style sociology and urban studies have tended to be less useful than originally supposed in dealing with the realities of contemporary Third World cities and their processes of growth and change. In this regard, Nolan notes that the history of urban research in Africa is the history of continuous and sometimes substantial modification of Western approaches and theories. Thus, he suggests three major areas where theory and approach have to be modified. These areas which tend to be interrelated at several levels are: (1) the nature and usefulness of rural-urban distinctions, (2) varieties of group and intra-group response to urbanization, and (3) the role of micro-versus macro-factors in explaining urbanization patterns (Nolan, 1979, p. 1).

In the examination of the models of migration, the term model is used in two combined senses. In the first sense, it refers to the use of analogies which facilitate explanation by suggesting certain similarities between unknown or unobservable processes and others which are better known. In the second sense, the term refers to a set of assumptions which are used to circumscribe and isolate a number of interrelated processes which can then be treated as autonomous areas of reality (Cohen, 1968, p. 15). Here, a major point is that the application of models to the social world must
rest on a demonstrable degree of isomorphism between the
elements in the model and the elements in the reality to
which it is applied (Walsh, 1972, p. 67). The model is not
reality but an abstract construction of reality.

Rural-Urban Distinctions

In sociological usage, many of the significant modi-
fications of theory and approach have involved changes in
the original rural-urban dichotomies proposed by Wirth many
years ago and based on Western urban models and experience.
Wirth's binary opposites, intended to differentiate town from
country, include factors such as a movement from primary to
secondary group ties, the replacement of traditional thought
with rational thought, homogeneity by heterogeneity (Hauser,
1965, pp. 20-21). Anthropologists and sociologists working
in the west and in the Third World spoke of a rural-urban
dichotomy and eventually changed this to a rural-urban con-
tinuum.

Wirth claims that on the basis of the three variables -
number, density of settlement, degree of heterogeneity of the
urban population, it appears possible to explain the charac-
teristics of urban life and to account for the differences
between cities of various sizes and types (Wirth, 1938,
pp. 1-24). In his view, cities are evil places where crime,
disorder and personal disorganization are common. Wirth's
selection of independent and dependent variables have been
questioned. Reiss suggests that the urban concept can be
independent of size and density, empirically. If this is
true, then large size and high density of settlement are not always conditions for an urban way of life in any given community (Reiss cited in Dewey, 1960, pp. 60-66).

Discussing the rural-urban conceptualization, Gutkind comments that not only do the strongly contrasting typologies make it difficult to understand the relationship between urban and rural life, but what is more detrimental is that the abstractions oversimplify the exact nature of the entity they purport to characterize with precision. He notes that the city, its structure and the way of life it generates must be analyzed in its own right; yet its organizational form reflects how and why it is linked to the rural areas, its central place in a regional context and its place in the nation as a whole (Gutkind, 1974, p. 46). That is as part of an urban system.

It has been recognized for some time that town and village are not really separate things, but rather part of the same social field (Mitchell, 1966); and Mabogunje (1970) has urged investigators to use a systems approach which deals with town and village as mutually interacting parts of the same social field.

**Anthropological Usage**

Redfield has formulated the rural-urban continuum model in the context of non-western society. He uses the term Folk-urban continuum. The urban society is the opposite of the Folk society which is isolated, culturally homogeneous, values the importance of familial and sacred institutions.
When the Folk society comes in contact with urbanized society or at least with Western urbanized society, they tend to change in the direction of the opposite of their characters (Redfield, 1941, p. 343). Redfield's basis of distinction between the city and folk society is the moral nature of the two societies. In his view, the Folk society is that society in which the technical order is subordinated within the moral order which is self consistent and strong (Redfield, 1953, p. 48). In the city, the common understandings that prevail are related to the technical and not the moral order (Redfield and Singer, 1954, p. 37). Here, Redfield is tied to the definition of the city proposed by Wirth, even though he formulated the Folk-urban continuum model in a non-Western context.

**A Critique of the Folk-Urban Continuum**

Redfield has been mainly criticized by Lewis who argues that the Folk-urban conceptualization of social change focuses attention primarily on the city as the source of change to the exclusion or neglect of other factors of an internal or external nature (Lewis, 1951, p. 432). Lewis also attacks the moral order that Redfield attributes to Folk societies. He points out that implicit in the Folk-urban dichotomy is a system of value judgements which contains the old Rousseauan notion of primitive people as noble savages and the corollary that with civilization has come the fall of man. The model also assumes that all Folk societies are integrated, whereas urban societies are the great disorganizing force (ibid, p. 435).
Here, Banton notes that Redfield's formulation has proved valuable in the interpretation and organization of observation regarding changing primitive and peasant societies; but it is of little assistance in analyzing trends within urban societies because of its negative definition of city living (Banton, 1957, p. 219). It may be true that city life shows negative characters as defined in terms of peasant society. For example, in many African cities, such as Freetown, voluntary associations have a positive significance, not only as social institutions, but also as embryonic bearers and creators of culture. Banton suggests that the changes that people undergo in becoming urbanized, involve negative and positive phases: a movement of disorganization and a counter movement of reorganization (ibid, p. 219).

With reference to voluntary associations, Little reports that their functions can be rather extensive. For example, there are cases in which the urban household is buttressed through voluntary associations and Little notes that such organizations, especially the regional type, have served widely and successfully as an adaptive mechanism when most of the migrants concerned moved to town as single individuals (Little, 1973, p. 195). The functions of voluntary associations is discussed in detail in the section that deals with migrants' adjustment to city life.

With reference to Wirth's classic essay on Urbanism as a Way of Life, it has been pointed out that many urbanization situations in non-Western societies do not conform with the Wirthian model. Hauser, writing of Southeast Asian urbanization,
notes that the large city in Asia, unlike its Western counterpart, is in large measure an agglomeration of Folk societies and is, thus, inconsistent with prevalent Western dichotomizations of Folk and urban society (in Bruner, 1961, p. 513). A current argument is that a virtual ruralization of the cities is happening in many non-Western countries (Abu-Lughod, 1961, p. 327). Commenting on what happens to people who become city dwellers, Berry points out that most of the studies in African cities report that rapid migration has not produced the alienation, anomie, psychological maladjustments and other symptoms of disorganization held in the Wirthian model to be hallmarks of rapid urbanization (Berry, 1973, p. 83).

Wirth's statement needs to be revised even within the context of Western society, due to changes in the cities; e.g. American cities. A more important reason for such a revision, as Gans points out, is the fact that Wirth's essay deals with urban-industrial society, rather than with the city. Like other urban sociologists, Wirth based his analysis on a comparison of settlement types, but unlike his colleagues, who pursued urban-rural comparisons, Wirth contrasted the city to the Folk society. Thus, he compared settlement types of preindustrial and industrial society. This allowed him to include in his theory of urbanism the entire range of modern institutions which are not present in the Folk society, even though such groups as voluntary associations are by no means exclusively urban. According to
Gans, Wirth's conception of the city dweller as depersonalized, atomized and susceptible to mass movements suggests that his essay on urbanism as a way of life is based on and contributes to the theory of mass society (Gans, 1973, p. 333).

**Transitional Approach**

In the view of Gutkind, it is unsatisfactory to use the convenient label of transitional societies to describe the present total social system of African societies as passing through an intermediate phase from being less rural to being more urban (Gutkind, 1969, p. 391). This is because many complex and unidentified processes are involved and may occur at different times and in different contexts from one society to another. The main issue is to find out how change and modernization take place, considering the fact that change and modernization often alter the patterns of social relations to bring about a different network of individual and group relations. This transformation proposed by Gutkind is seen by some researchers as consisting of negative characteristics. The break with rural life is abrupt or sudden as the individual and the group are lifted out of a complex system dominated by primary relations, determined by kinship, close interdependence and group-reciprocity. This view, Southall argues, does not consider how fluid or mobile the traditional situation was and that individuals and groups were always on the move, communities dissolving and crystallizing again into new patterns (Southall, 1961, p. 2).
It is therefore false to assume that the rural, tribal or traditional system is one of reciprocal relations marked by maximum integration and the urban system as one of maximum fluidity, mobility or individualism. A closer examination would reveal that an urban society is as integrated as any other type of community but the integration takes place around different variables (Gutkind, op. cit., p. 392). Thus, extended kinship is not uncommon in African urban society and the mobility of Africans does not destroy all traditional kin and group ties. As Gutkind notes, the question really is, what aspects of traditional social organization are both useful and adaptable to new conditions?

Commenting on transitional models such as Tönnies's Gemeinschaft - Gesellschaft model, Banton notes that a limitation of this model is that it is impossible to relate the abstract states to the particular condition of the society to be studied (Banton, 1957, p. 217). This limitation equally applies to Max Weber's formulation of ideal types as analytical concepts to test reality or concrete cases (Freund, 1968, p. 60), and also to Durkheim's movement from mechanical to organic solidarity. The approaches cited view societies as primitive, tribal or rural moving toward a civilized, Western, modern or urbanized state.

Social Network Approach

*Networks in Social Anthropology*

Although there is overlap in both concepts and interests
between some social anthropologists and some sociologists, Mitchell argues that the developments relating to social networks differ in each area. In social anthropology, the idea of social networks was first introduced, used purely as a metaphor by Radcliffe-Brown (1952, p. 190) but later as an analytic tool by Barnes (1954) and Bott (1957). The rise of social network studies as a reaction to extreme structural-functional interpretations of social relationships is not as important to this discussion as is the fact that in most of the anthropological studies using social networks the data were collected by intensive fieldwork techniques, frequently through direct observation. As Mitchell points out, this is in keeping with the traditional immersion of anthropologists in the personal relationships of the people they are studying and with their interests in small scale societies (Mitchell, 1969, p. 427).

In his work, Mitchell demonstrates that the anthropologist refracts particular identifiable strands in aspects of the links among the actors observed into separate strands in network linkages (Mitchell, 1969, 1973, 1974). The particular strands identified are determined by the problem under study. One approach suggested is to isolate links on the criterion of substantive content. For example, the anthropologist may isolate only kinship links among actors or those based on ritual performances and then consider their structure. A more fundamental division seems to be between those who choose structural as opposed to transactional
perspectives (Bank, 1973; Mitchell, 1974, pp. 279-299). Those who adopt a structural perspective examine the relationship between behaviours on the one hand and the morphological and interactional criteria of linkages with other persons on the other. The focus is on the establishment of normative consensus or the determination of social status. Bott's (1957) classical study of the relationship between conjugal role allocation and social networks is an example. For those who adopt a transactional perspective, the focus is on the way in which actors engage in exchanges in order to achieve some end. The topic of these studies is some sort of political action. Adrian Mayer's (1966) study of an Indian local government election is typical. Mitchell points out that transactional studies have close links with the sociological exchange theories developed by Homans (1961) and Blau (1964) as acknowledged by Kapferer (1969, p. 182; 1972, p. 4ff) but notes that so far sociologists' interests have not followed the links (Mitchell, 1979, p. 428).

Anthropologists using network analysis have employed primarily descriptive techniques deriving from their traditional reliance on detailed ethnography. In Mitchell's view, very few anthropologists have been able to, or perhaps felt it necessary, to present their material systematically, such as in the form of adjacency matrices, which would permit application of standard graph theoretical procedures. Exceptions include Harries-Jones (1969) and Kapferer (1969; 1972; 1973), Boissevain (1974) and Jongmans (1973). Kapferer, in particular, has presented diagrams which have provided the
basis for subsequent analysis, e.g., Doreian (1974), Boissevain (1974) and sociomatrices of exchange relations among personnel in a factory both before and at the point of a strike. In addition, he has computed several network measures which he uses to support his otherwise descriptive analysis. His notion of span, which he defines as the number of links out of the total viable links between actors ... captured by Ego as a result of including specific people within his direct set of relationships (Kapferer, 1969, p. 224) seems appropriate for the sort of analysis he performs.

Wolfe, on the other hand, has proposed a scheme to record details on twelve network characteristics. These refer to the morphology of the links, such as dependence on other links or the existence of alternative paths; to content, such as functional differences; to exchange inequalities; and to the context in which social relationships occur, such as an urban or rural area. The twelve characteristics are coded for each link in the network and the aggregate of scores over all links compiled into a profile of the network as a whole (Wolfe, 1970, pp. 226-244).

Jongmans presents matrices relating to relationships in a Tunisian village over eleven years. Here, Mitchell notes that in a manner atypical—in anthropology, Jongmans subjects the data to a systematic analysis of structural balance, an analysis that is intimately integrated with an ethnographic account of the course of events in the village over three years (Jongmans, 1973, pp. 107-217; Mitchell, 1979, p. 429).
In general, social anthropologists have relied upon substantive, rather than formal, analyses of material relating to social networks. Mitchell suggests that the reasons for this lie in the academic tradition of ethnographic reporting in social anthropology and to the extensive data which would be required to apply formal analytical procedures in this context (ibid, p. 430).

**Networks in Sociology**

The situation in sociology is somewhat different. Whereas in social anthropology the initial impetus for social network analysis took place in the United Kingdom, Mitchell recalls that in sociology, the sociometric studies were started by Moreno in the United States in the late 1930’s. In general, however, the notion of social networks does not seem to have been given much attention in sociology in the countries mentioned.

In any case, there are some studies in which the social network concepts have been central; examples include: Caplow (1955), Adams (1967), Katz (1958, 1966), Kadushin (1966, 1968), Nelson (1966), Laumann (1973), Laumann and Guttman (1966), Granovetter (1973), Scheingold (1973), Laumann and Pappi (1973), Wellman et al. (1974). With references to these studies, Mitchell observes that, on the whole, the social network has been used as a general concept rather than as a device for ordering data to facilitate formal analyses (Mitchell, op. cit., p. 430).
The studies of Granovetter and Laumann are of particular
terest because in their different ways they combine a con-
cern with substantive problems with formal analyses of network
material. Granovetter sets up a set of propositions that
state that if a set of people are linked by strong ties, de-
 fined as ties of long duration, high, presumably positive,
emotional intensity and great intimacy involving reciprocal
services, then the links among them tend to be interlocked
(Granovetter, 1973, pp. 1360-1380). Conversely, links in-
volving weak ties, characterized by the opposite set of
attributes, are more likely to be radial. Mitchell agrees
that such radial links of weak ties naturally extend the
Catchment area for information about employment possibilities
or for the bases for community organization. Although Gra-
ovetter shows that he is familiar with the formal analytical
procedures, he might have used, e.g. the transitivity model
in the process of job-getting he considers, he does not use
it to test his propositions. He argues that his propositions
are based on characteristics somewhat different from those
assumed in classical structural balance. For example, he
uses ties instead of choices and assumes that strong ties are
conducive to transitivity but that weak ties are not. These
modifications, Mitchell notes, do not in themselves preclude
the use of formal analytical procedures based on the transi-
tivity model. Mitchell suggests that in order for Granovetter
to test his model effectively he would need:

( i) to collect information about the first, second and
higher order stars of the respondents in the study, including an assessment of the strength of the ties in each link in the stars;

(ii) to collect information about the first, second and higher order zone links of the persons in the star together with, as before, estimates of the strength of the ties in each link;

(iii) to elaborate the formal transitivity procedures so as to enumerate triads involving combinations of strong, weak and no links and to compute their incidence probabilities;

(iv) to test the departure of observed frequencies of triads of specified kinds from those expected from random incidence of links in the three categories of respondents: those who found their jobs through links involving strong ties, through links involving average ties and through links involving weak ties (Mitchell, 1979, pp. 431-432). Although Mitchell criticizes Granovetter for the limitations of his model, he is quick to point out that the level of data collection needed and the skill in modifying the model to achieve the appropriate analysis would be beyond the scope of most researchers.

Laumann's work on urban friends and the nature of social life in a city is of particular interest. He assumes a model in which social networks constitute an intervening variable between the basic demographic, socio-economic and personality characteristics of individuals and what he calls the anchorage and crystallization of ethnic, political and work attitudes. His social networks have much in common with the transitivity
model, that is, that people involved in social relationships will tend to share beliefs, attitudes and orientations and that this will be true, particularly if they are involved in interlocking relationships (Laumann, 1973, cited in Mitchell, 1979, pp. 432-433). Commenting on Laumann's work, Mitchell notes that the research conducted is one of the few attempts to test some of the propositions that have emerged from sociological thinking about social networks. The data Laumann uses are obtained from a social survey in Detroit and he uses statistical methods to test the propositions.

The people in the social networks Laumann studied are the respondents' three best friends as the respondents defined them, kinsfolk not being excluded from best friends. Personal details relating to ethnic origin, religious persuasion, age, political leaning, education and the extent to which the three friends knew one another are collected from the respondent. Laumann then computes an index of homogeneity between respondents and their friends and uses these indices to compute correlation coefficients with demographic and sociological variables. He also classifies the networks of all his respondents into four types of networks ranging from completely interlocking (i.e., maximally dense) to completely radial (i.e., a first order star) and uses statistical methods to examine the distribution of these types of networks by social characteristics and their effect on political and social attitudes (ibid, p. 433).

In his evaluation of Laumann's work, Mitchell notes the
importance of the connection between the substantive interests of the analyst and the procedures he uses to test his propositions. He observes that Laumann has a clear formulation of the relationship between the structure of the links in a social network and the behaviour (or attitude) of the people involved in those links. Laumann is also given credit for providing one of the few attempts to test social networks propositions with wide-scale survey data. His procedures are extensive in that he derives fairly general indicators of the characteristics of social networks he wants to examine, categorizes his respondents into equivalence classes in relation to these characteristics and then proceeds to examine the overlap of these classes with others he defines. Here, Mitchell notes that Laumann's interest is not in the structure of particular networks but in the molar relationships between characteristics of social networks and other social variables (Mitchell; op. cit., p. 433).

**Concept and Use of Social Networks: African Context**

The utilization of the concept of social networks in urban situations appears to have originated from a dissatisfaction with structural-functional analyses and the search for alternative ways of interpreting social action and, also, in the development of non-quantitative mathematical ways of stating the implications entailed in a set of relationships among a number of persons.

According to Clyde Mitchell, the image of network of social relations to represent a complex set of inter-
relationships in a social system is purely metaphorical and is very different from the notion of a social network as a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved. Mitchell suggests that when Radcliffe-Brown, for example, defined social structure as a network of actually existing social relationships (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 190) he was using network in a metaphorical and not an analytical sense. Radcliffe-Brown's use of the work evoked an image of the interconnections of social relationships but he did not go on to specify the properties of these interconnections which could be used to interpret social actions except at the abstract level of structure. With regard to the use of networks in sociology, Mitchell suggests that the concept is often used in a metaphorical sense (Mitchell, 1969, p. 2).

The difficulty in representing persons as nodes in a network and the complex relationships between them as lines led Firth to warn against taking a metaphor to be more than it is (Firth, 1954, pp. 4-5). Reader points out that as a metaphor the notion of network subsumes and, therefore, obscures several different aspects of social relationships such as connectedness, intensity, status and role (Reader, 1964, p. 22). Mitchell argues that the metaphorical use of the word should not prevent researchers to realize that it is possible to expand the metaphor into an analogy and use the
concept in more specific and defined ways. One of the ways in which a metaphor may be transformed into an analytical concept is to identify the characteristics on which its heuristic usefulness rests and then to define these characteristics in terms of general theory (Mitchell, op. cit., p. 2).

With reference to the concept and use of social networks in an African context, the ideas suggested by Barnes and developed by Bott have been modified and applied. Phillip Mayer (1961, 1962, 1964) and his colleague Pauw (1963), for example, specifically used the idea of social network to explain the behaviour of different types of migrants and of settled townspeople in the South African town of East London. They have put the emphasis on the important point made by Bott that the behaviour of people who are members of a close knit group of friends is likely to be considerably influenced by the wishes and expectations of these friends as a whole, while those whose acquaintances do not know one another may behave inconsistently from time to time without involving themselves in embarrassment (Bott, 1971, p. 4ff).

On the basis of an examination of the social contacts of one of his African research assistants over a few days, Epstein suggested that Bott's division of social networks into closed and open types could be applied to different parts of a single personal network. The relatively closed parts forming an effective network and the relatively open part an extended network. He used this idea to explain how the norms and values of the local elites in a town filter into the ranks
of the non-élites with whom the élites themselves had no direct contact. In his essay on gossip, norms and social networks, he showed how gossip which flowed along a chain in the network of a typical member of the social élite of Ndola was transmitted against a background of the norms and values of the social status of the people in that chain (Epstein, 1969, pp. 77-117; 117-123).

The works of Wheeldon, Kapferer, Boswell and Harries-Jones illustrate further extensions of the use of social networks in the Barthes tradition. For example, Wheeldon examines a challenge to leadership in a voluntary association in a Euro-African community in a Central African town and uses the concept of social networks to show how the established leadership is able to bring pressure to bear upon their antagonists by means of their links through common intermediaries (Wheeldon, 1969, pp. 128-174). Kapferer analyzes a dispute that arises in a processing plant on a mine and shows how the parties in the dispute activate links with their fellows to mobilize support for their own particular point of view (Kapferer, 1969, pp. 181-240). Boswell describes how people in three different sets of social circumstances in Lusaka, Zambia, when they are bereaved, utilize existing links with people to mobilize special help (Boswell, 1969, pp. 245-287). Harries-Jones shows how links based on common rural origin, kinship and proximity are used to establish the grassroots organization of a political party in a copperbelt town (Harries-Jones, 1969, pp. 297-338). Here, it is significant to note-
that the Barnes/Bott tradition that the researchers have adopted approximate social network to that of a digraph since they restrict the persons in a given network to finite number and they do not take particular account of the multiplexity of links of the persons in the network. In this regard, Mitchell notes that mathematical graph theory is not restricted to finite nets but in sociology it is usually necessary for pragmatic reasons to work with an identifiable set of persons and the relationships that exist among them. He points out that a network in graph theory is a relation in which the lines connecting the points have values ascribed to them, which may or may not be numerical. A digraph is a relation in which there are no loops; that is, no lines which link a point back to itself directly without passing through some other point (Mitchell, 1969, p. 3).

**Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration**

In the study of migration, two theoretical issues have been the central focus; namely, why people migrate and how far they move. A simple model for explaining the reasons why people move has been formulated in terms of the pull-push hypothesis (Mitchell, 1959, pp. 8-46). This hypothesis has been extended to include internal migration movements of the rural-rural, rural-urban or urban-urban types and international migrations. The issue of how far people move has resulted in the formulation of a variety of models of statistical or mathematical procedure. As Mabogunje observes, in most of these models, the distance covered is treated as
either the only independent variable or as one of many independent variables explaining the number of migrants moving to particular destinations (Mabogunje, 1970, p. 1). Morrill (1965) provides a summary of models of migration and suggests that they can be classified mainly into deterministic and probabilistic models.

To reiterate a point made in the introduction of this chapter, most of the theoretical formulations have been applied to conditions in the developed countries of the world, and especially to urban to urban migrations. Therefore, their suitability for explaining migratory movements from rural to urban areas and particularly in the context of Third World countries requires review. It has been suggested that Africa, in particular, is a unique area from which to draw important empirical evidence about rural-urban migrations. However, valuable data can also be derived from examining the history of some of the technologically advanced countries of the world. Mabogunje notes that although in Africa attention has been directed to a disproportionate extent on seasonal and other non-permanent transfers of population from rural to urban areas, (what Mitchell refers to as a "constant circulatory movement" between the two areas (Mitchell, 1962, p. 232)) yet, it can be seen that this type of movement represents a very special case of rural-urban migration. To make his point clear, he offers the following definition of rural-urban migration. As a geographer, he states that rural-urban migration represents
a basic transformation of the nodal structure of a society in which people move from generally smaller, mainly agricultural communities to larger, mainly non-agricultural communities (Mabogunje, op. cit., p. 2). He notes that apart from this spatial or (horizontal) dimension of the movement, there is also a socioeconomic or (vertical) dimension involving a permanent transformation of skills, attitudes, motivations and behavioural patterns such that a migrant is enabled to break completely with his rural background and become entirely committed to urban existence. He stresses that a permanence of transfer is the essence of the movement. Mayer shares a similar view in describing the urbanized individual as one who is committed to and is involved in the urban way of life (Mayer, 1971, p. 6).

Rural-urban migration also represents an essential spatial component of the economic development of a region. Thus, it has been suggested that one of the basic goals of economic development is to reverse the situation wherein 85 percent of the population is in agriculture and lives in rural areas while only about 15 percent is in non-agricultural activities and lives in the cities (Lewis, 1955, p. 333). It is the conviction of Mabogunje that rural-urban migration represents the spatial flow component of such a reversal. He points out that it is a complex phenomenon which involves the migrants but also includes a number of institutional agencies and it gives rise to significant and highly varied adjustments everywhere in a region (Mabogunje, op. cit., p. 2).
Systems Approach: A Proposal

Mabogunje convincingly argues that rural-urban migration, as a spatial process whose dynamics and spatial impact must form part of any comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon, can best be achieved within the framework of general systems theory (Mabogunje, 1970, pp. 1-18). He claims that the systems approach demands that particular complex of variables be recognized as a system possessing certain properties which are common to many other systems. It also has the fundamental advantage of providing a conceptual framework within which a whole range of questions relevant to an understanding of the structure and operation of other systems can be asked of the particular phenomenon under study.

In his essay on the "systems approach to a theory of rural-urban migration," Mabogunje does not attempt to define major components and relationships in a formal, mathematical manner, but presents a verbal analysis of the ways in which the system operates. He justifies his action by stating that a verbal analysis will enable researchers of rural-urban migration to identify areas where present knowledge is fragmentary and where future research may be concentrated (ibid, p. 2).

Outline of the System of Rural-Urban Migration

A system may be defined as a complex of interacting elements, together with their attributes and relationships (Hall and Pagan, 1956, p. 18). A major task in conceptualizing a phenomenon as a system is to identify the basic interacting
elements, their attributes and their relationships. Once this is done, it soon becomes obvious that the system operates not in a void but in a special environment, which for any system comprises the set of all objects, a change in whose attributes affects the system and also those objects whose attributes are changed by the behaviour of the system (ibid, p. 20).

With regard to functionalism and systems theory, functionalism hypothesizes using a biological analogy, that the operations of the social system may be compared to the operations of an organism operating within an environment. Just as the physical environment within which an organism operates places requirements upon that organism whose fulfillment is necessary condition for the survival of that organism, so the environmental context within which the social system operates places similar demands upon it. Walsh suggests that the organizational structure of the social system (like that of an organism) may be represented as an adaptive response to the environmental demands. Therefore, the parts of the social system may be said to be functional in the sense that they contribute to the survival of the system by virtue of the operations which they perform in comparison with the required conditions of its existence. Walsh notes that change of the social system is a process of evolution whereby the system becomes better adapted to an existing environment or adapts to a changing environment. Here, allowance is made for the possibilities of arrested development or
regress of the social system but, as Walsh emphasizes, the process of social change is basically one of increasing differentiation and integration of the system (Walsh, 1972, p. 57).

With regard to the discussion of the systems approach, the Parsonian model of social system is of sociological significance. The central feature of the model is an analysis of the operations of the system in the environment. The rural-urban migration system which Kabogunje proposes also puts the emphasis on the environment within which the system operates. Attention is also directed to the fact that the environment is constantly changing and these changes affect the operation of the system.

Parsons claims that his model of the social system locates, as its central concern, the problem of social order. He suggests that the most general and fundamental property of a system is the interdependence of parts or variables. Interdependence consists in the existence of determinate relationships among the parts or variables as contrasted with the randomness of variability. In other words, interdependence is order in the relationship among the components which enter into the system (Parsons and Shils, 1951, p. 107). Order is the product of two processes originating from the common normative pattern which organizes the interdependence of the parts of the system; namely, (i) a tendency of the social system to self-maintenance (equilibrium) and (ii) a tendency of the social system to maintain certain boundaries relative to an environment (homeostasis).
Since the social system is made up of the interaction of human individuals, each member is both actor (having goals, ideas, attitudes, etc.) and object of orientation for both actors and himself. The interaction system then is an analytical aspect abstractable from the total action processes of its participants. Here Parsons describes a society as a type of social system in a universe of social systems which attains the highest level of self-sufficiency as a system in relation to its environment (Parsons, 1966, pp. 8-9).

With reference to Mabogunje's rural-urban migration system, the system is an open system involving not only an exchange of energy but also of matter (in this case, persons) with the environment. According to the author, the persons concerned would be defined as all those who, having migrated into cities, have become involved in making local decisions or formulation of national policies and legislations on economic and other matters which affect the volume, character and pattern of migration. The energy exchange has to do with the increasing economic activities resulting from rural-urban migration and affecting the overall economic and social conditions of the country.

Mabogunje argues that a major implication of viewing rural-urban migration as an open system is because it enables researchers to explore the principle of equifinality in so far as it applies to this phenomenon. This principle emphasizes that the state of a system at any given time is not
determined so much by initial conditions as by the nature of the process or the system parameters. In consequence, the same results may arise from different origins or, conversely, different results may be produced by the same causes. As the author notes, in either case, it is the nature of the process which is determinate since open systems are basically independent of their initial conditions. This principle is very important in the study of rural-urban migration in different parts of the world since there has been a tendency to regard this movement in countries such as in Africa and Asia as a special kind different from elsewhere in the world. Here, Mabogunje confirms that the initial conditions in Africa today are vastly different from what they were in countries such as Britain and the United States of America at the times of the massive migrations there of people from the rural areas into the cities. However, he notes that according to the principle of equifinality, as long as researchers keep in mind the particular system's parameters, an understanding of the migration process as it affected and continues to affect the developed countries may provide an explanation for what is currently taking place in many parts of the Third World (Mabogunje, op. cit., p. 14).

The Basic Elements in the System of Migration

The basic elements of the system of migration are shown in Figure 1 on page 64. It identifies first the potential migrant who is being encouraged to migrate by stimuli from the environment. Within the systems framework, attention is
Figure 1 A System Schema for a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration

focused not only on the migrant but also on the various institutions (sub-systems) and the social, economic and other relationships (adjustment mechanisms) which are an integral part of the process of the migrant's transformation. Here, Mabogunje stresses that the two most important sub-systems are the rural and the urban control sub-systems. He describes a control sub-system as one which oversees the operation of the general system and determines when and how to increase or decrease the amount of flow in the system (Mabogunje, 1970, p. 5). The author warns that if researchers accept the existence of control sub-systems in this type of migration movement, the problem then is to identify which institutions operate in this manner, both in the rural and urban areas.

In the rural areas, a control sub-system would be the family, both nuclear and extended. As Mabogunje points out, it is the family that holds back potential migrants until they are old enough to undertake the move. Even when they are of an age to move, the family still acts as a control sub-system in many ways. In some places, it enables members of both sexes to move out; in others, members of one sex tend to get away more easily than those of the other. More important as a control mechanism is the relation of family members to the family land, especially as this relation is expressed through the lineage system and the inheritance law. An inheritance law that encourages most of the land to go into the hands of the first will tend to stimulate more migration of the other children, compared to one based on
the equality of access by all the children. In either case, as the author points out, the size of the farmland, the nature of the major agricultural products, and the prevailing prices for these would also be of decisive significance (ibid, p. 6).

Apart from the family, the village community itself may act as a control sub-system. For example, a village community which attempts to improve its economic conditions through co-operative farming or marketing, may discourage permanent migration. On the other hand, a village community which puts emphasis on social mobility, for example through education, may indirectly stimulate migration to the city by training the younger generation to be more highly motivated.

In the urban areas, the control sub-system can be identified with the city administration and other employment agencies under national laws and statutes. Mabogunje suggests that the city administration can ensure the availability of relatively cheap and adequate housing in quantities which could make the transition of the rural migrant more easy. Apart from housing, the activities of the city administration in providing reception centres as well as various amenities and services may be a vital factor in gradually inducing a migrant to commit himself to the urban way of life (ibid, p. 6). Here, it is significant to note that Mayer describes an urbanized individual as one who is committed to and is involved in an urban way of life (Mayer, 1971, p. 6).

The city, as part of an urban sub-system, is seen as comprising a hierarchy of specializations. The more specialized
the skill, the greater the demand for it and, therefore, the higher the price it commands on the market. Within this conceptual framework, Mabogunje sees the illiterate, rural migrant as belonging to the lowest level of the hierarchy (Mabogunje, op. cit., p. 9). A corollary is that the greater a person moves up within the hierarchy, the more his commitment to the urban way of life and the less the probability of his reversion to rural existence. This is the reason why countries such as Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) which are anxious to ensure that the African does not become an urban resident, pursue a discriminatory policy with regard to his acquisition of skill in urban employment. Yet, as Masser points out, even in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) the propensity to return to the village after migrating to the city decreases with the minimal rise in the skill of the migrant (Masser, 1964, p. 22).

**Limitations of the Systems Model**

This model is a useful conceptualization which takes into account the factors that govern both the rate and incidence of population movement as suggested by Mitchell (1959). Nevertheless, it is essentially a theoretical model which is formulated in terms of the individual migrant and his responses to stimuli from the environment and upon him within the system itself. Empirical testing of this model is inhibited by the identification of a large number of essentially unquantified elements in the system and Mabogunje makes no attempt to define the model in formal or mathematical terms. Consequently, the model is non-operational and its principal
value lies in the comprehensive framework that it provides for the evaluation of observed experience of rural-urban movement (Masser and Gould, 1975, p. 8).

Rural-urban migration as a component of urban population growth can create problems which may cause the system to dysfunction, especially when the rural exodus becomes uncontrolled and explosive. Thus, the system can be functional as well as dysfunctional. Boulding has identified three types of growth processes that may occur in a system. The first is simple growth and involves the addition of more units of a given variable such as a migrant, a farm, a vehicle, or a retail establishment. The second type is population growth, a process which involves both positive additions (surplus of births) and negative additions. In general, this type of growth depends on the surplus of births over deaths (negative additions) and applies to variables which have an age distribution and regular rates of births and deaths. The third type is structural growth, the growth process of an aggregate with a complex structure of interrelated parts. This process often involves a change in the relation of the components since the growth of each component influences and is influenced by the growth of all other components in the system (Boulding, 1956, pp. 66-75). In viewing rural-urban migration as a system, structural growth is an important dimension for more detailed investigation as it is closely related to employment opportunity.

Growth in the flow of rural-urban migrants affects the
pattern of population distribution, the areal size and internal configuration of cities, the types of building in rural areas, the size and arrangements of farms and the number, size and network density of rural roads. These are means by which the system attempts to adjust to growth processes (Mabogunje, op. cit., p. 17). However, as Boulding points out, there is a limit to the extent to which the system can continue to make these adjustments (Boulding, op. cit., p. 72).

Summary

In this chapter, attention has been directed to selected models of migration; namely, rural-urban, social networks and systems. Many of the authors cited argue that the history of urban research in Africa is the history of continuous and sometimes substantial modification of western theories and methods and, therefore, suggest a modification of such theories and methods to deal with the realities of African cities and their processes of growth and change. Modifications have been suggested in the following areas: the nature and usefulness of rural-urban distinctions, varieties of group and intra-group response to urbanization, the role of micro versus macro factors in explaining urbanization patterns.
CHAPTER FOUR

Typology of Migration

Introduction

Attention is herein directed to traditional migration, labour migration and step-wise migration. The major focus is on labour migration which appears to be a general phenomenon in Africa. In this regard, the causes for this type of movement are examined.

Examples are drawn from areas in the west, east and central regions. In West Africa, three types of rural areas have been identified as follows: (a) those organized for large-scale export production which have entered the capitalist phase; (b) those formed as a result of colonial economic policies, which they still follow and serve as wage labour reserves; (c) those which are not as yet part of the system or marginally so and serve only as auxiliary reserves (Amin, 1974, p. 94).

Traditional Migration

Population movements have always been a major feature in African history. Traditional migration was most often not on individual basis, segments of tribes might have changed location, but it was rare for individuals to voluntarily leave the territory of their group (Gugler, 1978, p. 50; Caldwell, 1969, p. 201). People have moved in search of better hunting grounds, new grazing lands for their cattle or better soils for farming. They have fled before the onslaught of stronger
neighbours or tsetse fly. Men, women and children have been carried off from their homes into slavery, but with the development of money economy and opening up of employment opportunities, a new pattern was introduced. Due to the fact before the colonial conquest of Africa towns were few and concentrated in certain parts of the continent, it has been suggested that traditional migration was seldom in any urban direction. The movement was from one agricultural location to another. Presumably, the traditional type of movement persisted, though hindered by what Gulliver has described as the freezing of tribal boundaries (Gulliver, 1969, p. 13).

**Labour Migration**

The imposition of colonial rule in Africa initiated a new type of population movement referred to as labour migration. In most parts of Africa, labour migration has gone through the following stages: (i) voluntary, (ii) compulsory, (iii) surplus labour.

(i) Voluntary Stage

At first, while the Europeans were few and their need for labour was small, the labour demand could be satisfied by the volunteer labourers who came forward out of curiosity to earn European money with which to buy some of the goods imported by the foreigners. For instance, in Uganda, East Africa, there was no wage labour before 1895 but by 1897 there were enough wage labourers to satisfy the needs of the first European arrivals (Powersland, 1954, p. 18). The Europeans, who were primarily interested in exploiting the
resources of the new environment, promptly required more labour than was forthcoming from the areas surrounding the first points of contact. However, for the African population in general, there was neither compulsion nor motivation to engage in wage labour at this time. Berg noted that after the arrival of the foreigners, for a long time, most villages only had sporadic contacts with the exchange economy. There was land for everyone and less need for cash. Consequently, most villagers refused to leave the established and secure way of traditional life for life in strange and insecure surroundings (Berg, 1966, p. 121).

(ii) Compulsory Stage

This second stage in the development of labour migration in Africa was marked by some form of coercion. African men of working age were compelled to work under the direction of Europeans for a part of the year. Coercion took the form of forced labour and taxation. In East Africa, forced labour was used to ensure that the colonial governments had enough manual labour to build roads and other similar projects. The intention was that all adult men should work for the usual wages for at least one month each year (Powesland, 1954, p. 20). The usual wages were established by government officials and the usual level was very low. Gugler observes that the abolition of slavery led to various forms of forced labour. This may have been necessary in the early days of colonial rule because the money economy had not yet made an impact. People did not yet aspire to have the goods money
wages could buy. Gugler argues that in many instances the issue was not the attraction of money wages but of the wage being too low to attract many people. He suggests that forced labour became the tool of a cheap labour policy (Gugler, 1969, p. 135; 1978, p. 51). Hopkins agrees with Gugler that money was attractive enough, but the wages offered were too low and working conditions too harsh to draw sufficient numbers of workers (Hopkins, 1973, pp. 229ff).

The imposition of taxes provided a more subtle means of coercion. Unless people were prepared to part with their cattle or to grow cash crops, they had to earn wages in order to obtain the necessary cash for taxes. In the days of rudimentary administration, there were flat taxes on huts, persons or livestock or excise duties on one or the other of the few goods that were in general demand. However, there were limitations on the extent to which it was possible to rely on taxation as an effective spur to economic activity. Unless taxes were kept low enough to be payable without much difficulty by the less prosperous, these people either endured serious hardships or moved to another part of the country or across the frontier (Gugler, 1978, p. 51). Rises in taxes were often used as a lever for securing higher wages so, although taxation sent people into the labour market, its effect was limited; it could not rival the impact of the spreading demand for the goods money can buy (Powersland, 1957, pp. 13ff).

With reference to taxation in Central Africa, it is said
that the attitude of the early settlers to the reluctance of the local African to enter into wage-earning employment was that if he did not respond to economic motives, then the best way to make him work was not to pamper him, but to tax him so that he would learn the dignity of labour (Mitchell, 1961, p. 200). It has been noted that in many parts of Africa, only labour migration was instrumental in breaking the economic isolation of subsistence agriculture. The arrival of money in remote rural villages on a much larger scale than had earlier been the case ... catalyzed a great deal of activity. To some extent, it merely made certain complex transactions, such as accumulating cattle for bride wealth, easier, but it also created new activity. Men who had the entrepreneurial vision and energy to import salt, kerosene, sardines, cloth or, later, bicycles and soft drinks found a ready market. Lorries were more likely to ply where men could readily pay their fares in money (Caldwell, op. cit., p. 216).

(iii) Surplus Labour Stage

The third stage of the development of labour migration was marked by the abolition of compulsory labour and the increased acceptance on behalf of the African communities of the exchange market (Gugler, 1968, p. 465). Want, as well as need, of cash increased. The initial shortage of labour became a constant surplus.

**Characteristics of Labour Migration**

In general, the labour migration which took place during the first half of this century had the following characteristics.
(i) most of the early labour migrants were target workers;
(ii) the migrants travelled long distances to the places of employment;
(iii) the migrants were often prompted by the visits of labour-recruiting teams sent out by the employers;
(iv) most of the migrants were young unmarried men;
(v) the periods the migrants stayed away were not long, rarely more than two years. Short-distance migration was often seasonal, timed to meet the demands of subsistence agriculture (Bjerre, 1971, p. 10).

With regard to the flow of labour migration in West and East Africa, the movement was mainly directed toward rural employment centres where the migrants worked on plantations or were employed as manual labourers by other Africans. Although migration is the key to African history, the town is not a necessary terminus or determinant of the migrant's route. Urban and industrial centres are spatially limited and Africa is still predominantly rural, producing mainly raw materials and foodstuffs (Kuper, 1965, p. 2). The situation was different in Central Africa where the flow of labour migrants was directed to the mines, around which towns developed. Nonetheless, the African migrants played a minor role in towns. They were considered natural country-dwellers and their stay in town was subjected to many restrictions. The settlers saw the towns as primarily European areas where Europeans lived by right and conducted their way of life within a structure of European institutions. Africans were
by definition temporary sojourners in the same way that Africans in the tribal areas lived their own lives and white men in these areas were temporary visitors. This thinking was incorporated into the legal and administrative structure from the earliest days of settlement (Mitchell, 1969, p. 161).

Since the independence of most tropical African states, labour migration has changed in character. Long-distance and international migration has decreased in importance since frontiers have achieved a new status and individual states have tried to secure jobs for their own citizens and decrease the flow of cash from labour centres out of the country (Caldwell, 1969, p. 201). Rural-urban migration has increased relative to rural-rural migration. Migrants tend to stay longer when they arrive in town, if that is their destination, and they often bring their families with them (Edinburgh University, 1963, p. 52). In a study of rural-urban migration in Ghana, Caldwell reports that education is one of the two most important factors in deciding the propensity to migrate in an individual. The other factor is having a relative who is already established in town (Caldwell, 1969, p. 212). Callaway, discussing the urban migration of school-leavers in Nigeria, cites similar influencing factors (Callaway, 1967, p. 207).

**Stepwise Migration**

In an evaluation of step-wise migration in Sierra-Leone, West Africa, Riddell and Harvey point out that in a spatial framework, the migration process in the African environment
either involves relocation by stages or one step migrations. The former has been described as either chain migration, whereby intermediate centres send population to higher order centres and they in turn receive population from the rural areas and smaller urban centres and places, or as stepwise migration, in which an individual or group of individuals migrate into higher order nodes from rural areas moving by way of intermediate centres (Riddell and Harvey, 1972, p. 272). This pattern of migration is depicted in a cartographic model on page 78. The authors predicted that such pattern of movement could be expected especially in those areas far from the primate cities. Even though job opportunities are fewer and the attraction of the bright lights is much less in the smaller, provincial towns than in the larger cities, these towns are much closer, not only in the usual sense of time, cost and energy, but especially in terms of cultural and social differences (Riddell and Harvey, 1972, p. 272). Here, the suggestion is that the first step from a rural, traditional environment into an urban setting is eased because it can be made within the specific sociocultural environment of the migrant. Later, as the urban transition is in progress, the move to the more distant and larger cities can be made with relative ease as the initial break from tradition has been made within the local setting. Riddell and Harvey observe that the smaller provincial towns and cities do not exist purely as alternative destinations for migrants. However, the fact that the towns have grown at impressive rates
Figure 2  A Cartographic Model of a Step-wise Migration Process

Source: B. Riddle and M. Harvey, op. cit., Figure 1
indicates their power of attraction and the fact that many migrants have moved on to the large cities indicates their role as source area. The authors suggest that the towns act as a link, tying the local area and its people to the wider national setting through a migration chain (ibid, p. 273). Thus, they conceptualize the attraction of urban places in terms of the gravity model.

In the gravity model, attraction is proportional to the size of the urban place and, inversely, proportional to distance from the rural source area. In the tropical African case, the authors agree that distance would have two components including, not only the usual economic measure of distance, but also a measure of social or cultural distance as well.

The model is expressed as:

\[ A = f \left( P_i, D_{ij}, D_{ij}^S \right) \]

which, in multiple regression format would be:

\[ \log A = \log b_0 + b_1 \log P - b_2 \log D^e - b_3 \log D^S \]

In words, the attractiveness, A, of a centre would be a direct function of its size, P, and inversely proportional to both economic and social distances, \( D^e \) and \( D^S \).

For the African from a rural, traditional setting, the social or cultural friction of distance may be very high and may override the attractive forces of the much larger and brighter urban places. With the passage of time in the local, semiurban setting, the influence of the friction of social
distance, \( b_3 \), is markedly reduced and the attraction of the larger, more distant places begins to exert itself (ibid., p. 273).

**Empirical Evidence**

Although the character of a step-wise migration process through the urban system has been suggested, few attempts have been made to provide empirical evidence to support the pattern of movement. Olsson has reviewed many of the suggestions and it is apparent that there have been two general approaches to the verification of such a notion (Olsson, 1965, pp. 30-34). The first approach may be represented by Wendel's work in which he followed, step by step, the migration histories of a group of people from a Swedish parish. However, his findings were not convincing. In this case, only 15% of those migrating twice or more and 4% of those migrating three times or more did so from rural districts to cities via places intermediate in size (Wendel, 1953, p. 14). The second approach is represented by the work of Claeson who shows a very regular relationship between the size of a receiving centre and the distance exponent. Large places tend to have low exponents on distance for migration movement to them, while medium-sized destinations have larger exponents and smaller places, larger yet (Claeson, 1967, pp. 127-141). Riddell and Harvey note that this systematic reduction in the friction of distance with increasing size of the destination area, when considered in conjunction with urban size and spacing regularities, is indirect evidence
of the relationship depicted in a cartographic model of step-wise migration process (see Figure II on page 78).

Within tropical Africa, there have been few systematic studies of the migration process itself but there have been no systematic attempts to test empirically the step-wise hypothesis. Riddell and Harvey point out that many studies have investigated urbanward movement and have attempted to isolate causal factors to explain the process, but the conclusions of most of these studies are difficult to verify or to generalize. This is because they are usually isolated case studies from specific areas for a certain time period. Also, the data base often does not allow any definitive statements to be made and the findings are narrowly specific to the interests of the particular discipline of the author rather than of the movement process in general (Riddell and Harvey, op. cit., p. 274). However, credit is given to researchers of large-scale studies based upon either census data or extensive interview schemes which give some general insights into the process of migration. The findings can be objectively verified and tested and, most importantly, they are based upon models which may be employed in other areas or in other time periods to yield comparable results (ibid). The following studies are among those referred to:

Caldwell and a group of sociologists and demographers conducted interviews with a stratified random sample of the Ghanaian population in 1963 in an attempt to identify the factors associated with urban migration. The results of the study are tabulated in Table 1, p. 82.
Table 1

Rural Urban Migration in Ghana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor Related to Migration</th>
<th>Type of Association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Distance from nearest town</td>
<td>Inverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Size of rural centre</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Economic condition of rural household</td>
<td>Direct, though weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Relatives in urban areas</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) Age and sex</td>
<td>Young males tend to have highest propensities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) Education and literacy</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) Family size</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) Rural occupational differences</td>
<td>No Association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Derived from Caldwell, 1969.

According to the results, propensities to migrate to urban centres tend to decline with distance, to increase as the size of the origin centre increases and as the family's economic conditions are better and are directly related to the presence of relatives in the urban places. Young people, males, and the better educated are more likely to move to the cities, as are people from larger families. Here, Riddell and Harvey argue that the study is weakened by the fact that the hypotheses were only tested individually and never in combination. They maintain that to test the hypotheses in combination is a much more realistic procedure (Riddell and Harvey, op. cit., p. 274). In denying the validity of the step-wise hypothesis
Caldwell claims that the evidence suggests that step-wise migration has not been of great importance, particularly in recent times, in the Ghanaian rural-urban migration process (Caldwell, 1969, p. 16). However, the finding that the tendency to migrate to the city increases as the size of the centre of origin increases appears to support the notion and Caldwell indicates that the provincial towns help overcome the sociocultural differences in the rural-urban transition (ibid, p. 19).

A different approach to the study of migration in Ghana has been taken by Beals, Levy and Moses. Although the study has some flaws, it is useful because it allows for statistical comparisons among explanatory variables and represents a model building and hypothesis testing approach and, because the several forces inducing migration are considered in combination, as they operate in the real world. The shortcomings of the study which are more the fault of the limited number of reliable data than conceptual difficulties include doubts regarding the accuracy of the census materials, the gross regionalization of the data base and thus the ecological fallacy, the fact that the data records the birthplace and residence of the population and not the actual moves, the distance measures are no more than estimates for regions of such size and many of the explanatory variables are only crude surrogates (Riddell and Harvey, op. cit., p. 274).

Beals, et al. hypothesize that migration, rather than being a simple phenomenon related to one factor alone, results
from the complex interaction of a series of forces operating simultaneously. Their model took the form:

\[ \frac{M_{ij}}{P_i} = f(D_{ij}, Y_i, Y_j, P_i, P_j, E_i, E_j, U_i, U_j) \]

where per capita rate of migration from the census regions to all other regions, \( \frac{M_{ij}}{P_i} \), was related to: the distance between regions \( i \) and \( j \), \( D_{ij} \); the average African labour income in the origin and destination regions, \( Y_i, Y_j \); the population size of the areas as measured by the number of males, \( P_i, P_j \); the proportion of the male population with formal schooling, \( E_i, E_j \); and the percentage of the population residing in places with more than 5,000 inhabitants, \( U_i, U_j \).

When the explanatory variables were related to migration rates separately, the associations were generally weak. However, when they were simultaneously related to the migration rates in a multiple regression format, the level of explanation rose to 91 percent and all of the regression coefficients were significant. Thus, in combination, all the variables were important in explaining the variation in migration rates. No one alone was adequate to explain the process. It was only in combination that distance, urbanization, population, income and education provided a valid descriptive model of the migration process (Beals, et al., 1967, pp. 480-486). The results as depicted by the standardized regression coefficients in Table 2, p.85 indicate that distance is the most important factor in combination with the
others in explaining migration rates. Notions regarding regional income differentials, population and urbanization levels are also confirmed.

Table 2

Ghana Migration Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Standard Regression Coefficients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Distance</td>
<td>-10.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Income level (origin)</td>
<td>-6.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Income level (destination)</td>
<td>5.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Population (origin)</td>
<td>7.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) Population (destination)</td>
<td>4.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) Schooling (origin)</td>
<td>-2.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) Schooling (destination)</td>
<td>-7.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) Urbanization (origin)</td>
<td>5.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ix) Urbanization (destination)</td>
<td>5.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: The negative signs on the schooling variable are likely a reflection of multicollinearity (Riddell and Harvey, 1972, p. 275).

In his analysis, Riddell utilized a similar multiple regression model in the study of the movement of people to Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone in West Africa. The data based on a much finer areal division than was available for Ghana allowed a more precise and realistic interpretation of the influence of spatially distributed variables. There was the problem of census birthplace data, but the ecological
problem was greatly reduced and multicollinearity was eliminated (Riddell, 1970, pp. 95-127). Although a complex predictive formulation was derived, it was reduced conceptually to a very simple model which indicated that the areal variation in migration rates to Freetown was a function of distance decay effects in both physical and temporal sense and levels of urbanization throughout the country. The second factor, the level of urbanization, has profound implications in terms of the step-wise model. Provincial towns were shown to have a catalytic effect within predominantly rural areas (ibid, pp. 114-118).

In an evaluation of step-wise migration in Sierra-Leone, Riddell and Harvey predict that step-wise movements will occur in areas far from the major urban places where the intermediate urban focus is strong enough, relative to the major urban place, and its influence is not weakened in the nearby areas by factors such as inaccessibility and ethnic differences and where there are no other nonurban migration attractions disturbing the system (Riddell and Harvey, op. cit., p. 283).

A recent analysis of mining workers' migration histories in Sierra-Leone refutes any strong tendency to step-wise migration, even in the south-eastern districts where the movement appears to take place more than elsewhere in the country. Swindle finds that mining workers display a movement toward, and circulation among, the principal towns and work places rather than stepping up a hierarchy (Swindle, 1974, p. 60). Similarly, Caldwell's (1969) survey of rural-urban migration
and Peil's (1972) analysis of the migration histories of factory workers in southern Ghana suggests that step-wise migration has not been of great importance in Ghana. Therefore, despite its inherent attractiveness, the step-wise model must be treated with some caution until more positive results are recorded in empirical research (Masser and Gould, 1975, p. 12).

With the exception of Gregory's essay on "Migration in Upper Volta," there is not much evidence to support or reject the notion of a step-wise migration process as a general phenomenon in Africa. Few researchers have even considered or tested the hypothesis. This is partly due to a lack of suitable data, but it also reflects a failure to consider the relationship between the spatial process of migration and the spatial order and organization of the countryside within which this movement takes place (Riddell and Harvey, op. cit., p. 276).

Chain Migration

With reference to rural-urban migration in Ghana, Caldwell reports that Ghanaian migrants to town usually go first to join a relative or fellow villager. Once migration from a certain family or village begins, it tends to gain momentum. Caldwell finds that some families and some villages have proportionately much higher representation in the towns than have others. Also, visits to the towns from families without relatives already living there are particularly unknown. Thus, visiting and migration increase in volume as the
number of close relatives in the town increases. The author notes that the evidence for chain migration exists in the data, not only for visitors and planners, but for those who have actually lived in the towns (Caldwell, op. cit., pp. 80-81).

**Circulatory Mobility**

Circulatory mobility has been prominent in studies of migration in Africa as an expression of the extent to which labour migrants retain an economic and social commitment to their home areas (Mitchell, 1961, 1959); Elkan's (1959, 1958, 1960) studies of urban workers in Kampala demonstrated that labour circulation, whereby the migrant maintained an economic base in his source community during the period of his absence in town, was a rational response to economic conditions in Uganda. Similar conclusions were reached by Berg (1959, 1965) following his analysis of movements between Upper Volta, Ghana and Ivory Coast.
CHAPTER FIVE
Development of a Theory of Migration

Introduction

Efforts have been made by some researchers to formulate a theory of migration but without very significant results. In the essay on "A Theory of Migration," Lee classifies factors influencing migration as pull factors or those associated with the destination area; push factors or those associated with the area of origin, such as ethnic barriers, distance, cost, regarded as intervening obstacles and personal factors (Lee, 1966, pp. 47-67). Berg's listing of the major factors determining the individual's decision to migrate are similar to Lee's theoretical factors which are as follows:

(i) The intensity of the migrant's preference for money income against leisure in the village.

(ii) The level of the migrant's income from village production.

(iii) The effort-price of income earnable in the village.

(iv) The effort-price of income earnable outside the village (Berg, 1961, p. 480ff).

Push factors are sometimes described as centrifugal or impulsive and pull factors as centripetal or attracting (Mitchell, 1961, pp. 262ff). It has been suggested that the industrialization and urbanization of today's technologically advanced nations was motivated mainly by pull from the towns, whereas urbanization in Africa, Asia and Latin America is
caused by push from the rural areas (Hauser, 1966, pp. 37ff).

The Push-Pull Hypothesis: A Re-evaluation

With reference to the rural-urban migration process in Africa, the push-pull hypothesis has been employed to account for the causes of such a movement. According to this hypothesis, the push comes from deteriorating conditions in rural areas which force people to migrate to towns in search of livelihood. The pull is exerted by the town through the economic opportunities which the migrant is expected to find there (U.N.E.C.A., 1967, p. 143). Hauser points out that the situation in Africa is different from that in the technologically advanced nations. He argues that in the advanced nations, industrialization and urbanization have been motivated mainly by pull from the towns, whereas urbanization in Africa is mainly the cause of push from the rural areas due to static resources, the rapid increase in population, political troubles and insecurity (Hauser, 1966, pp. 37ff). Hauser’s argument does not take into consideration that migrants may find more insecurity and violence in the towns and cities.

A particular problem with this approach is the distinction between push and pull factors. If, for instance, an individual leaves his rural home and goes for education to a town, then the absence of schooling at home is the push, but at the same time the existence of schooling in town is the pull. As Caldwell notes, both rural and urban areas exert pushes and pulls, usually at the same time. He also observes that in the case of Ghana, economic motives are dominant in
encouraging migration of some rural residents to town, but they share place with non-economic motives in deciding that others should remain in the village (Caldwell, 1969, p. 214).

Empirical Evidence

In one of the best conducted studies of rural-urban migration in Africa, Caldwell finds that in the case of Ghana, education and having a relative in town are the two most important factors in deciding the propensity to migrate in an individual. He reports that much of the propensity for migration depends, not so much on who the individual is or what has been done to him, as on where his residence is and what has historically transpired in the area. Disproportionately, more migrants come either from rural areas which are conspicuously poor or unable to offer non-subsistence employment or from areas which have experienced great socio-economic change, which has radically altered both the traditional culture and economy (ibid, p. 212).

Commenting on the urban migration of school-leavers in Nigeria, Callaway refers to similar influencing factors. He reports that for the country as a whole, the proportion of school-leavers in Nigeria who migrate from any particular area depends on the level of farm income, the availability of fertile land and the date of the spread of education (Callaway, 1967, p. 207).

In an analysis of the movement to Freetown, Sierra-Leone, Riddell reports that when education is considered in a multiple relationship, it becomes one of the more meaningful explanatory variables of migration. He notes that the level of education
and literacy are not independent and both are strongly related to the timing of the spread of schools. Here, the primacy of Freetown, not only in terms of sheer numbers, but also as an economic, administrative and educational centre, cannot be ignored (Riddell, 1970, pp. 114-126).

In a study that analyzes the determinants of migrant behaviour in Tanzania, Barnum and Sabot's primary objective is to assess the theory that causally links rural-urban migration and urban labour market imbalance. The evidence strongly suggests that economic factors play a significant role in the pattern of education selectivity. The authors report that the more education a rural resident has received the greater is his propensity to migrate. Also, the more education a rural resident has, the greater are the private returns to migration. Barnum and Sabot note that there is a strong positive relationship between educational level and the level of wages paid by urban employers. There is some evidence to suggest that differentials in psychic costs and returns also contribute to the explanation of higher rates of migration among the educated. The selectivity of the education system and the influence of education on preferences may result in the educated having a relatively higher likelihood of migration independent of the differentials in economic opportunities between rural and urban areas (Barnum and Sabot, 1976, pp. 77-78).

In Kampala, Uganda, Elkan finds four types of migrants distinguished by their patterns of migration:
(i) The one-time migrants who came to town in their early manhood to earn the necessary cash to set up their own farms.

(ii) A group of migrants who, for a large part of their lives, revolve between their farms and the centres of employment.

(iii) The migrants who stay in town for a long time and appear to have become stable townspeople, but who still eventually retire to the countryside and who have spent a large part of their urban stay saving and planning for the return home.

(iv) A group of migrants who permanently settle in town and do not return to the countryside (Elkan, 1960, p. 6).

Of these groups, the first represents the traditional target workers. The second represents the circular migrants and the third group represents the first-generation, educated farmers' sons. The fourth group either consists of migrants who have made an urban choice of life or landless farmers' sons who have nothing to return to (Hutton, 1966, p. 35).

In his analysis of population movements to the main urban areas of Kenya, Ominde concludes that because the age group 20-45 forms an important proportion of the rural population, their absence in the source regions constitutes a burden to those left behind (Ominde, 1965, pp. 593-617).

Imaogene (1975) makes a similar point with reference to migration in Nigeria. He notes that the huge exodus of the most productive age groups from the rural hinterland of the
tows cause further disorganization and poverty which, in turn, constitutes push factors from rural to urban areas.

With reference to migration in Sierra Leone, Byerlee suggests that the selective nature of migration with respect to education indicates that migration involves not only a transfer of labour but also a considerable transfer of capital from the rural areas as education is considered an investment by rural people (Byerlee, 1974, pp. 543-566).

**Incidence of Migration: Economic Versus Other Factors**

In a paper on the causes of labour migration, Mitchell notes that in logical terms, economic factors appear to be a necessary condition, but they may not in themselves to a sufficient condition. In other words, if the economic drives to labour migration are not present, it is unlikely that it will occur, but if the economic conditions are present, the actual migration may not occur until some event in the personal life of the individual precipitates events and triggers off his decision to go (Mitchell, 1961a, p. 271). Gugler attacks this statement on the grounds that for many people economic conditions are indeed sufficient conditions and that, in some cases, migration for other than economic reasons occurs (Gugler, 1969, p. 141). Mitchell has also been criticized for his distinction between economic and other factors. The merit of his approach which stresses the importance of economic factors also constitutes its weakness in that it appears to allow for only one collective force, the economic, combining all others into a residual force called personal
factors (ibid, p. 142). The problem is the distinction between economic and other factors.

Gugler objects to Mitchell's use of the term, "personal factors" to determine the incidence of migration and he introduces the term "collective forces." He suggests that the rate of labour migration has to be seen as the result of the aggregate of collective forces, be they economic or not. The incidence of migration, why one man migrates rather than another, appears then as determined by the differential impact these collective forces have on different individuals (ibid.). When Mitchell discusses the concept of incidence, he refers to Gulliver who reports that almost all Ngoni (of south Tanzania) migrants feel the pinch of economic conditions at home; some are immediately induced to go away where money is most readily obtainable, but others continue to manage until some final necessity sends them off. (Gulliver, 1955, p. 26). From this report, Mitchell makes the generalization that there will always be an incident (something) that makes the prospective migrant decide to leave precisely at the time he does. The incident that triggers off the decision to leave may be something quite individual, like a dispute within the family, but it may be something collective affecting all potential migrants in the community, like the time when taxes have to be paid, although again mediated by personal characteristics (Mitchell, op. cit., p. 271).
Migration: A Response to Rural-Urban Income Differential

In Todaro's model of migration, it is possible to explain rural-urban migration from poor or economically depressed areas with reference to economic factors because in the model migration is regarded as a result of the difference between actual rural income and expected urban income. Todaro confirms that although people migrate for a variety of reasons, the empirical evidence clearly indicates that the overwhelming determining factor is economic betterment. He maintains that people migrate from rural to urban areas quite simply because it is in their private economic interest to do so, even in the context of high unemployment in the urban areas. Although there may be no conscious calculation of benefits and costs, the migrants compare their long-term financial prospects, both in terms of prevailing income levels and the availability of income-earning opportunities in urban and rural areas and move when prospects in the former locality exceed those in the latter (Todaro, 1978, p. 3). In effect, migrants, whether consciously or not, appear to weigh both the short and long-term expected (i.e., probabilistic) benefits against the costs (both direct and indirect) of moving. The author claims that the fact that almost all studies reveal that migrants tend to be younger and more educated than their rural counterparts attests to the significance of longer-term perspectives for the young and the importance of the actual magnitude of urban-rural differentials in expected income, since those with
more education have a higher probability of securing higher paid jobs than those with less education.

Tanzania's case study provides a persuasive empirical support of Todaro's statement. Here, the evidence suggests that the more formal education a rural resident has received, the greater is his propensity to migrate. Also, the more education a rural resident has, the greater are the private returns to migration. There is a strong positive relationship between educational level and the level of wages paid by urban employers. Barnum and Sabot report that rural-urban income differentials and the net returns to migration increase with education. However, they warn that differences in the rural-urban income differential alone are inadequate to explain the trend over time in the differential propensities to migrate among rural educational sub-groups. It is suggested that urban wage trends and rural income act together with the probability of finding an urban job to explain why the uneducated have not kept up with the educated in their rate of rural-urban migration. The authors note that the probability of employment is greater for rural residents, the more education they have; while employment probabilities have been declining for all but the highest educational group, employment opportunities for the less educated have fallen relative to the educated (Barnum and Sabot, op. cit., p. 77). This latter phenomenon is largely a function of an increase in output from the educational system at a rate faster than the increase in employment opportunities in the occupations
into which educated labour force entrants had previously flowed.

Todaro provides a useful framework for analyzing the decision to migrate in terms of the expected income model (see Figure 3 on page 99). He claims that the framework makes provision to examine the way in which development policies can influence the decision to migrate. Although the basic decision to migrate emanates from a comparison of rural income with expected urban income, Todaro notes that there are many factors that affect these income-earning possibilities.

On the rural side these factors include, among others, the system of land tenure, the structure of farm input and output prices, the availability of feeder roads and local marketing facilities, the magnitude, terms and accessibility of rural credit, the degree of under or, more likely, overvaluation of foreign exchange rates and the relative price structure (in terms of trade) between agricultural and industrial commodities. On the urban side, factors such as the structure of modern sector wages, the level of urban unemployment (and, thus, the probability of finding modern sector jobs) the size of the urban traditional (informal) sector, the nature of linkages between urban modern and traditional sectors, the extent to which limited modern sector jobs are allocated (rationed) by educational certification and the availability and cost of urban housing, food and social amenities all tend to influence, directly
Figure 3
A Schema of the Decision to Migrate

Source: Adapted from D. Byars, "Rural-Urban Migration in Africa," Int'l Mig. Rev. 8: 543-566, 1974.
and indirectly, the decision to migrate. Finally, the costs of moving (both actual and opportunity) and, especially, the ease with which unemployed migrants can support themselves or be supported by relatives and friends in the city while they engage in their job search activities provide the final major component of the decision to migrate (Todaro, op. cit., p. 4).

The expected income migration model, therefore, has the following characteristics:

(i) Migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial but also psychological.

(ii) The decision to migrate depends on expected rather than actual urban-rural real wage differentials where the expected differential is determined by the interaction of two variables, the actual urban-rural differential and the probability of successfully obtaining employment in the urban modern sector.

(iii) The probability of obtaining an urban job is inversely related to the urban unemployment rate.

(iv) Migration rates in excess of urban job opportunity growth rates are not only possible but rational and even likely in the face of wide urban-rural expected income differentials. High rates of urban unemployment are, therefore, inevitable outcomes of the serious imbalance of economic opportunities between urban and rural areas of most countries in Africa, Asia and Latin-America (Todaro, op. cit., p. 6).
Limitations of Economic Models of Rural-Urban Migration

Here, attention is directed to the most important of the economic models; that is, the one put forward by Todaro and Associates (Todaro, 1968, 1969; Harris and Todaro, 1968, 1976; Rempel and Todaro, 1972) to explain the curious phenomenon that has been observed in many African countries whereby rural-urban migration rates show signs of increasing despite the existence of positive marginal productivity in agriculture and high levels of urban unemployment. The two unique features of Todaro's model are the emphasis that is placed on expected rather than observed incomes and the inclusion in the model of the probability of obtaining urban employment. These elements are expressed in the following form:

\[
\frac{M}{LU} = f \left( \frac{VU - Vr}{Vr} \right)
\]

where:

- \( M \) is the net number of rural/urban migrants
- \( LU \) is the size of the urban labour force
- \( VU \) is the discounted present value of the expected urban real income over an unskilled worker's planning horizon
- \( Vr \) is the discounted present value of the expected rural real income over the same planning horizon

Expected urban income is taken to be a function of the average wage in the modern sector and the migrant's probability of realizing that income. This, in turn, is a function of the number of the new jobs created, the level of unemployment and
the time that the migrant has spent in the urban centre. Similarly, expected rural income is expressed in terms of average income together with the probability of achieving this income.

The Todaro model incorporates variables that are closely related to the elements involved in individual decision making, but difficulties have been experienced in defining expected incomes in quantitative terms for testing purposes. Godfrey has also raised other objections to the model on theoretical grounds and as a result of his work in Ghana, West Africa. He points out that non-economic factors such as education are not taken into consideration in this model and questions Todaro's conclusion that education need not be specified as a separate variable. He has also questioned Todaro's formulation of expected income differentials with reference to his analysis of trends in Ghana between 1955 and 1965 where he found that the number of rural/urban migrants increased during a period when wage differentials showed a considerable decrease. He, therefore, suggests an explanation based on changes over time with different factors affecting the initial move into an urban area, the return move to the rural area and the timing and the duration of subsequent moves to urban areas (Godfrey, 1973, pp. 66-78).

Migration: Element of the Process of Proletarization

In a study of modern migrations in West Africa, Amin points out that in tropical Africa, the development of agrarian capitalism has either attracted an additional
migrant population or has maintained a growing rural density. In the first category, is the Ghano-Ivorian coast; in the second category, is the Senegalese groundnut areas, the Togolese-Dahomeen coast, south-western and south-eastern Nigeria and the northern Nigerian groundnut/cotton areas. He points out that this particular pattern of agrarian capitalist development in Africa has a number of specific reasons: (i) the dynamism of the rural community and the rights of its members to cultivate the soil; (ii) the relatively low initial densities of the population; (iii) the technical limitations of this type of agrarian capitalism which makes very little use of modern equipment.

Amin suggests that, under these conditions, the process of proletarization has to be initiated outside the regions destined for its capitalist development and such is the reduced role of reserve regions (Amin, 1974, p. 95; 1972, p. 4). It is within this methodological framework that Amin sees it fit to analyze the attraction–repulsion mechanisms (push–pull effects) which constitute the very core of the process of migration.

Commenting on the determinist position of Amin in his analysis of labour migration, Parkin notes that the problem is essentially that of how much analytical emphasis should be placed on the individual migrant as being free to decide between alternative courses of action and how much on the wider political, economic and ecological factors directing and
constraining migratory flows of particular groups (Parkin, 1975, p. 9). Amin discusses this problem and argues firmly that the decision of the migrant to leave his region of origin is completely determined by the overall strategy determining the allocation of factors; that is, the overall strategy of development for a country or region. Stated or inferred motivations for choices made by migrants, though highly variable, are seen as rationalizations of a situation basically determined by factors beyond the migrants' control (Amin, op. cit., pp. 88-89 and 93). It is significant to note that a concern with external variables is a determinist position which argues that local groups have little or no control over either their situations or their responses to that situation. With reference to West African migrants, Hart (1975) argues that the predicted proletarization of these migrants does not occur in many cases due to local factors.

Amin observes that the areas reduced to labour reserves (rural areas formed as a result of colonial economic policies), the effect of repulsion (push effect) acts on the whole population. In the interior, serviced by an inefficient transport system, where the government does not help the peasants to intensify their agriculture, the levying of taxes in money has had the function of driving the peasants towards the coast because there has been no alternative for them and, as Amin explains, the resulting flight works to the detriment of subsistence agriculture. Thus, there is no need to have recourse to the pull-effect and bright-lights (attractions) of the city.
to explain the migratory phenomena. In West Africa, it has been observed that migratory flow takes place exclusively from rural areas, formed as a result of colonial economic policies, which have continued after independence and act as labour reserves to areas organized for large-scale export production and have entered the capitalist phase which implies private appropriation of land and the availability of wage labour (Amin, op. cit., p. 94). Of all the regions of the interior, the principal role of labour supplier has been played by Upper Volta; this is because it may have been easy to organize due to its high density and well-organized Mossi society. Skinner and other Voltaian authors have reported the role of the village chiefs and of forced labour in the shaping of the society into reserves of cheap labour (Skinner, 1965, pp. 60-84).

There is little doubt that the push-effect has been generated through colonization policies. This is demonstrated by the influence colonial policies have had in different parts of the continent. It has been pointed out that in parts of East, Central and Southern Africa coercive methods have been used to thrust African peasants into small reserves, in part to supply a migrant proletariat that is needed in large numbers to work in the mines, the plantations of white settlers and in manufacturing industries (Arrighi, 1966; Amin, 1972, 1975, p. 95).

Amin explains that the push-effect in West Africa is specific because in accordance with previous conditions in
the region, the push-effect in the development of agrarian capitalism did not act as it did in Europe or elsewhere in the Third World. In this sense, a pull-effect was required and organized, but as he notes, it has gone beyond its intended objective as a result of its own dynamism and beyond the society which tried to enclose it. In other words, the rural exodus has become uncontrollable and explosive; for such is the law of the development of social contradictions that, what is functional at one stage, becomes dysfunctional at another; that is, it puts in jeopardy the social organization from which it grew (Amin, op. cit., p. 98).

The Decision to Migrate Criticisms of Cost-Benefit Analysis

Here, attention is mainly directed to Berg's claim that the migrations are in the interest of both regions, those of emigration and immigration. He regards seasonal migrants as an effective adaptation of the labour market to the economic conditions of the region. He operates on the principle that if the migrants leave their home or country, it is because they can gain a better income elsewhere. He considers the absence of the seasonal migrant during the dry season as beneficial to the village economy because there is one less mouth to feed, whereas the migrant has contributed to the agricultural production of the village (Berg, 1965, pp. 160-181).

According to Amin, the ideological character of this approach is apparent from the fact that the labour is supposed to be near to perfection because of the greater quantity of
sellers of labour (migrants) than buyers (the plantations and the urban enterprises). He strongly argues that the position of strength represented by the monopoly of the buyers, reinforced by the economic policies which systematically create an oversupply of labour and often, simply by politics itself, are not taken into consideration. He disagrees with Berg who believes that migration is beneficial to the regions of emigration. Amin is convinced that migrants are obliged to get money within the framework of a system that gives them no alternative (Amin, op. cit., p. 99).

In challenging the hypothesis that the exploitation of land in the villages of origin does not suffer from migration, Amin points out that seasonal migrations lead to permanent migrations. Some of the effects of migration on source and destinations have already been discussed. For example, Skinner (1965) has noted in Upper Volta the degradation of agriculture consequent on the disequilibrium in sex-ratio. Imaogene (1975) notes the huge exodus of the most productive age groups from the rural areas to towns in Nigeria cause disorganization and poverty which constitutes push factors from rural to urban areas. Ominde (1965) notes that in Kenya, the age group 20-45 forms an important proportion of the rural population and their absence in the source regions creates a burden to those left behind.

Amin argues that a comparative cost and benefit analysis conducted at the micro-economic level of the migrant has no significance, but only gives the appearance of objective
rationality to a choice (that of the migrant) which in reality does not exist because, in the given system, he has no alternatives (Amin, op. cit.).

**Urban-Rural Ties.**

The importance of urban-rural ties has been noted in all parts of Africa. With reference to eastern and southern Africa, it is reported that apart from the kinds of interdependence which one finds in all industrialized countries between the rural and the urban areas, what characterizes the rural and urban populations of most of east and southern Africa is the economic dependence of the individuals living in an urban area but still tied to and dependent on the rural economy and vice versa (Van Veelen, 1963, p. 37).

Discussing the role of migration in a study conducted in Ghana, Caldwell stresses that rural-urban migration plays an extremely important role in the diffusion process of both social and economic change generated in Ghana's towns by their very nature and brought in from outside. He notes that the diffusion springs partly from the eventual return of most migrants to the village, but more significantly from the volume of home visits made from the outset of residence in the town and the volume of visits made by persons resident in the village to relatives living in the town. It is reported that rural Ghanaians look upon the large towns as the sources from which new patterns of living will come to an extent that would astonish rural residents in many developed countries (Caldwell, 1969, p. 206). Such cultural flows are
greatly assisted by the geographical and social mobility of the population.

It has been suggested that the reasons for the strong ties between the urban and rural residents are economic as well as non-economic. Gugler notes that in most of Africa, urban minimum wages are below the minimum requirements to support a family in town, despite the fact that the gap between the urban and rural average wages is continuously widening. Lack of adequate housing also creates another difficulty in bringing the family to town. Thus, many men leave their wives and children behind in the rural home where they can live off the land and, perhaps, even send food to the husband in town. Having someone in the countryside actually farming the family land also ensures that the family's right to the land does not lapse. This is particularly important in areas where there is an actual or potential shortage of land and if, as it is most likely, the migrant looks forward to spending his old age in the rural area. Gugler points out that since farms frequently cannot be bought and sold, to abandon the farm means foregoing part of the family income without compensation. The need to retain rights in land also stems from the relative insecurity of life in town. The farm takes the place of social insurance against ill health and old age (Gugler, 1969, pp. 146f).

The links between the urban and rural areas are maintained through frequent visiting and through continuous transmission of money and goods between the urban and rural areas. Some of
the money sent back to the countryside is in preparation for
the migrant's eventual return, but most of it is in support of
relatives (Caldwell, op. cit., p. 215).

Amin and other researchers on migrations in the region
of West Africa point out that the amounts of money involved
are often so small and, for the most part, serve only to pay
taxes. Therefore, the question arises, under these conditions,
is migration of benefit to the migrant or to the state? When
substantial sums are remitted, as in the case of large number
of migrants going to Europe, this permits some amelioration
of standards of living of the families at home (e.g., pur-
chasess of food, roofs made from corrugated-iron sheets, house-
hold equipments) as shown in the case study among the Sarakolles
along the Senegal River by Mme. Dussauge. Here, Amin points
out that the money is acquired only at the price of the
transfer of the principal economic activity from a poor sub-
sistence agriculture to industrial work of high productivity
for which the migrants supply the lower and badly paid cate-
gories. On the other hand, in certain overseas movements it
is not the migrant who sends money to the country of origin;
it is the who receives it. This is true notably of students
who are supported by their parents (Amin, op. cit., p. 100).

In the cases of Togo, Ghana and Senegal, Dussauze and
Ahianyo have shown how the money remitted by migrants serves
to enhance their position in the traditional status system
of the village of origin: ostentatious expenses, rising
marriage costs, for example, thus reinforcing the traditional
structures (Dussauze, 1974; pp. 239-257; Ahiayiyo, 1974, pp. 156-169). This is neither because the Africans do not have the same conceptions about money as the Europeans, as some observers believe, nor because they are unrelenting traditionalists, but simply because there is no other alternative (Amin, op. cit., p. 103).

For most migrants to Oshogbo in south-western Nigeria the tie with the homeplace is manifested by periodic visits, as is the case of migrants to other African towns and cities previously referred to. In the case of Oshogbo, Adepoju notes that most town-dwellers do not become completely urban in their outlook. Frequent home revisits have served as channels of cultural diffusion, thereby preventing social change becoming isolated within the urban area. As pointed out in the case of migrants to towns in western, central and eastern areas of Africa, contact has also been maintained through a flow of wealth from the urban to rural areas (Adepoju, 1974, p. 135).

In south-western Nigeria, most urban in-migrants belong to improvement unions set up to promote self-help schemes such as building hospitals, roads, schools and providing electricity in their home villages and, thus, serve as development agencies. Adepoju reports that the feeling of village patriotism is strong among most migrants. The importance of voluntary associations has also been noted in African towns and cities. For example, Little observes that there are ways whereby an urban household is buttressed through voluntary organizations.
Such organizations, especially the regional type, he notes, have served widely and successfully as an adaptive mechanism when most of the migrants concerned move to towns as single individuals (Little, 1973, p. 195).

There are also non-economic reasons why urban residents retain close contact with their rural homes. Gugler notes that social attraction of the rural home is felt in all income groups. Presumably, the main reason is because the great majority of present-day urban dwellers are born and have been reared in rural communities (Gugler, op. cit., p. 148).

**Migration: Symptom of Social Change**

The process of migration has been described as a major symptom of basic social change (Jensen, 1970, p. 3). In Ghana, for example, it is noted that rural-urban migration plays an extremely important role in the diffusion of both social and economic change generated in the towns by their very nature and that brought in from outside (Caldwell, 1969, p. 206). Hodjkin also notes that it is in the new urban societies that the characteristic institutions and ideas of African nationalism are born and grow to maturity (Hodjkin, 1956, p. 18). Gutkind also observes that the primate cities are the major centres in which the restructuring of African society as a whole is taking place (Gutkind, 1962, p. 185). The demographic, economic, technological, political, social and cultural changes taking place have been referred to as modernization, a process whereby traditional institutions,
methods, and patterns of life are adapted to or replaced by new and more modern forms (Riddell, 1971, p. 72).

In sociological usage, urbanization implies a change of behaviour and values in individuals as a result of residing in urban areas. Little regards urbanization as a cultural and social psychological process by which people acquire elements of material and non-material culture, including behavioural patterns, forms of organization and ideas that originate in or are distinctive of the city (Little, 1971, p. 1).

The Consequences of Migration: Private and Social

Todaro has provided a useful approach in analyzing the consequences of rural-urban migration. Here, a distinction is made between the private, that is for the individual migrant and his or her immediate and/or extended family; and the social, that is the rural or urban region as a whole, consequences.

Private Consequences

As pointed out earlier, for the individual, rural-urban migration is likely to lead to an improved financial situation. If not, migration rates would be greatly reduced. In terms of an expected income maximization model (see page 100) rural-urban movements can remain economically very rational despite high and rising levels of urban unemployment. Todaro argues that individual migrants show little concern for the social consequences of rising urban unemployment when their private expected incomes in the urban job lottery continue to exceed
the financial prospects of rural life. However, he warns that caution must be exercised when interpreting survey data that reveal financial improvements for the average migrant (Todaro, op. cit., pp. 8-9).

Some economists have argued that since rural-urban migration pays for many individuals, it must also pay for society and migration, therefore, should be encouraged, not only on economic efficiency, but also on equity grounds. As Todaro notes, a major weakness with this argument is that it does not consider that in almost all developing countries urban actual wage rates are greatly in excess of urban opportunity wage rates and also in excess of urban labour productivity. On the other hand, average rural income (when non-monetary income is included) usually provides a good index of average rural productivity. Therefore, to conclude that migration is beneficial on the basis of higher reported private money incomes of migrants is to make the Western economist's mistake of assuming that urban wage levels are a reflection on urban productivity rather than the outcomes of various institutional (non-economic) forces that actually distort factor prices in economically undesirable ways (Todaro, op. cit.). Todaro admits that average migrants do improve their financial status (otherwise most would not move) but notes that this improvement in no way reflects the social productivity benefits of the inter-sectoral shift in economic activity canonized by the historians of economic growth in the Western World.
Social Consequences

What may appear privately desirable, may be socially very costly as the following social consequences of rural-urban migration may reveal:

1. The Reduction in Rural Food Output

This results from the loss of able-bodied and often better educated young men and women from the rural areas. For example, Skinner agrees that migration has affected the cultivation of some crops such as cotton (in Upper Volta) in part because their production does not fit in with the migration cycle, but he observes that it is more profitable to migrate than to grow cotton. He also indicates that returned migrants tend to give up farming since it provides no cash income as it does in Ghana and the Ivory Coast. He reports that dry-season non-agricultural activities, such as weaving, well-cleaning and hut-building are adversely affected, though the loss is offset by cloth brought back, government well-sinking projects and imported construction materials (Skinner, 1965, pp. 70-73). Van Velsen notes that the Tonga in northern Malawi have been able to adjust to an unusually heavy rate of migration because their staple diet is cassava, the cultivation of which does not require much labour and because subsistence cultivation is almost entirely in the hands of the women and does not seem to be adversely affected by the exodus of male labour (Van Velsen, 1960, p. 267). Deliver reports that among the Ngoni, the principal role of agriculture, the provision of the family food supply, is only slightly affected by the temporary absence
of the average migrant. Adjustments to the absence of migrants include the assumption of work by women and the use of community working parties (Gulliver, 1955, p. 33). In a study of the Wambwe in Zambia, Watson concludes that the disruption of the farming system is offset because men in a kinship group work out a system whereby work is shared while others are away (Watson, op. cit., pp. 281-297).

2. The Extra Investment Costs of Providing Urban as Opposed to Rural Sector Jobs for the Urban Unemployed

According to Todaro, since urban labour productivity is not equally as high a multiple of rural productivity, such investment implies a serious sectoral misallocation of scarce resources (Todaro, op. cit., p. 11). More evidence is required in support of such investment practices in Africa where per worker investment costs of job creation may be higher for urban as compared to rural jobs.

3. The Extra Costs of Providing Urban as Compared to Rural Social Services

These services include housing, transportation, schools, hospitals, sanitation facilities. As populations become more concentrated, the demand for these services may assume a political dimension that does not exist when such demands are scattered around the countryside. Pressure on governments to respond causes an added component to the resource misallocation problem. As Todaro rightly points out, the funds spent on expanded urban social services might have been better spent on rural industry, small farm credit, feeder roads, rural schools and health clinics (Todaro, op. cit., p. 12).

Responding to rising demands for more urban amenities as city populations grow may, as in the case of urban job creation,
aggravate the problem of urban social services delivery to the extent that additional rural-urban migration is thereby stimulated. The continuous influx of migrants from different cultural and economic backgrounds has led to problems in the towns and cities. In Freetown, Sierra Leone, for example, some of the problems faced are congestion in housing as well as in traffic, uncontrolled urban sprawl, unemployment, increasing separation of the individual from place of work and problems of readjustment to an individualistic society (Harvey, 1975, p. 472).

4. The Potential Increase in Rural Fertility

Most of the population literature on urban and rural fertility indicates that urban birth rates are relatively lower (with some exceptions in the Third World) than rural rates. Thus, urbanization is seen as a positive force for fertility reduction. It is not at all self-evident that the reverse might not be true; that is, excessive migration may raise rural fertility while having little or no effect on urban fertility. The reason Todaro gives is that as long as crowded rural villages can export their able-bodied labour to urban job markets and anticipate urban-rural cash remittances when a modern sector job is found, the social and economic pressures of reducing fertility in the region of outmigration will be that much less (Todaro, op. cit., p. 13).

In fact, families may decide that household income can be maximized by exporting labour to earn urban income while replacing the migrating child with another child. Todaro
argues convincingly that if income is generated directly in the rural area as a result, say, of expanded female non-farm employment opportunities or more time-intensive, non-seasonal (e.g., multiple crop) cultivation of new cash crop varieties, there may be a gradual decline in rural fertility as the costs of child-raising increase and the consumption choice set of the family broadens.

With reference to the social costs of migration in excess of job opportunities, the empirical evidence is extremely few and is, therefore, an important area for intensive social science research.

**Urbanization: An Overview**

Here, it is necessary to briefly discuss the process of urbanization because urban growth is a consequence of natural increase, reclassification of urban areas and rural-urban migration. Urbanization is herein defined as an overall process of changes such as demographic, economic, social, cultural, political and technological that take place as an increasingly high proportion of a country's population becomes urbanized (Epstein, 1967, pp. 275-284).

Before presenting the data on past trends and future prospects for urbanization in developing countries with particular reference to Africa, it is important to point out some of the difficulties encountered when attempting to provide comparative data. The major problem in cross-national comparisons of urbanization is that of definition of urban growth which varies from country to country. Consistent criteria for
separating rural from urban areas also do not exist. For example, in Nigeria, the 1963 census classified any locality with a population of 20,000, if the major occupation of the people was not in agriculture. In Ghana, according to the 1960 census, a locality with a population of 5,000 and over was classified as urban. In Tanzania, localities with a population of 2,000 and 5,000 were classified as urban. In Kenya, an urban locality is defined as a place with 2,000 and more persons. In Sierra Leone, there is no official definition of urban status, but analysis based on the 1963 census have used the size limits of 1,000 and 5,000 for an urban area (Ominde and Ejiogu, pp. 25, 154; Blacker, 1972; Clarke, 1968, p. 274).

As Todaro points out, most data classify population as either rural or metropolitan, neglecting important analytical and planning distinctions between regional centres and villages. To the extent, for example, that market towns are classified as rural because they are located in rural regions, the data on urbanization may have a substantial downward bias (Todaro, 1979, p. 3). An additional problem arises when the definition of an urban locality has changed between two censuses within a country. This problem is resolved by revising the earlier urban figure to make it compatible with the newer definition. The third problem is the unreliability of data which can arise from techniques of census enumeration and calculations based on sample surveys and estimates.

The data (from the United Nations population division)
are presented here entirely on the basis of each country's definition of urban and rural, in the belief that any attempt to standardize the definitions in the interests of comparability would be futile (Todaro, op. cit.)

**Urban Growth: Current and Projected**

Table 3 on page 121 details the estimated and projected urban population of the world by major regions (Africa) by developed and developing regions and for selected countries. Here, attention is directed specifically to Africa. In 1950, over 60 percent of the world's population lived in developed regions; between 1950-1975, the urban population of the developed regions increased from 449 million to 767 million. In developing countries, it increased from 275 million to 794 million, with Africa growing from 32 to 103 million. In percentage terms, this translates into 71 percent increase in developed regions and a 189 percent increase in developing regions, with 222 percent in Africa. In the last quarter of this century, it is projected that the urban population in developed regions will increase by 325 million (42%) while developing regions will expand by 1,322 million (166%) comprising a growth in Africa of 242 million (236%).

**Percentage Urban and Sources of Growth**

Table 4 on page 122 presents the percentage urban by major regions and for selected countries. As of 1975, 39.3 percent of the world population lived in urban areas; 67.5% of those living in developed regions and 28.0 of those living in developing regions were urban dwellers. In 1975, Africa
Table 3
Size of Urban Population in Major World Regions and Selected Countries, 1950-2000
(in thousands)

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<tr>
<td>WORLD TOTAL</td>
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<td>1560860</td>
<td>1806809</td>
<td>2422293</td>
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<td>702876</td>
<td>767302</td>
<td>834401</td>
<td>969226</td>
<td>1092470</td>
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<tr>
<td>Developing Regions</td>
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<td>439354</td>
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<td>793558</td>
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<td>2115556</td>
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<tr>
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<td>31816</td>
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<td>132951</td>
<td>219202</td>
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<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>3287</td>
<td>6529</td>
<td>9024</td>
<td>12065</td>
<td>19714</td>
<td>28021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>6532</td>
<td>9818</td>
<td>14080</td>
<td>16346</td>
<td>19119</td>
<td>26604</td>
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<tr>
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<td>761</td>
<td>1284</td>
<td>2315</td>
<td>3273</td>
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<td>8555</td>
<td>15140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>1575</td>
<td>2511</td>
<td>3193</td>
<td>4104</td>
<td>6830</td>
<td>10843</td>
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<tr>
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<td>336</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>1145</td>
<td>1592</td>
<td>2223</td>
<td>4314</td>
<td>8125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2345</td>
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<td>5236</td>
<td>6551</td>
<td>8265</td>
<td>13126</td>
<td>19704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5642</td>
<td>9009</td>
<td>11449</td>
<td>14811</td>
<td>25665</td>
<td>45041</td>
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<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
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<td>704</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>1070</td>
<td>1265</td>
<td>1896</td>
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<tr>
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<td>11934</td>
<td>14154</td>
<td>20417</td>
<td>30109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>1212</td>
<td>2571</td>
<td>3722</td>
<td>5305</td>
<td>10014</td>
<td>16551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>1704</td>
<td>2235</td>
<td>3802</td>
<td>6260</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4

Percent of Population Living in Urban Areas in Major World Regions and Selected Countries, 1950-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WORLD TOTAL</td>
<td>28.95</td>
<td>33.89</td>
<td>37.51</td>
<td>39.34</td>
<td>41.31</td>
<td>45.88</td>
<td>51.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developed Regions</td>
<td>52.54</td>
<td>58.73</td>
<td>64.68</td>
<td>67.49</td>
<td>70.15</td>
<td>74.87</td>
<td>78.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing Regions</td>
<td>16.71</td>
<td>21.85</td>
<td>25.82</td>
<td>28.03</td>
<td>30.53</td>
<td>36.46</td>
<td>43.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>76.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>60.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: United Nations (Population Division) Patterns of Urban and Rural Growth, 1980, Table 2.1; 2.5 (forthcoming)

### Table 5

Average Annual Growth Rates of Urban Areas in Major World Regions, 1950-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WORLD TOTAL</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>2.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developed Regions</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>1.68</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing Regions</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>3.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>4.97</td>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>4.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>3.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>3.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UN Op. Cit., Table 2.2
had the lowest proportion urban, 25.7 percent.

Between the years 1975 and 2,000 the proportion urban is expected to increase by 11 percent in developed regions and 15 percent in developing regions. By contrast, in the period 1950-1975, the increase in proportion urban was 15 percent in developed regions and 11 percent in developing regions. By the year 2,000 the urban percentage of Africa projected is 42.5%.

Table 5 on page 122 shows annual rates of population increase in urban areas by major world regions. The growth rate of the urban population in developed regions has declined since 1950 and this trend is expected to continue. According to United Nations estimates and projections, Africa's urban growth rate reached a peak in 1975-1980 (5.1%) which is the highest rate experienced or projected for any region in the 50 years between 1950 and 2,000. Africa's urban growth rate, although projected to taper off after 1980, will still be higher than that of either Latin America or Asia. In 2,000 Africa's growth rate (4.56%) is expected to be almost four times higher than the urban growth of developed regions (1.2%). It should be remembered that all of the above figures are United Nations projections based on recent trends and like all demographic projections that do not take into account anticipated or planned structural changes in national economies, these figures are highly sensitive to error (Todaro, op. cit., p. 9).
Attempts have been made to prove that urban growth in developing countries (Africa included) is mainly attributable to higher rates of urban natural increase and that rural-urban migration may be less important than was previously thought (Preston, 1979, pp. 198-199). For example, the data on Table 6 on page 125 show that the mean percentage of growth attributable to the combined effects of migration and reclassification in Africa is 39.9 percent. It should be pointed out that the mean for Africa is heavily biased by a sample of only three countries which includes the Union of South Africa.

The difficulty in concluding from the data in Table 6 that natural increase is more important than rural-urban migration as a source of rapid urban population growth is that this interpretation fails to recognize that the age selectivity of migrants (young males and females between the ages of 15-24) is such that the recorded high natural increase is, in fact, largely a direct result of the locational choice and high fertility of migrants. Todaro notes that children born to recent migrants are recorded as part of the natural increase. Yet, it is obvious that in the absence of very high rates of internal migration among the young, recorded rates of natural increase in urban areas would be much lower. Thus, the data are misleading and researchers are still left with the conclusion that the unprecedented volume and rate of internal rural-urban migration is the principal factor contributing to the long-term growth of urban areas in developing regions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Intercensal period</th>
<th>Annual estimated intercensal urban population growth rate</th>
<th>Estimated annual rate of urban growth from migration and reclassification</th>
<th>Estimated percentage of growth attributable to migration and reclassification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Developed countries, Mean (N=20)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.02473</td>
<td>.00975</td>
<td>.01498 &lt; 58.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing countries, Mean (N=29)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.04324</td>
<td>.02533</td>
<td>.01792 39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa, Mean (N=3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>60-70</td>
<td>.04685</td>
<td>.02697</td>
<td>.01988 42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>69-70</td>
<td>.04100</td>
<td>.02581</td>
<td>.01519 37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of South Africa</td>
<td>60-70</td>
<td>.03423</td>
<td>.02548</td>
<td>.00875 25.6</td>
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</table>

Source: U.N. op. cit., Table 3.2
Table 7
Rates of Urban and Rural Unemployment
(percentage of the active population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Town(s)</th>
<th>Urban Unemployment</th>
<th>Rural Unemployment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Urban Areas</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Urban Areas</td>
<td>13.0a/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Capital City</td>
<td>18.7a/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Large Towns</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2 Large Cities</td>
<td>9.0a/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Capital City</td>
<td>15.0a/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>Capital City</td>
<td>10.0a/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>2nd Largest City</td>
<td>14.0a/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Urban Areas</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Urban Areas</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Capital City</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.R. Cameroon</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Largest City</td>
<td>13.0a/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Capital City</td>
<td>17.0a/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.R. Tanzania</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Urban Areas</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>7 Towns</td>
<td>5.0a/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaire</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Capital City</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

including Africa (Todaro, op. cit., p. 11).

As already pointed out, one of the major consequences of rapid urbanization experienced by countries in Africa is the increasing supply of urban job seekers. In many countries, the supply of workers far exceeds the demand, the result being extremely high rates of unemployment in urban areas. Table 7 on page 126 summarizes data on urban and rural unemployment for selected countries in Africa. Todaro confirms that although the quality of censuses and surveys varies, the definition of unemployment is fairly uniform. Here, an unemployed person is defined as anyone above a specific age who is without a job and seeking work for pay (Todaro, op. cit.). Since many may have given up trying to find a regular job, the data in Table 7 may understate the magnitude of the problem. Nevertheless, the data indicate that the selected countries have very high rates of urban unemployment. Four of the countries had rates above 15.0 percent, while eleven had rates in excess of 10.00 percent. Recorded rates of rural unemployment for Morocco and Tanzania indicated the urban unemployment rates were twice as high as the rural rates. It should be realized that when researchers take into account the substantial numbers of the urban labour force who are underemployed in part-time service activities, then the overall figure for urban surplus labour well exceeds 30 percent in many developing countries (Berry and Sabot, 1978, pp. 1199-1242).
Summary

This chapter has explored the causes and effects of rural-urban migration. Movements from the rural areas to towns and cities in Africa are mainly caused by push from the rural areas. The push includes factors such as poverty, static resources, overpopulation, political instability, insecurity, and escape from traditional norms, values and obligations. The pull factors in the towns are economic and educational opportunities, health and other social amenities. The two most important factors which influence an individual's decision to migrate are education and having a relative in town.

In terms of the expected income maximization model, rural-urban migration can remain economically very rational despite high and rising levels of urban unemployment. Here, the argument is that individual migrants show little concern for social consequences of rising urban unemployment when their expected incomes in the urban job lottery continue to exceed their financial prospects of rural life.

The importance of urban-rural ties has been noted in all parts of Africa. Contacts are maintained through a flow of money and goods from the urban to rural areas and frequent home revisits serve as channels of cultural diffusion.
CHAPTER SIX

Theory, Methodology and Conceptualization

An Overview

The dichotomy between theory and research in conventional sociology has been examined by some researchers in the field of sociology. Phillipson, for example, suggests that the orientation to sociological analysis adopted in phenomenological sociology transcends this dichotomy. He argues that the split in conventional sociology has its origin in and is reinforced by misguided attempts to apply natural scientific modes of investigation to the social world, the result of which has been a failure of sociology to come to terms with the problem of meaning. A basic premise of phenomenological sociology is that the inseparability of theory and research is ensured by treating methodology, not as the manipulation of a set of given research techniques, as in the case of conventional sociology, but as the processes by which a sociologist generates an abstract view of a situation (Phillipson, 1972, p. 79). The processes of observation, selection, interpretation and abstraction constitute the sociologist’s methods of constructing theory. Methodology, therefore, includes all the processes by which a theory is constructed.

Another basic premise of phenomenological sociology, based on Schutz’s discussion of concept and theory formation, is that there should be direct and demonstrable continuity between sociological concepts and the linguistic typifications
human beings use to index their social experiences (Schutz, 1967, pp. 34ff).

The methodological device recommended by Bruyn (1966) for providing sociological description which comes to terms more adequately with the realities of the social world is participant observation. Here, Cicourel notes that Bruyn's discussion serves to reinforce the dichotomy between subjectivism and objectivism in sociology while failing to raise the issue of the reliance of the participant observer and his/her subjects of study on a tacit common-sense reasoning (Cicourel, 1964, p. 2ff).

With regard to quantification and measurement, a general problem raised by Cicourel is the relevance of measurement techniques to the phenomena being studied. His central thesis is that present measurement devices are not valid because they represent the imposition of numerical procedures that are external both to the external social world empirically described by sociologists and to the conceptualizations based upon these descriptions. He prefers to leave the problem of measurement an open question and starts off from the assumption that it is possible to establish equivalence classes at the conceptual level which correspond to correlates of an observed environment (ibid, pp. 2-4).

As operationalization is the means by which a concept is linked to phenomena in the social world, the process cannot be viewed as something independent of theorizing or conceptualizing; it is itself a conventionally unrecognized part
of the conceptualization process (Phillipson, op. cit., p. 110). By emphasizing the empirical character of sociology, Phillipson notes that phenomenological sociology rests on the fundamental assumption that qualitative changes in a person's comprehension of the social world can only come through an empirical investigation of that world.

Merton's (1957) approach is between the extreme approaches of sociological theory and research. In his presentation of a structural functional paradigm for sociological analysis, he urges sociologists to relate theory to research and vice versa. Phillipson notes that at one extreme are those approaches to theory construction in which methodology, research processes and empirical studies are ignored because the authors' main interests seem to be the construction of enclosed and internally consistent theoretical abstractions, for example, Parsons (1951) and Berger and Luckmann (1966). At the other extreme are the conventional research methods which urge students to utilize theory in research activities, but ignore the complexities of the ties between theorizing, research and social realities; for example, Blalock (1968) and Goode, Hart, (1952) (Phillipson, op. cit., p. 86).

In the following pages, a verbal analysis is provided of a conceptual sociological framework for the analysis of the rural-urban migration process in an African context. A heuristic method is proposed and attempts to bridge the gap between theory and methodology. The proposed analysis is also multivariate rather than univariate or one-dimensional.
Definition of Concepts

**Rural and Urban Areas**

It has been pointed out in Chapter five that the definition of rural and urban creates a problem because there are no universals, as each country usually defines a locality that is rural or urban according to its own criteria. Additional problem can also arise when the definition of rural and urban localities changes between two censuses within a country. This problem can be resolved by revising the previous rural and urban figures to make it compatible with the new definition.

The proposed model does not attempt to provide a universal definition of a rural and urban area. Here, the suggestion is that any study of rural-urban migration in an Africa context is to be based on census enumeration areas as defined in the locality where the study is to be conducted. The following criteria can also be considered in definition of rural and urban areas:

(i) size of area and the number of inhabitants, including population density;

(ii) pattern of settlement: the percent of people in agricultural and non-agricultural occupations;

(iii) type of local government and administrative boundaries (Hauser, 1966, p. 9).

**Migration**

Permanent moves are herein referred to as migration and, in this case, the permanent movement of migrants from rural
to urban areas. Operationally, migration may be defined as
a recorded move where respondents are enumerated at places
that are different from where they were at some time in the
past (Masser and Gould, 1974, p. 3).

Urbanization

As a dynamic, rather than a static process, urbanization
is herein defined as an overall process of changes such as
demographic, economic, political, social, cultural and tech-
nological that take place as an increasingly high proportion
of a country’s population becomes urban residents (Epstein,
1967, pp. 275-284). A virtue of this definition is that it
provides a link between the processes of migration and urbani-
ization and, therefore, lends itself to operational measurement
as it refers to the proportion of the country’s total popu-
lation concentrated in urban areas. Here, it is significant
to note that migration is not the only factor of urban popu-
lation growth. In addition to migration is the factor of
natural increase which, in simple terms, is the growth of a
population as a result of the difference between the number
of births and deaths.

Urbanism and the Urbanized Individual

The proposed model takes into consideration, as Epstein
and other researchers have suggested, the distinction between
urbanization as herein defined and urbanism which refers to
the way of life in town in which individuals can be more or
less involved and to which they have varying degrees of
commitment. Thus, Mayer describes the urbanized individual as one who is both committed to and involved in the urban way of life (Mayer, 1971, pp. 4-6ff).

**Industrialization**

The proposed model does not assume that the process of urbanization in Africa is a direct result of industrialization. In the study of contemporary migration in Africa, it is useful to find out whether the process of urbanization taking place is with or without industrialization defined as the process of technological development by the use of applied science, characterized by the expansion of large-scale production with the use of power machinery, for a wide market for both producer's and consumer's goods, by means of a specialized working force with division of labour, the whole accompanied by accelerated urbanization (Fairchild, 1970, p. 155).

**Modernization**

Changes associated with the processes of migration and urbanization have been referred to as modernization, herein defined as the process whereby traditional institutions and patterns of life are adapted to or replaced by new and more modern forms (Riddell, 1971, p. 72). Micro and macro factors such as imported technology, transport and communications network, business and industry, employment, educational and medical facilities can be utilized as indices of modernization.
Figure 4

Multivariate Model of Rural-Urban Migration Process

Rural Areas: Push Factors

Demographic Characteristics Static Resources Political Instability Inadequate Social, Educational, Health, Facilities

PRE MIGRATION CHARACTERISTICS/CONDITIONS

MIGRATION

URBANISM

URBANIZATION

URBANIZED INDIVIDUAL

SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS IN URBAN AREAS: PULL FACTORS

Demographic Characteristics Social, Cultural, Relative in Town Industrialization - Economic Factors

A Verbal Analysis of the Model

The pre-migration characteristics account for the influx of migrants from the rural to urban areas. The push factors likely to influence an individual's decision to migrate are static resources, political instability and inadequate social, educational and health facilities in the rural source areas. Simultaneously, the pull factors in the urban areas are social, cultural and economic factors such as the attraction of voluntary associations, ethnic and language groups, high wages, better social, educational and health facilities.
The existence of relative in town can also act as a major pull factor in attracting rural migrants. The degree of industrialization and modernization of urban centres is also likely to attract rural migrants. In both the rural and urban areas the demographic characteristics include age, sex, family size, rates of fertility and mortality and life expectancy of the migrants; and also the size of rural and urban areas.

In the model, the process of urbanization is treated as an effect of the migration process. As shown, the process of urbanization can produce, not only urbanism as a way of life, but also an urbanized individual.

Here, it is significant to point out that the proposed model is basically a conceptual scheme that provides the basis for categorizing information and for building descriptive models of the process of rural-urban migration that is to be investigated. A conceptual scheme permits researchers to conceive of the elements of the migration process about which theory may be developed.

An Integrated Methodology for the Study of Rural-Urban Migration

Multi-Disciplinary Approach

It is herein proposed that a fuller understanding of the migration process can be achieved through the integration of disciplines such as urban geography, economics, social anthropology, social psychology and sociology.
Longitudinal Studies on a Sample Basis

Although longitudinal studies are extremely time consuming and expensive, nevertheless, they are valuable and can yield significant results necessary for long-range planning and policies. There is a danger that the behaviour of the respondent may be changed by the effect of the research instrument or frequent interviewing on the issues concerned. There is also the problem of tracing migrants after a number of years and, as such, there can be a loss of respondents from the original sample. Thus, it is necessary to conduct longitudinal studies within a reasonable time limit, for example, between three - five years.

The Use of Multilingual Interviewers

Due to the ethnic and language diversity in Africa, the use of multilingual interviewers is likely to achieve a higher response rate to the study as a whole and to specific questions, as well as ensure that questions are fully understood by the respondents, than in the case of self administered questionnaire. Multilingual interviewers can also cater to the needs of illiterate respondents who cannot read or write English or French, the official languages of most countries in Africa.

The use of a tape recorder is a valuable research tool the interviewers can utilize to collect data and record responses of the respondents.
Rural and Urban Collection Data

Exclusive emphasis on the study of migration in rural or in urban areas alone does not give an overall understanding of the process. Thus, it is necessary to collect data in both rural and urban areas and, as such, comparisons can be made between rural and urban socio-economic variables and attitudinal characteristics. Collection of data in both rural and urban areas also makes it possible to compare the expectations of potential migrants in rural areas to the reality of actual migrants in the urban areas. Here, urban-rural ties can also be investigated.

Tracing of Migrants

In order to compare rural and urban data, it is useful to trace migrants from specific rural areas into urban areas. By focusing on migrants from defined areas, such as census enumeration areas, the variance of variables describing the rural and urban environment, such as type of occupation, incomes, size, distance, ethnic group, can be reduced.

Coverage of Urban Migration Streams

Tracing migrants from specific rural into urban areas also makes it possible to focus on specific migration streams such as: 1. migrants in the labour force, males as well as females; 2. adult migrants not in the labour force, such as housewives and students, mainly colleges and universities. The inclusion of these migration streams in an empirical study of migration takes into account the various decisions and motives involved and attempts to produce a more comprehensive
analysis of the migration process than is provided by studies which focus only on male migrants.

**Phases of Migration**

A proposed longitudinal study within a three to five year period can be conducted in phases as follows:

**Phase One**

This is to begin in a defined rural area (e.g., census enumeration areas) where households are randomly selected within each area to obtain a sample size that adequately represents the population of the area. The data to be obtained from the selected households is to include demographic characteristics such as age, sex, income, occupation and education and family size. Data is also to be obtained on the reasons for leaving the rural areas for the towns, urban-rural ties, names and addresses of relatives who have left the rural households to go to the urban areas where migrants are likely to visit or stay.

**Phase Two**

After phase one, the next step is to trace, as well as maintain, contacts with migrants who have left for the urban areas after the start of phase one. Data obtained in phase two can be used to make a comparison between the expectations of the potential migrants in the rural areas in phase one to the reality of actual migrants in the urban areas in phase two. Thus, information is to be obtained on reasons for leaving the rural areas, migration history, employment, initial support in town, expectations, remittances and
plans to return home. Attention is also to be directed to socio-cultural factors, participation in formal and informal organizations and migrant adaptation in the urban areas. The demographic data is to include: age, sex, income, occupation, family size, fertility and mortality.

A setback likely to occur in phase two is difficulty in locating migrants who have been interviewed and have moved since phase one. Thus, urban social networks and voluntary organizations are channels that can be utilized to trace migrants. It is likely that the location of a few migrants from a given rural area are in contact with other migrants from the same area.

**Phase Three**

The final phase of the study is to return to the same rural areas in phase one to interview the following groups of people:

(i) Households: Source Areas

Here, attention is to be directed to heads of households from which migrants have left for urban areas. The purpose of the interview is to supplement the interviews of migrants in the urban areas in phase two. This is important because the heads of households are likely to play a major role in the decision of a household member to migrate. Thus, they may be in a position to supply useful information regarding the motives and reasons for sending or encouraging an individual to migrate.
(ii) Return Migrants

In this research review the importance of urban-rural ties has been noted in all parts of Africa. The urban-rural ties has been maintained for economic as well as non-economic reasons. Here, it is necessary to interview return migrants to determine the reasons and consequences of return migration. Insights can also be provided into the cost-benefit analysis and the decision to migration especially in situations of rising urban unemployment and urban poverty.

(iii) Non-Migrants

In order to understand why some individuals do not migrate, it is necessary to interview non-migrants in the rural areas. The non-migrants can be classified into (a) those not intending to migrate, and (b) those intending to migrate. Here, attention is to be directed to social-psychological factors such as non-migrants' perceptions of urban areas, their social and economic status in rural areas and non-migrants' obligations and expectations based on traditional norms and values.

Testing of Hypotheses

The methodology herein proposed can be utilized to test the following hypotheses which have been developed out of the findings of this research-review.

(i) Rural-urban migration is a cause of urbanization as herein defined. Rural-urban migration, an independent variable, acts on urbanization, a dependent variable.

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION (I.V.) \rightarrow URBANIZATION (D.V.)
(ii) Urbanism is an effect of the process of urbanization. Here, urbanism is treated as a dependent variable affected by urbanization, an independent variable.

\[ \text{URBANIZATION (I.V.)} \rightarrow \text{URBANISM (D.V.)} \]

(iii) Micro and macro factors such as foreign technology, ideas, values, educational and medical facilities influence the processes of urbanization and urbanism. The micro-macro factors act as independent variables on urbanization, another independent variable which then acts on urbanism, a dependent variable.

\[ \text{MICRO AND MACRO FACTORS (I.V.)} \rightarrow \text{URBANIZATION (I.V.)} \rightarrow \text{URBANISM (D.V.)} \]

**Proposal for Consideration**

As already pointed out, a point of divergence between the African experience of urbanization and the Western experience is that towns and cities in Africa have emerged not directly as a result of the industrial revolution as is the case in the Western world, for example in Europe and North America. However, in the post independence years, many African countries have attempted industrialization in areas of economic development. Thus, it is useful in a study of migration to determine whether the effect of urbanization is with or without industrialization as herein defined.
Summary, Implications and Recommendations

The Search for a Conceptual Framework

This research-review in search of a theory and method for the study of rural-urban migration in Africa, south of the Sahara, has provided an examination of the rural-urban migration process, the causes and effects of rural-urban migration, an evaluation of the push-pull hypothesis and an overview of the process of urbanization. The analysis has yielded some important findings concerning the process of rural-urban migration in the selected areas of investigation.

With regard to necessity for a suitable conceptual framework for the study of rural-urban migration in Africa, modification has been suggested in three major areas which are not mutually exclusive, but tend to be interrelated at several levels. These areas of theory and method are:

(i) the nature and usefulness of rural-urban distinctions;
(ii) varieties of group and intra-group response to urbanization;
(iii) and the role of micro- versus macro- factors in explaining urbanization patterns (Nolan, 1979, p. 1).

Rural-Urban Distinctions

As pointed out in Chapter three, many of the significant modifications of theory and method have involved changes in the original rural-urban dichotomies proposed by Wirth and based on Western urban models and experience. Wirth's binary opposites, intended to differentiate town from country, include
such factors as a movement from primary to secondary group ties, the replacement of traditional thought with rational thought, homogeneity by heterogeneity (Wirth, 1938, pp. 1-24). Anthropologists and sociologists working in the West and in non-Western societies used the concept of rural-urban dichotomy and eventually changed it to rural-urban continuum. Hauser, in particular, has argued that the large city (in Asia) unlike its Western counterpart, is in large measure an agglomeration of folk societies and is thus inconsistent with prevalent Western dichotomizations of folk and urban society (Hauser, 1965, pp. 20-21; in Bruner, 1961, p. 513).

Discussing the rural-urban conceptualization, Gutkind notes that not only do these contrasting typologies make it difficult to understand the relationship between rural and urban life, but what is more detrimental is that the abstractions oversimplify the exact nature of the entity they purport to characterize with precision. The city, its structure and the way of life it generates must be analyzed on its own; yet, its organizational form reflects how and why it is linked to the rural areas, its central place in a regional context and its place in the nation as a whole (Gutkind, 1974, p. 46).

Mitchell, (1966) recognizes that town and village are not really separate, but part of the same social field. As already discussed in Chapter three, Mabogunje (1970) has proposed the use of systems approach which examines town and village as mutually interacting parts of the same social
field. This approach appears to hold great promise as an integrated approach for the study of rural-urban migration.

Varieties of Urban Response

This second area of modification that is linked to the first concerns what happens to people who become city dwellers. Berry notes that most of the studies on African cities report that rapid migration has not produced the alienation, anomie, psychological maladjustments and other symptoms of disorganization held in the Wirthian model to be the hallmarks of rapid urbanization (Berry, 1973, p. 83). Pointing out the difficulties in conceptualizing ruralism (or tribalism) and urbanism as mutually exclusive options, Du Toit states that there is a need to postulate a hypothetical continuum among the urban African population: at one pole, those oriented and tied to the tribal area, and at the opposite pole, those completely committed to urban life (Du Toit, 1968, p. 64).

Epstein has challenged the conventional assumption that towns always act as agents of social transformation and that such change is always in the same direction (Epstein, 1967, pp. 275-284). Variations have been observed, for example, in motivations for patterns of cityward migration, as Hutton (1970) points out, although such migrations are usually generated by economic factors. Little (1974) notes that the evidence obtained on groups such as the Hausa, Fulani, Zabrama and Red Xhosa in town, indicates clearly the differing styles of adaptation, ethnicity and patterns of relations
with other town groups that exist among people who can be said to be in the town but not necessarily out of it. Cohen (1969) provides a detailed account of how the Hausa manage ethnic identity in a Nigerian town.

**Micro- and Macro-Level Factors**

This is the third area of theory and method that requires modification. Here is the problem of the role of local (micro) factors against the role of external (macro) factors in providing an explanation of the behaviour of urban migrants. Many researchers, especially anthropologists, have tended to assume that the main determinants of observed behaviour are group-specific cultural factors and, therefore, tend to focus their explanations on the analysis of group culture and structure. This approach in migration studies has been criticized because of the use of straight ethnographies (Abu-Lughod, 1975, p. 201). It has been recognized that larger, external factors such as economic or political policies are also important. Mitchell makes a distinction between the context in which social actions take place and the social actions themselves, but notes that in reality the framework and the individual action are indivisible (Mitchell, 1975, p. 94).

Leeds criticizes anthropologists for ignoring external variables when doing urban anthropology and instead preferring to see tribes and city groupings as autonomous units. He points out that external variables relevant to the city as a whole have direct and indirect institutional effects on the internal characteristics of the unit of study which cannot
be understood at all without reference to these variables (Leeds, 1968, p. 34). In its extreme form, a concern with external variables becomes a determinist position which argues that local groups have little or no control over either their situation or their responses to that situation. Commenting on the determinist position of Amin in his analysis of labour migration in West Africa, Parkin notes that the problem is essentially that of how much analytical emphasis should be placed on the individual migrant as being free to decide between alternative courses of action and on how much on the wider political, economic and ecological factors directing and constraining migratory flows of particular groups (Parkin, 1975, p. 9). Amin firmly argues that the decision of the migrant to leave his region of origin then is completely determined by the overall strategy determining the allocation of resources; that is, the overall strategy of development for a country or region. Stated or inferred motivations for choices made by migrants, though highly variable, are seen as rationalizations of a situation basically determined by factors beyond the migrant's control (Amin, 1974, pp. 88-89). Hart (1975) argues that the predicted proletarianization of these migrants do not occur in many cases due to local factors.

With regard to differences in urban patterns present in Africa, the difference appears to depend to some extent on local factors at the micro-level. For example, Mitchell (1958) has analyzed the responses of the Bemba, Mambwe and
Tonga peoples in east-central Africa and have shown that the
effects of migration on the home village are different for
each group mainly as a function of different socio-economic
structures in each group.

**Rural-Urban Migration: An Overview**

This research-review has revealed that migration in
Africa is not a new phenomenon. What is new, however, is
the high rate of rural-urban migration. Yet, relatively
very little research has been done on this aspect of mi-
gration process. Caldwell (1969) points out the relative
paucity of studies on rural-urban migration.

African migration studies can be classified into six
broad categories:

(i) studies that describe the historical movements of
people from one region to another;

(ii) those concerned with labour movements, mainly seasonal
migrations;

(iii) studies dealing with theories and methodologies of
African rural-urban migration;

(iv) recent studies by economists which emphasize rural-
urban income gaps;

(v) those investigations that deal strictly with movements
from rural to urban areas and the concomitant socio-
economic problems;

(vi) housing related studies (Ebong, 1979, p. 62).

Here, the focus has been on studies that deal with popu-
lation movements from rural to urban areas and the concomitant
socioeconomic problems. In this regard, most of the studies that have been cited focus on the selective nature of rural-urban migration with respect to education and age of migrants and the resultant burden on the rural as well as the urban centres. Knowledge of present rural-urban migrant characteristics is dominated by Caldwell's (1969) migration survey in Ghana. The findings show that the average migrant is young, the highest propensity to migrate falling between 15-19 year age category.

According to Byerlee (1974, 1976) the selective nature of migration with respect to education indicates that migration involves not only a transfer of labour but also a considerable transfer of capital from rural areas as education is considered as investment by rural people. With reference to their comprehensive survey of migration in Sierra Leone, Byerlee and Associates report that the major rural-urban migration streams are to the diamond mining areas of Kono and to the capital city of Freetown. The young and educated are dominant in rural-urban migration. However, the authors note that there are marked regional differences in Sierra Leone with most educated migrants originating in the northern regions. Significantly, also, educated migrants originate in higher income households and uneducated migrants originate in low income households regardless of region. It is also reported that education plays a major role in migration behaviour. Because the rural-urban income differential is larger for educated migrants their migration is relatively
unresponsive to rural incomes. At the same time, they are highly responsive to changes in urban wages (Eyerlee, et al., p. 97).

Sabot (1972, 1976) has provided a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between education and rural-urban migration. In a study of migration, education and urban labour surplus, the evidence strongly suggests that economic factors play a significant role in the pattern of education selectivity. The more formal education a rural resident has received, the greater is his propensity to migrate. Also, the more education a rural resident has the greater are the private returns to migration. There is a strong relationship (positive) between educational level and the level of wages paid by urban employers (Earnum and Sabot, 1976, p. 77). But difference in the rural-urban income differential alone is inadequate to explain the trend over time in the differential propensity to migrate among rural educational sub-groups. Urban wage trends and rural income act together with the probability of finding an urban job to explain why the uneducated have not kept up with the educated in their rate of rural-urban migration.

Commenting on the effects of rural-urban migration on source and destination areas, Imoagene (1975) remarks that the huge exodus of the most productive age groups from the rural hinterland of the towns in Nigeria cause further disorganization and poverty which, in turn, constitutes push factors from rural to urban areas. In his studies of population movements to the main urban areas of Kenya, Ominde
(1965, 1968, 1975) concludes that because the age group 20-45 forms an important proportion of the rural population, their absence in the source regions constitutes a burden to those left behind.

**Push-Pull Hypothesis**

The rural exodus has been accounted for by push factors in the rural areas. These factors include static resources, overpopulation, political instability and insecurity. The pull factors include the educational and economic opportunities that the towns have to offer. A problem with the push-pull hypothesis is the distinction between push and pull factors. If, for example, an individual leaves his rural home and goes for education to a town, then absence of schooling at home provides the push, but simultaneously, the existence of schooling in town is the pull. As Caldwell notes, both rural and urban areas exert pushes and pulls, usually at the same time. Although economic motives are dominant in encouraging migration of some individuals to town, they share place with non-economic motives in deciding that others should remain in the village (Hauser, 1966, pp. 37ff; Caldwell, 1969, p. 214).

**Rural-Urban Income Differential**

Berg's idea of migration as effective adaptation to the economies of West Africa has been criticized. Amin, in particular, argues that a comparative cost-benefit analysis of rural-urban migration, conducted at the micro-level of the migrant, has no significance, but only gives the appearance
of objective rationality to a choice (that of the migrant) which, in reality, does not exist because, in the given system, he has no alternatives. He points out that the analysis reduces the push-pull effects to their bare manifestations: the income which is obtained at the place of emigration and that of immigration. He suggests that when the migrant is driven from his village by private appropriation of his land, his income is zero. Thus, he concludes that the analogy is nothing but a pretentious tautology (Amin, 1974, p. 100).

Todaro’s economic model of rural-urban migration incorporates variables that closely relate to the elements involved in individual decision-making, but considerable difficulties have been experienced in defining expected incomes in quantitative terms for testing purposes. Godfrey (1973) has also raised several objections to the model on theoretical grounds as a result of his research in Ghana. He points out that non-economic factors such as education are not taken into consideration in this model and does not agree with Todaro’s conclusion that education need not be specified as a separate variable. He suggests an explanation based on changes over time with different factors affecting the initial move into an urban area, the return move to the rural area and the timing and duration of subsequent moves into urban areas (Godfrey, 1973, pp. 66-78).

**Urban-Rural Ties**

The importance of urban-rural ties has been noted in all parts of Africa. Contacts are maintained through a flow of
goods and money from the urban to rural areas and frequent home revisits serve as channels for cultural diffusion and prevent social change becoming isolated within an urban élite. It, therefore, follows that country or rural persons moving to the city or visiting it, become urbanized to the extent that they acquire urban characteristics of behaviour and thought, or material objects, which through possession or use, affect their conduct, ideas and social relationships. Similarly, the farm or rural resident may become urbanized as the culture of the city is transmitted to the rural community and there becomes part of the ideas and patterns of behaviour of the residents (Gist and Fava, 1964, pp. 63-64).

Private and Social Consequences of Rural-Urban Migration

It has herein been demonstrated that rural-urban migration is a major component of urban population growth. Thus, rural-urban migration has concomitant socioeconomic problems such as unemployment, slums, squatter settlements and overcrowding. Increase in urban population can also put a strain on the urban social services. The private and social consequences of rural-urban migration has already been outlined. As pointed out earlier, for the individual migrant, rural-urban migration is likely to lead to an improved financial situation. However, what may be privately economically rational, that is, the decision to migrate and search for high paid jobs in the urban sector, is often socially costly. For example, as migrants flood the urban job markets, unemployment and underemployment grow. Unemployment and economic marginalism begin to affect even the young educated migrants.
Rural areas are deprived of their potentially most productive and innovative human resources.

**Dynamics of Urbanization: Points of Divergence**

In view of the argument that Western theories and methods cannot be applied wholesale to the study of migration in Africa, it is necessary to point out some differences between the process of urbanization in the West and in Africa. Urbanization is herein referred to as an overall process of changes such as demographic, economic, social, cultural, political and technological as an increasing high proportion of a country's population comes to reside in places defined as urban (Epstein, 1967, pp. 275-284).

Consequences of urbanization are clearly evident in the problems faced by cities in Africa today. The rates of growth of the cities, as already pointed out, are more than the rate of growth of the national economy. The rural population in Africa has been more willing to migrate to the cities than was its counterpart in the West. As already pointed out, migration in Africa is also attributed more to push factors, whereas the West tended to force urban migration to fill the demand for industrial labour. The labour force created by migration cannot be fully employed in Africa. There are generally higher rates of unemployment but no means of draining off the redundant labour to the New World as the European cities later did. It is also clear that urbanization is often not accompanied by a comparable revolution in the rural areas. Salau notes that the level of
rural life is lower on every count than it was in the West (Salau, 1979, p. 33). He suggests that heavier responsibility is also placed on African governments, local and national, to provide for the urban residents than it was in the West where private enterprise tried to meet housing demands.

All of the above examples point to the divergence of the process of urbanization in Africa from the Western experience. Perhaps the most important factor negating the similarity in urbanization is the historical forces that have shaped African cities. Here, Salau notes that the experience of colonialism has given African cities a character quite different from that of the West in its period of heaviest urbanization (Salau, op. cit.). Many African cities originated as administrative centres for the colonized nations; therefore, any attempt to generalize the process of urbanization in the West and Africa must take the differences in the dynamics and the historical factor of African cities into consideration.

**Policy Implications**

This research-review has outlined the scenario of urban unemployment, rapid urban population growth, squatter settlements, slums, inadequate social services and rural poverty, all as a result of rural-urban migration which presents both obstacles and opportunities, social as well as private, to cities in Africa. Internal migration must be understood in the context of the overall development priorities of a nation. As Todaro (Senior Associate, Centre
for Policy Studies, The Population Council) notes policies designed to stimulate industrial growth, provide modern educational and health facilities and increased commerce with the outside world can contribute to or retard the emergence of severe population distribution problems depending upon the locational components of government planning decisions (Todaro, 1979, p. 13).

Lipton (1976) and Todaro (1973) have observed the tendency of most developing world governments to focus their development efforts on one or two main cities, often to the neglect of their rural areas and this has created distortions and imbalances in both economic and social opportunities between urban and rural areas. Dore (1976) notes that rural youths are schooled in a formal educational system that is often designed to prepare them in lock-step fashion for each higher level in the system. The ultimate goal of students and their parents is the acquisition of a white-collar job, preferably in the city.

The socioeconomic problems associated with rural-urban migration are compounded by continued dependence on imported, inappropriate technologies and the limited labour absorptive capacity of modern industries. With rising oil prices, declining domestic food supplies and mounting foreign debt-service requirements, developing governments (including Africa) are increasingly re-evaluating their past development strategies and wondering if the solution does not lie largely in agricultural self-reliance, rural new-town.
development and a gradual elimination of the accumulated urban-rural imbalances in social, educational and economic policies (Todaro, op. cit., p. 17).

As the Sierra Leone development plan asserts, the basic solution to the urban unemployment problem lies in keeping agricultural workers and youth on the land. It is believed that rural development may serve this purpose more effectively than urban development since every new job created by investment in urban industries and services may attract two or three persons to migrate from agriculture and other rural based activities into towns in the hope of obtaining it (Sierra Leone Government, 1975, p. 8).

In Ghana, the government in its 1976/77 budget recognizes that small farmers form the backbone of country's agricultural sector. The strategy of concentrated agricultural extension services at the small farmers' level was aimed at increasing the productivity and income of the rural population.

In Zambia, a series of projects has been experimented with over the years. These include the Chombwa-type mechanization schemes, intensive development zones, village productivity committees, village regrouping, cooperatives and tractor schemes (ILO/JASPA, 1975, p. 9). The rural reconstruction programme launched in 1975 was initiated in response to increasing city-ward migration and growing urban unemployment among youths.

In Kenya, the rural development programme has focused
on land settlement for unemployed, landless persons. The special development programme, designed to accelerate the growth of rural incomes and employment, concentrates in intensive commercial fishing, the diversification of agricultural enterprises and the development of trade and rural industries (United Nations, 1973; Saini, 1977).

In Tanzania, where about 90 percent of the population live in rural areas and the contribution of agriculture to GDP (gross domestic product) amounted to only 40 percent in 1970, the Ujamaa rural socialism scheme is the basic approach to rural development, whereby people live together in villages, work together on common farms and build their own houses (Lele, 1975; Van Ginneken, 1976, p. 9).

These are some examples of rural development programmes, that are taking place in Africa and the countries mentioned. The general trend appears to be a re-evaluation of past development strategies and a focus in the direction of rural development. An elimination of accumulated urban-rural imbalances in social, educational and economic opportunities will considerably reduce the influx of migrants to the towns and cities.

**Recommendations for Further Research**

In most of the literature that has been referred to, very little or no mention has been made to female migrants. It has been argued that the activity pattern of immigrant women in the town is determined primarily by the customary pattern of female employment in the village and, especially,
by the extent to which women participate in non-agricultural activities in the village (Boserup, 1970, p. 175). In view of their role in economic development, the migration of females is an area for intensive study and further research and should not be simply related to family migration, the associational migration of wives or daughters accompanying the primary male migrant, or in the case of unattached female migration, to the existence of economic and employment opportunities in the urban areas.

Urban-rural ties has been noted in all parts of Africa, as contacts are maintained through the flow of money and goods between the urban and rural areas. Also, mention has been made of the frequent visits of urban residents to the rural areas. However, attention has not been directed to return migrants who have gone back to settle in their rural homes. This is an area for thorough research that can provide further insights into the urban rural ties.

Within a sociological framework, attention should also be directed specifically to a possible push factor: escape from traditional norms and values and obligations, with reference to an individual's decision to move from the village to the town. With the influx of migrants from different ethnic backgrounds to the urban centres, there is an ethnic mixture (heterogeneity) that is an important indicator of the extent of urbanization of a locality and people. In this regard, research should be conducted on the adaptation of migrants in the urban centres. Analysis of the urban ethnic distribution in a country is to provide insights into the
changes taking place in the urban centres.

The systems model of rural-urban migration which emerges as the plausible conceptual framework in the search for theory and method, needs to be operationalized; otherwise, empirical testing of this theoretical model is inhibited by important unquantified elements in the system. So far, the model has not been defined in formal or mathematical terms; only a verbal analysis has been presented.

This thesis proposes a multivariate model for the study of rural-urban migration in an African context. The proposed methodology is heuristic, integrated and emphasizes the value of longitudinal studies on a sample basis. It is proposed that a longitudinal study be conducted in three phases. Phase one starts with the interviewing of potential migrants in the rural areas, followed by phase two: the tracing of migrants in the urban areas from phase one, and phase three ends with the interviewing of return migrants in the rural areas from phase two.
# APPENDIX I

## Rural-Urban Migration

### Area and Type of Association

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Related to Migration</th>
<th>Ghana</th>
<th>Nigeria</th>
<th>Sierra Leone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Distance from nearest town</td>
<td>Inverse</td>
<td>E.R.</td>
<td>Inverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Size of Rural Centre</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>E.R.</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Economic Condition of Rural Household</td>
<td>(weak)</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Relatives in Urban Area</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Age and Sex</td>
<td>Young Males</td>
<td>Young Males</td>
<td>Young Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Education and Literacy</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Family Size</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Rural/Urban Income Differential</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Escape from Traditional Norms and Values</td>
<td>E.R.</td>
<td>E.R.</td>
<td>(weak) Direct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**E.R.**: Evidence Required

**Age and Sex**: Young Males (generally 15-24) with the highest propensity to migrate.

### APPENDIX II

**Rural-Urban Migration**

**Area and Type of Association**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Related to Migration</th>
<th>Uganda</th>
<th>Kenya</th>
<th>Tanzania</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Distance from nearest town</td>
<td>E.R.</td>
<td>E.R.</td>
<td>E.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Size of Rural Centre</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Economic Condition of Rural Household</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Relatives in Urban Area</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Age and Sex</td>
<td>Young Males</td>
<td>Young Males</td>
<td>Young Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Education and Literacy</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Family Size</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Rural/Urban Income Differential</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Escape from Traditional Norms and Values</td>
<td>E.R.</td>
<td>E.R.</td>
<td>E.R.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**E.R.**: Evidence Required

**Age and Sex**: Young Males (generally 15-24) with the highest propensity to migrate.

**Source**: See Appendix I on Page 161.
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