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SOME THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE STUDY OF AFRICAN URBANIZATION

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INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is a many-faceted concept, meaning different, though related things to different scholars. In sociological usage, urbanization usually refers to an increase in urban population but also to an increase in urban "processes". (J.C. Mitchell, 1969 b, p. 471). Kingsley Davis has defined the term in the following way:

In discussing the trend (towards urban areas) ... I shall use the term "urbanization" in a particular way. It refers here to the proportion of the total population concentrated in urban settlements or else to a rise in this proportion (Davis, 1965, p. 7).

In this paper I shall adhere to David's definition of urbanization as an increase in the proportion of population in urban areas. I shall not attempt to define what an urban area is. The following is just a short list of a few of the criteria used when such attempts have been made by others:

1. (a) type of local government, (b) number of inhabitants, (c) proportion of population engaged in agriculture.
2. Classification of administrative centers of minor rural divisions as urban and the remainder of the division as rural.
3. Classification of certain size localities (agglomerations) as urban, irrespective of administrative boundaries (Hauser, 1966, p. 9).

There is clearly little consensus. Among scientists it has become common to choose a number of inhabitants, most frequently 20,000, and to designate all centres with more than that number of inhabitants as "urban" and all others as "rural (Breese, 1966, p. 11). Urbanization within a sociological frame of reference may also imply change of behaviour and values in individuals, as a result of urban residence. Here the term is taken to mean commitment to and/or involvement in an urban way of life. Mayer (1964) speaks of the "urbanized individual" as one who is both committed to and involved in the urban way of life. Epstein and others before him have suggested that a distinction should be made between urbanization and urbanism, in which urbanization should be used to define the process of change - demographic, social and economic - that takes place as an increasingly high proportion of a population comes to reside in urban areas, whereas urbanism should stand for the way of life in town, in which individuals can be more or less involved and to which they have varying degrees of commitment. I think it is essential that this distinction should be maintained to avoid unnecessary confusion.
Africa is one of the least urbanized major regions of the world. Less than 13% of Africa's population live in localities of 20,000 or more inhabitants. This is less than any other region and hardly more than half of the world average (25%). Also compared with Asia (17%) and Latin America (32%), the degree of urbanization is very low (UNECA, 1967, p. 130). But although Africa's present degree of urbanization is very low, its rate of urbanization is the highest in the world. The general population growth in Africa is about 2.1%, but the urban growth (again localities over 20,000) is 5.4%, which is almost double the world average of 3.2%. Although Africa has such a relatively small proportion of its population in urban centres, it is interesting to note that it is the large towns that predominate among the urban centres.

Perhaps the most significant figure in the Table for Africa is that denoting the urban concentration - 68 per cent of the people living in towns with 20,000 or more inhabitants are found in the cities (those of 100,000 or more). The fact that this figure is above the world average (64 per cent), coupled with the low rate of actual urbanization, indicates that there are too few towns of intermediate size in the region (ibid., p. 130).

It is the large cities that get the highest share of the rapid increase in urban population. The cities of over 100,000 inhabitants grow at the rate of 8.6% per year, which is more than four times the annual rate of population growth and over one and a half times the rate of increase of the smaller towns (ibid., p. 138). The domination of a single large town seems to be very much a colonial legacy, but, once a certain centre has acquired a superior position, it is difficult to divert growth to other less prominent areas.

The primate city generally owes its origin and growth largely to its function as an entrepot between the colony and the imperial country. It owed its growth and development to its role in an imperial system rather than an indigenous national economic growth. With the disruption of empire many of the cities in the economically underdeveloped areas experienced some loss of economic function (Hauser, 1966, p. 34).

Increase in urban population can come about from three different sources. There can be a natural increase due to a net surplus of births over deaths; administrative re-classification can increase the town population by raising villages to the status of towns and by including surrounding areas, and there can be a net gain from migration (ibid., p. 31). In Africa the greater part of the increase in urban population is accounted for by rural-urban migration.
For the urban areas in African countries during 1950-60 the contribution to the growth of the population by migration is estimated to be over 60 per cent, and for the cities over 70 per cent (UNECA, 1967, p. 144).

Migration is thus intimately connected with African urbanization and I will discuss it at greater length further on.

There are great regional variations and variations between countries, both as far as the degree and the rate of urbanization are concerned. North Africa has had a long indigenous urban history; South Africa has an urban history more clearly marked by alien forces than anywhere else. The rest of this essay will be concerned with the regions between these two extremes, but for reasons of comparison North and South Africa are included in the following table.

Table 1. Urbanization in African sub-regions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-region</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% in towns of 20,000 or more</th>
<th>Population in cities of 100,000 or more as a percentage of Total population</th>
<th>Population in 20,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Africa</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Africa</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Africa</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Africa</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Africa</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Towns have appeared at different times in history in different parts of the continent. North and West Africa have a long tradition of urban settlement, whereas East and northeastern Africa have only a short urban tradition.

There was relatively little growth in urban centres in Tropical Africa until the Second World War; since then, an increasing expansion of towns and cities have occurred in West, Southern and Eastern Africa. But in the North African countries bordering on the Mediterranean, centres of trade and civilization which have passed through varying periods of growth and decline experienced a high rate of growth during the recent past. Indigenous urban centres have also been in existence for a long time in Western Africa, lying on the trade route between the north and south of the Sahara, and also later serving as centres of the slave trade; in Eastern Africa, development of urban centres is generally a more recent phenomenon (ibid., p. 134).
Attempts have been made to group African towns in groups with similar characteristics. Reference is often made in the literature to Southall's type A and type B towns.

Their varying combinations can be assessed against the broad contrast between old-established, slowly growing towns and new populations of mushroom growth. For ease of reference we shall refer to the former category as type A and the latter as type B... Not only African towns, but African territories as a whole can be very largely grouped according to this distinction (Southall, 1961, pp. 6 f.).

These types were characterized more than 10 years ago, when most African countries were still directly dependent on the colonizing powers. It seems likely that, with the end of the colonial regimes, African cities and towns have become more different from one another, so that "new populations of mushroom growth" contain such widely different urban areas that it is no longer meaningful to type them together. At the present level of our knowledge I think it is more fruitful to concentrate on specific aspects of urban areas in making comparison, rather than to try to define all-embracing groups of towns.
II. AFRICAN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Population movements have been common throughout African history. People have moved to find new agricultural lands or new pastures, to escape from disease or from enemies. But this kind of traditional migration was most often not on an individual basis. Segments of tribes might have changed their location, but it was rare for individuals to voluntarily leave the territory of their group (Gugler, 1968, p. 463; Caldwell, 1969, p. 201). Seeing that before the colonial conquest of Africa towns were few and concentrated in certain parts of the continent, it is self-evident that traditional migration was rarely in any urban direction. The movement was from one agricultural location to another. The introduction of colonial rule introduced a new type of population movement, labour migration. Presumably the traditional type of movement persisted, though hampered by what has been described as the "freezing of tribal boundaries" (Gulliver, 1969, pp. 13 f.), but to the foreign rulers African migration meant African labour migration, as long as colonial rule lasted.

The development of labour migration in Africa seems to have gone through three distinct stages in most parts. 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 and interest, to earn European money with which to buy some of the goods brought by the foreigners. So, for instance, in Uganda before 1895 there was no wage labour at all, but already by 1897 there were enough wage labourers to satisfy the needs of the first European arrivals (Powesland, 1954, p. 18). The Europeans, who were primarily interested in exploiting the resources of the new environment, quickly required more labour than was forthcoming from the areas surrounding the first points of contact. However, for the African population at large there was as yet neither compulsion nor motivation to engage in wage labour. Most villages had for long after the arrival of the foreigners only sporadic contact with the exchange economy; there was land for everyone and little need for cash. Consequently, most villagers refused to leave the established and secure way of traditional life in order to live in strange and insecure surroundings for uncertain benefits (Berg, 1966, p. 121).

The second stage of the development of a migrant labour force was marked by some form of coercion, compelling African men of working age to work under the direction of Europeans for a part of the year. Coercion took
the form of forced labour and taxation. Forced labour was, at least in East Africa, used to ensure that the various governments would have enough manual labour to be able to carry out building, road-building and other similar projects. The intention was that all adult men should work for "the usual wages, for at least one month each year" (Powersland, 1954, p. 20). The "usual wages" were decided upon by officials and the usual level was found to be quite low. Although forced labour was only used in government works, its existence had the effect of lowering the wage level as a whole.

With slavery abolished, various forms of forced labour were resorted to. This may have been a necessity in the early days of colonial rule because the money economy had not yet made a sufficient impact. People did not yet aspire to the goods money wages could acquire. However, more frequently it was not a matter of money wages as such not being attractive, but of the wage level being too low to attract sufficient numbers. Forced labour became the tool of a cheap labour policy (Gugler, 1969, p. 135).

The imposition of taxes was a more subtle and far-reaching means of coercion. Unless people sacrificed some of their cattle on the monetary part of the market or started growing cash crops, they were forced to work for wages in order to obtain the necessary cash for taxes (ibid., p. 135). The revenue aspect of this early taxation came far behind labour-market considerations. For 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" (J.C. Mitchell, 1961, p. 200).

The taxes, - hut tax and poll tax -, were not particularly heavy and their importance in bringing African labour to work for the European colonizers was eventually eclipsed by a need for cash fostered by contact with the money economy. 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 ... catalysed 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 to places where men could readily pay their fares in money. (Caldwell, p. 216 f.).

The third stage of the development of labour migration was thus 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.

Much of the labour migration that took place during the first half of this century had the following common characteristics. Most of the early labour migrants were target workers. This follows naturally from the fact that it was taxes and other restricted cash needs that were to be met by the period of wage labour. The migrants commonly travelled long distances to the places of employment. Migration was often prompted by the visits of labour-recruiting teams sent out by the employers. The labour migrants were almost exclusively young unmarried men. The periods the migrants remained away were not long, rarely more than two years. Short-distance migration was often seasonal, timed to meet the demands of subsistence agriculture. From the present point of view the most interesting fact about the first 50 years of labour migration is that it was most often not directed to urban areas at all. In West and East Africa labour migration was primarily directed towards rural employment centres, where the migrants worked on plantations or were employed as manual labourers by other Africans. The towns which were trade and administrative centres had a predominantly "local" African population, that is, drawn from the tribes of the area.

But migration, coerced or voluntary, has also been directed to non-urban centres, more especially to plantations; and though migration is a key to African history, the town is not, and has not been, a necessary terminus, or determinant of the migrant's route. Urban and industrial centres are spatially limited, and Africa, including West Africa, is still predominantly rural, producing mainly raw materials and foodstuffs (Kuper, 1965, p. 2).

The situation was different in Central Africa. There the flows of labour migrants was directed to the mines, around which towns developed. Even so, the migrant Africans played a very minor and short-lived role in town. Africans were considered "natural" country-dwellers, and their stay in town was surrounded by restrictions of various kinds.

The settlers saw them (the towns) to be primarily European areas,... areas in which Europeans lived by right and followed their way of life within a structure of European institutions, in which 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 but temporary visitors. This thinking was incorporated into the legal and administrative structure from the earliest days of settlement (J.C. Mitchell, 1969, p. 161).

Since the Second World War, and more particularly since the independence of most tropical African states, labour migration in Africa has changed in character. Long-distance, and thereby 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, pp. 201 f.). Rural-urban migration has increased
relative to rural-rural migration - witness the growth of towns in
tropical Africa since the World War. Migrants tend to stay longer when
they arrive in town (Edinburgh University, 1963, p. 52), if that is
their destination, and they more often bring their families with them.
The decline in the world-market prices of the cash crops produced in
Africa and the rapid development of elementary school education in many
countries after independence are probably the two most important factors
in the rapid urbanization of Africa which is taking place at present.
Many of the present-day rural-urban migrants are young school-leavers.
They may have an over-optimistic view of their opportunities in town,
though this is by no means certain, but regardless of how they perceive
their position, both they and their families remaining at home are
better off if some permanent accommodation can be found for them in town.
Caldwell, in his thorough study of rural-urban migration in Ghana, found
that education was one of the two most important factors in deciding the
propensity to migrate in an individual. The other factor was having a
relative who was already established in town. But, apart from these two
factors, it appeared that the individual characteristics of the person
were less important than factors involving the area in which he lived.

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 employ-
ment or from areas which have experienced great socio-economic
change, which has radically altered both the traditional culture
and the economy (Caldwell, 1969, p. 212).

Callaway, discussing the urban migration of school-leavers in Nigeria,
points to the same kind of influencing factors.

Taking the country as a whole, the proportion of school-leavers 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).

Elkan found in Kampala that there were four types of migrants,
distinguished by their migration patterns. (1) The one-time migrants who
come to town in their early manhood to earn the cash necessary to set up
their own farms. (2) A group who for a large part of their lives revolve
between their farms and the centres of employment. (3) The migrants who
stay in town for a long time and appear to have become stable townsman,
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". (4) There is also a group who permanently settle in town and do not return to the countryside (Elkan, 1960, p. 6). Of these types, the first represents the traditional target workers, the second the "circular" migrants, the third the first-generation, educated, farmers' sons, and the fourth either "a small group who made a specifically urban choice of life" (Hutton, 1966, p. 35) or landless farmers' sons who have nothing to return to. From the present point of view, the second and the third types are the ones of greatest interest, since it is in these two groups that there has been a shift towards longer stays in town and therefore it is mostly migrants from these two groups who are the new African town-dwellers. They also indicate a prominent feature of African urbanization: the tenacity and persistence of urban-rural ties.

The importance of urban-rural ties has been noted in all parts of tropical Africa. M.P. Todaro writes about eastern and southern Africa:

"For, apart from the kinds of economic 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 individuals living in an urban area but still tied to and dependent on the rural economy and vice versa (Van Velsen, 1963, p. 37)."

Because of the close realtionship between the urban migrants and those who remain at or have returned to the rural home, rural-urban migration has come to play an extremely important role in the diffusion of town-generated social and economic change.

"Rural Ghanaians look upon the large towns as the sources from which the new pattern of living will come to an extent that would astonish rural residents in many developed countries. Such cultural flows are greatly assisted by the geographical and social mobility of the population (Caldwell, 1969, pp. 206 f.)."

The reasons for the strong ties between the urban and rural dwellers are, first of all, economic. In most of Africa, urban minimum wages are below the minimum requirements to support a family in town. This is still so, despite the fact that the gap between urban and rural average wages is continuously widening. Lack of adequate housing or any kind of housing creates another difficulty in bringing the family to town. Many men thus leave their wives and children behind them 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 is most likely, the migrant looks forward
to spending his old age in the rural area. 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. 146 f.). But the reasons why even long-term urban
dwellers are so careful to retain close contact with their places of
origin are not only economic. Many high-income earners with secure
positions and a guaranteed old-age pension are just anxious to show
their continued interest in "home". Though part of the motivation behind
their efforts to stay on good terms with the home people may be found
in the high prestige they are accorded among the rural people, the
main reason may simply be that the majority of contemporary urbanites
in Africa were born in a rural village.

In fact this social attraction of the rural home is felt in all
income groups. The main reason is presumably that the great majority
of present-day urban dwellers is born and has been reared in rural
communities (ibid., p. 148).

The links between the urban and rural areas are maintained through
frequent visiting and through the continuous transmission of money and
goods between the urban and the rural areas. In Caldwell's study of
migration in Ghana, it was found that nearly half of the rural population
had had some first-hand experience of towns through visits to relatives
living there. Even so, it is the urbanite who does the greater amount of
visiting (Caldwell, 1969, p. 210). 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 (ibid., p. 215). One can agree
with Gugler when he writes that

The urban dwellers have successfully integrated urban life and
participation in village affairs into a dual system (Gugler, 1965,
p. 7).

The first-generation urbanites will probably always regard "home" as the
rural village and for them it will continue to be the social centre of
most attraction and importance. But the second-generation urbanites, the
children of the migrants who managed to keep a family in town, are much
more likely to regard the urban centre as their "real" home (Caldwell,
III. THEORIES OF AFRICAN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Early theories of migration in Africa were quite unanimous about the bad effect such population movements had, both on the people remaining in the rural area and on the migrants alone in town. This universal condemnation of a trend set in motion by the administrative and commercial forces of the colonial regimes must be seen against the prevailing concept of the African as a specifically rural creature, who had lived in an Arcadia of perfect peace and harmony before setting out on the road to the labour centres and back (Gutkind, 1967, p. 156). It is not only theories of migration in Africa that have been victims of misconceptions about the nature of man. Jackson has pointed out that a great deal of social-science research into migration everywhere has suffered from similar fallacies:

The most obvious, and the most readily explored of these is the myth of the static society. This implies, by harking back to some pre-existing rural utopia, that the natural condition of man is sedentary, that movement away from the natal place is a deviant activity associated with disorganization and a threat to the established harmony of Gemeinschaft relationships which are implied by a life lived within a fixed social framework (Jackson, 1969, p. 3).

The continued importance of urban-rural ties shows that the social and economic break between countryside and town presupposed by the advocates of the theory of the innately "tribal" African did not occur. Without this premise, the disorganization and anomie view of African migration cannot be valid. Studies carried out during the fifties by Watson, Van Velsen and Gulliver showed that the ill effects of labour migration had been exaggerated. This is not the same as saying that labour migration and other urban-rural migration is always beneficial. Gugler has pointed out that the effect on the rural agricultural economy will depend on (1) the dependence of the rural economy on male labour, (2) the control the family group is able to exert over the timing and length of the migrant's absence, and (3) the transfer of cash income from wage labour, and (4) forms of co-operation between the remaining cultivators (Gugler, 1968, p. 478).

It is common to explain the causes of rural-urban migration by a "push and pull" theory of urbanization. According to this theory, the "push" comes from deteriorating conditions in rural areas, which force people to migrate to town in search of a livelihood. The "pull" is exerted by the town through the economic opportunities which the migrant is expected to find there (UNECA, 1967, p. 143). It is commonly believed that the industrialization and urbanization of today's advanced nations was
motivated mainly by "pull" from the towns, whereas urbanization in Africa, Asia and Latin America is thought to be caused by a "push" from the rural areas, due to static resources, the rapid increase in population, political troubles and insecurity (Hauser, 1966, pp. 37 ff.). A particular problem associated with this approach is the distinction between "push" and "pull" factors. If, for instance, someone leaves his rural home and goes for education to a town, then the absence of schooling at home supplies the "push" but simultaneously the existence of schooling in town is the "pull". Even though one can speak of the aggregate of factors in the respective places as mainly "pushing" or "pulling", it is also clear that there are "pushing" and "pulling" (what Mitchell preferred to call "centrifugal" and "centripetal") forces working simultaneously to attract and repel the migrant both in town and in countryside.

... it was seen clearly enough that both rural and urban areas exert "pushes" and "pulls", usually at the same time. It is clear that economic motives are dominant in encouraging migration of some to the town, but they share place with non-economic motives in deciding that others should remain in the village (Caldwell, 1962, p. 214).

In a widely cited paper on the causes of labour migration (1961 a), J.C. Mitchell approached the problem of the departure and return of migrants in a different manner. Discussing the causes of the migrant's departure, he found that economic conditions without doubt were the most important factors. The economic state of the home area would determine the rate of labour migration, whereas "other factors", peculiar to each individual, would determine the incidence of migration:

In logical terms, economic factors appear to be a necessary condition, but they may not in themselves be 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 (ibid., p. 271).

Gugler has attacked 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). I do not think that this objection is justified, since Mitchell hardly meant his statement to be true of all cases at all times. Another objection to Mitchell's reasoning has been made on the basis of his distinction between economic and other factors.

The merit of this approach, that it stresses the importance of economic factors, constitutes also 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).
But, as Gugler himself has pointed out, it is difficult to distinguish between economic factors and other factors. Following Todaro's thinking, in which migration is regarded as a result of the difference between actual rural income and expected urban income, it is quite possible to explain migration both from poor and relatively advanced areas with reference to economic factors. Neither Mitchell nor Gugler seems to have thought in such terms and, therefore, the relation they expected between economic status and migration would always be such that the poorest area had the heaviest emigration. When exceptions to this rule presented themselves, Gugler felt obliged to improve on Mitchell's statements by introducing "other collective forces", such as education. But the relevant factor is the existing differential between rural and urban average wages. This differential increases with the education of the individual. Therefore, it is only logical that there will be emigration also from prosperous areas with a high proportion of children in school. Independence and the decline in the price of primary products are likely to have hastened this trend. In the early days labour migration was heaviest from poor areas. But the appearance of an educated segment of the population, for whom there are few or no opportunities to use their training and reap its benefits in the countryside, and for whom the perceived opportunities to earn high wages increase with the size of the urban centres, has introduced a parallel pattern of migration.

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. Related to the latter point, as well as to the pattern of school attendance, which rises proportionately with the size of the centre, propensity to migrate to urban areas increases with the size of the place of residence, being least in small villages, greater in larger villages, and greater still in what the census would describe as small towns (Caldwell, 1969, p. 212).

In the end it may not be possible to find other "collective forces" of an importance equal to that of the economic factors.

Gugler objects to Mitchell's use of "personal factors" to determine the incidence of migration:

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 (Gugler, 1969, p. 142).
Here two different problems seem to have become confused. On the one hand there is the problem of differential migration - who leaves and who stays. One may agree with Gugler and say that this is determined by the differential impact of the collective forces, but, in defining the conditions that modify the collective forces (so as to make them affect people differentially), individual characteristics, like education, stage in life-cycle, economic background and position in family, provide the modifying conditions. On the other hand, there is the problem of the timing of the departure. When Mitchell discusses the concept of incidence, he quotes Gulliver, who says of the Ngoni migrants:

All, or almost all, Ngoni felt the pinch of current 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. 28).

From this, Mitchell makes the generalisation that there will always be something that makes the prospective migrant decide to leave precisely at the time when he goes. This something, the incident that triggers off the decision to leave, may be something quite "individual", like a quarrel 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, though again mediated by personal characteristics.

Mitchell used the term "circular migration" to describe the mechanism of labour migration in tropical Africa. Although the recent increase in urban unemployment all over Africa has prolonged the employment period, to the extent of making it life-long for those who are fortunate enough to find a job, the continued importance of rural connections shows that theories dealing with the return phase of circular migration are still relevant. In this context I think it is worth while to point out that the circular pattern of African rural-urban migration may not be as unique as is often implied.

This idea that migration is usually a once and once only phenomenon has grown out of the emphasis on net change rather than gross movement ... Today it is increasingly apparent that a significant number of migrants spend periods of their country of birth, returning home and perhaps after a further period setting off again, without the implications of finality usually associated with such moves (Jackson, 1969, p. 4).

Discussing the forces that make people migrate from their rural homes and then return, Mitchell called the economic reasons behind emigration "centrifugal" from the point of view of the rural area, and the social-relations network of relations involving the migrant at home "centripetal" forces, also from the point of view of the rural area.
From the point of view of the rural areas, the economic drive as a rule operates centrifugally to force men, and sometimes women, outwards to distant labour centres, where they are able to earn cash wages to use in order to satisfy their various wants. The social system, operating particularly through the network of social relationships, tends to act centripetally to keep a man within its hold and to resist the influences pulling him away (J.C. Mitchell, 1961 a, p. 275).

Since it is the involvement in a network of relations that makes the migrant return home, it follows that, if and when a new network develops around the migrant in town, he will cease migrating and stay in town permanently. This approach is similar to that of Mayer, who sees the migrant as a person operating within a rurally centred network of relations, even though some of the participants are, for the time being, living in town.

Other things being equal, a migrant's willingness to stay on in town depends upon how he evaluates the new personal ties he has formed there, in relation to the older ties with persons still in the country. If the new ties have sufficient moral content, he will have become personally rooted in town, and will think he is "at home" there. If the strong moral content remains solely the attribute of the others, the extra-town ties, the migrant will expect to go away again, i.e. to return "home" (Mayer, 1964, p. 24).

The weakness of this approach is that, while it sees emigration from the rural area as a primarily economic phenomenon, it regards immigration to the rural place as a social phenomenon. Both Gugler (1969, pp. 150 f.) and Van Velsen have pointed out this incongruence:

I would argue that in the movement of the opposite direction, from town to village, the social relationships are more likely to be a factor which determines the incidence, whilst the rate is determined by the economic factor of the lack of security in the towns and the expectation of this security in the tribal areas (Van Velsen 1963, p. 40).

The importance of chain migration, documented in, for instance, the studies of Ghanaian and Nigerian migration, makes the network approach useful for the study of migration. The existence of a relative in town makes the intervening obstacles easier to overcome and his establishment may serve as a "trigger", making a desired attempt at wage employment possible. This does not mean that the extension of the rural network to town caused the migration, except in an incidental sense. In the same way the rural part of an individual's network can be, and is in most cases, kept in good repair through the frequent sending of gifts and visiting. Actual return home may not occur until unemployment, ill health or retirement makes it an economic necessity or economically feasible. It seems probable that Mitchell's and Mayer's personal experiences (of South Africa and Rhodesia respectively) of states where most Africans are unable to live entirely off the land,
while at the same time they are almost prohibited from settling permanently in town, has influenced their more general formulations. "Circular migration" appears still to be the rule in Rhodesia (J.C. Mitchell, 1969a, p. 171), although rural-urban migration in independent African states has changed in character since independence.

IV. URBAN UNEMPLOYMENT

Urban unemployment is a problem of fairly recent date in Africa but one which is rapidly becoming very serious. Gutkind, writing in 1967, predicted that, within the next five to ten years, up to 35% of all able-bodied males between the ages of 15 and 55 living in Africa's major urban centres would be classified as unemployed. Even in 1967 it was estimated that between 12% and 22% of the urban population was unemployed in most African towns. Some of the inland towns of French-speaking Africa may have a lower rate but in other places, such as the major mining towns in Zambia, the percentage was said to be between 30% and 40% (Gutkind, 1967, p. 190). This very important aspect of African urbanization and urbanism has received little attention from anthropologists and sociologists working in Africa.

Few anthropologists have any idea of the dimensions of the manpower crisis which lies ahead for almost every African government. The effect of idle manpower on the total fabric of a social system, its rural and urban sectors, restricts important exchange activities between individuals and between groups (ibid., p. 399).

Although urban unemployment is a recent phenomenon, it is not new. In Uganda the existence of a surplus of unskilled labour was reported from the middle of the 1950's (Hutton, 1966) and, in 1959 and 1960 there was a general surplus of labour. Eighteen per cent of the labour force was estimated to be unemployed in Dar-es-Salaam in 1957 (ibid.,).

The main forces that have changed the African labour situation from one of shortage to one of serious and permanent surplus are the same as those that have contributed to the rapid urbanization:

The impact of the money economy on the societies of sub-Saharan Africa has been so effective that the supply of unqualified labour no longer constitutes any problem. Instead many towns are faced with growing unemployment. By now, not only have most societies joined in the money economy, but aspirations have risen to a level where they can no longer be satisfied by one or a few short spells of labour migration. At the same time the advantage on the rural-urban balance of economic opportunities has shifted to the urban end. While prices for export crops have declined over a number of years, minimum wage legislation has been introduced in many countries; with independence in particular, the wages of urban unskilled labour has risen sharply. A disparity has thus been created, not only between peasant incomes and the wages of urban labour, but also between the latter and wage rates in uncontrolled sectors, e.g.
labour in small-scale agriculture (Gugler, 1969, p. 144).

The increasing cost of labour to the employers has led to increases in productivity, so that, while output has increased, the number of men employed has decreased. The absolute number of jobs, as well as the proportion of persons in wage employment, has decreased in many countries (Baryaruha, 1967, p. 77; J.C. Mitchell, 1961 b, pp. 242 f.), while the number of job seekers is continuously increasing.

The number of new jobs thus created is far smaller than the vast numbers of young Africans being placed on the urban job market. This is so for three basic reasons" firstly ... because non-agricultural development is slow;" secondly, because the non-agricultural sector is (and will be) capital - rather than labour - intensive; and, thirdly, because the population increase runs between two and three per cent per year (Gutkind, 1966, p. 4).

The "reserve army of unemployed", waiting partly in the town but mostly in the rural areas, has not led to a depression of wages, which are often determined by minimum-wage legislation, but to a significant stabilization of the labour force (Gugler, 1969, pp. 153 f).

Workers are reluctant to leave a job when their prospects of getting another one are small. It is strange that the main theorist on African migration did not foresee this development.

... although improvement in the economic status of Africans in both rural and urban areas is undoubtedly a necessary condition for the slowing down of the tempo of the circulation of labour, it is by no means a sufficient condition (J. C. Mitchell, 1961 b, p. 244).

Large-scale urban unemployment proved to be at least a sufficient condition for the slowing down of circulation. The main circulators now appear to be the unemployed who, from necessity, have to interrupt their long search for employment with periods of rural residence.

Gutkind found the following types of unemployed in town: (1) school-leavers actively seeking jobs but unable to find any kind of employment; (2) school-leavers unwilling to accept just any type of employment; (3) juveniles too young to be fit for heavy manual work; (4) young boys who would prefer to be in school but lacked financial support; (5) rural (under) unemployed who add (seasonally) to the pool of those in the urban areas seeking work; (6) those who have become unemployed for technological reasons; (7) those unable or unwilling to hold down a job on a regular basis (Gutkind, 1966, p.4). It is a quite widespread belief that urban unemployment is caused by school-leavers refusing to accept anything other than white-collar jobs (Hutton, 1966). The willingness of school-leavers to accept different types of jobs varies, not surprisingly with the cash-earning
opportunities in the home area of the individual person and the period he has spent looking for a job.

If the school-leaver comes from an area where land is sufficient and where cocoa or another crop brings in a cash return, then he may shun work as a general labourer; he would rather return home. But if he comes from an area where there is definite population pressure on the available land and where he is superfluous to the family's farm enterprise, he will very likely take any job, no matter how menial, to keep going. And he will continue to hope and search for something better (Callaway, 1967, p. 209).

In a small non-random study of unemployed in Kampala, Hutton differentiated, between those who were primarily "pulled" to the urban area and who had made a specifically urban choice of life and those who were "pushed" from the rural area but whose choice of life was still rural. In the following diagram she indicated the main forces acting on different groups of unemployed.

(The percentage figures denote the percentage in the non-random sample belonging to the different groups of migrants.)
Commenting on this scheme, Hutton writes (1966) that

... ultimately the rate of labour migration is dependent on the relation between expectations, felt cash need and local cash-earning opportunity ... the economic point at which rural underemployment is converted into urban unemployment therefore lies at that point at which a man's opportunities at home fall below his felt cash need.

The causes of urban unemployment are akin to those of rural-urban migration. But the persistence of urban unemployment depends on the time it is possible to stay in town without work. In areas where it is virtually impossible to stay around looking for a job, as in Rhodesia and South Africa, there will obviously be little or no urban unemployment - the problem is restricted to the rural areas. In most places the introduction to town and upkeep during the initial period is provided by relatives. A person with a steady job is obliged to provide board and advice for relatives arriving to try their luck in town. The close connection that the host is likely to have retained with "home" makes it very difficult for him to refuse, even though he may resent the intrusion. Lack of hospitality will be reported to his elders and he will be reproached because of his "pride". But the stay will not last for ever. If the newly arrived migrant is unlucky in his search, he will eventually feel or be made to feel that he has overstayed his welcome and move on to another relative. The long-term unemployed person will at some time or other abandon his relations altogether and move in with friends, often unemployed like himself, who in the long run may be better able to keep him informed about apparent opportunities.

Many unemployed men, particularly those in the age-group of eighteen and over, prefer to seek out friends rather than relatives. This is particularly so among those who on earlier occasions stayed with relatives while they looked for work. Many of these men found this experience undesirable and as a result they circulated from one willing relative to another, until they have exhausted this particular hospitality. They then often returned home for a short time, and on their return to the town they began to circulate among school-friends or among those whose acquaintance they had made on previous visits to Lagos or Nairobi (Gutkind, 1967, p. 202).

There are two paradoxes inherent in contemporary African rural-urban migration which any theory of African urbanization will have to take into account. The first is that rural-urban migration continues and increases, despite the fact that there is already a large and increasing number of unemployed in the urban areas and despite the fact that this is well-known to the prospective migrant, due to efficient feed-back to the rural areas. The second is that most measures taken to bring about a decrease in urban unemployment are likely to actually
increase unemployment by bringing in further migrants.

Harris and Todaro (1968, 1970) have constructed "a two-sector model of migration with urban unemployment in developing countries", which accommodates both of the above paradoxes. The mathematical proof of their model is complicated for a non-economist, but I will try to outline their ideas.

Our analytical framework has been a model based on the hypothesis that migration is a response to expected income differentials, the starting-point of the analysis being the existence of minimum urban wage levels substantially higher than earnings of individuals with comparable skill in agriculture. In such a situation, urban unemployment serves to reduce the expected urban wage and indeed serves as the equilibrating factor. Individual migration to urban areas in the face of substantial open unemployment is shown to be a rational response from individuals seeking to maximize expected utility (Harris and Todaro, 1968, p. 32).

We have already seen both that there is a widening gap between rural and urban cash earnings and that this differential is the main motivation for rural-urban migration. The expected urban wage in the model above is not the wage the migrant expects to get before he starts his journey. The wage he expects to get is either nil, if he is unsuccessful in finding a job, or (at least) the statutory minimum wage, if he finds a job. The expectation in the model is the mathematical expectation, namely, the average wage of the urban area times the probability of the migrant finding a job. Singer has argued, after Berg and Lewis, that a certain differential is necessary to compensate the migrant for the additional disadvantages and costs of living in town. This differential is thought to be about 50%. This means that, if the subsistence income in farming is 100, then the "equilibrium" urban wage should be 150, in order to "bring the modern sector as much labour as it wants without at the same time attracting much more than it can handle" (Singer, 1970, p.2). Actually, it is thought that the average urban wage is between three and four times the average income of the subsistence farmer. In order to arrive at the expected urban "equilibrium" wage of 150 if the actual urban wage is 300, an implicit unemployment rate of 50% is needed, since the actual urban wage times the probability of getting a job in this case would be 150 (300 x 1/2 = 150) (ibid., pp. 2f.) Of course, the individual migrant will not reason in this way. But the knowledge of unemployment and difficulty of getting a job will undoubtedly be added to the "push" factors of the urban area and, when unemployment reaches a certain level, the prospective migrant will refrain from trying his luck in towns altogether.
Taking Harris and Todaro's model as the point of departure, it is obvious that all attempts to limit unemployment by providing more employment opportunities in the urban areas will lead to further immigration, because such attempts lower the level of unemployment while retaining the wages at the same level. The type of technology used in Africa, being the same as in the developed world, makes it quite unfeasible to "invest away" urban unemployment. Neither are voluntary restrictions likely to function while the rural urban wage differential is of the present magnitude. It is nearly impossible to develop the countryside rapidly enough to diminish the difference in average wages within a limited period. What remains then are reductions in average urban wages and/or forcible repatriation of the unemployed. Both policies are difficult to accept politically.

Let us state unequivocally that it is our conviction that the only really optimal long-run policy is one designed to reduce relative urban wages through an appropriate incomes policy ... However, in the absence of such an incomes policy it would appear that the only feasible alternative would be some combination of industrial expansion (with the intention of equating marginal value products in the two sectors) and migration restrictions. Government, no doubt, are caught in a dilemma. Neither eliminating minimum-wage legislation nor placing physical control on migration are likely to be politically palatable. The alternative, however, is to continue to suffer substantial and growing .... open unemployment in urban areas (Harris and Todaro, 1968, p. 33).

V. METHODS

The study of urbanization, which, according to the approach I have adopted in this paper, actually means the study of rural-urban migration, requires that account should be taken of factors in the area of origin, factors in the area of destination, obstacles intervening between them, and the selection or decision factor which leads to the move (Jackson, 1969, pp. 6f). This means that both rural and urban studies are necessary. The kinds of methods necessary to carry out these composite studies will probably differ substantially from the methods social scientist (mainly social anthropologists) are accustomed to using when collecting material in Africa. This is for two main reasons. The first is that the approach used in studying a specific, more or less narrowly defined problem must be quite different from that used when studying a society "in general". In practice, it is impossible to describe all of a society or to keep up the general approach. But where the emphasis of the study will lie seems often to be decided upon in the field, depending on the personal outlook of the anthropologist, the kind of informants available, etc. This does not change the fact that, as Nadel has put it, "The anthropologists have tended to become the biographers of single societies", (quoted in
J.C. Mitchell, 1967, p. 17). When this is regarded as the objective of anthropology, it is understandable, and perhaps inevitable, that the prevailing method will be the one designated, the method of "apt illustration" by Gluckman. He has described this method in the following way:

We made a large number of observations on how our subjects actually behaved, we collected genealogies and censuses, made diagrams of villages and gardens, listened to cases and quarrels, obtained commentaries on all these incidents, collected texts from informants about customs and rituals, and discovered their answers to "cases stated". Out of this vast mass of data we analysed a general outline of the culture or the social system, according to our main theoretical bent. We than used the organization, social relationships, etc. (Gluckman, 1961, p. 7).

This method, which still seems to be the prevailing one among anthropological field-workers, suffers from two fundamental weaknesses. First of all, it is nearly impossible for the reader to evaluate the results, since the data on which "structures" are inferred are not included in the account. If there are many "appropriate cases" described in the text, it may in some cases be possible to piece together a sequence of events which may lend themselves to a form of "extended-case analysis" (ibid., p. 7). Even so, vital information is likely to be missing, since observations have neither been made nor recorded in a consistent or systematic fashion. In the end, the reader has no more than faith in the narrator to rely upon until another study of the same society is undertaken, and that is not likely to happen within a reasonable period of time, since it does not appear to be comme il faut among anthropologists to intrude on one another's areas of field work. The second fundamental weakness of this approach is that the results are practically useless for purposes of comparison, both in space and in time. This is a serious criticism, since without the possibility of comparison, geographically and diachronically, it will be impossible to reach a stage of analysis at which it will be possible to develop a general theory of urbanization and migration. This is perhaps not possible anyway, but this must be what we are trying to accomplish if research is to be something more than the tool of administrators and aid agencies. It is unfair to imply that all anthropologists use the methods which are said to be characteristic of "Malinowski and the next 'generation' of social anthropologists". There are many contemporary researchers who approach methodological problems in a very different and more explicit way. But it still remains true that most anthropologists are extremely reticent about their methods and do not discuss possible sources of error and problems of reliability and validity.
Existing literature offers little data on how anthropologists carried out their research. In the last forty years, hundreds of monographs have been published, yet a careful study of them reveals that at least sixty per cent of the authors make no mention whatever of the methodology employed; perhaps another twenty per cent devote a few lines or two or three paragraphs to this important topic; while only the remaining twenty per cent give us some clear idea about how they carried out their research: this is hardly a satisfactory situation (Jongmans and Gutkind, 1967).

This neglect of methods seems to stem from the very training of social anthropologists. Beattie's description of how he was introduced to methods of field research before setting out on his first study is rapidly becoming classic, probably because few other researchers have commented on their own training in this respect.

It was unusual in English anthropology courses at that time (it still is) to give very detailed formal instruction on methods of field research. Sometimes, indeed, one rather got the impression that field work was simply a matter of getting into the field and being there; once there, one would absorb information by a kind of osmosis, helped, no doubt, by that valuable vade-mecum, Notes and Queries on Anthropology (quoted in Speckman, 1967, p. 57).

This lack of methodological emphasis during training is probably part of the reason why anthropologists are often so hostile towards and suspicious of the quantitative techniques employed by other social scientists and is perhaps also the reason why it is commonly thought that there is some kind of basic opposition between "sociological" (meaning statistical) and "anthropological" (meaning participant observation) methods (ibid., p. 60).

The kind of methods that should be used in studying migration do not differ from the methods that can be employed when other problems are being studied. The first step would be a thorough study of existing theory and relevant studies to find out what the present state of knowledge is. After that a preliminary research plan can be drawn up and the most important points of enquiry decided. This should be followed by a period of intensive study by "traditional" methods. This period is absolutely essential to get the necessary background information, to refine the original approach, to decide on relevant variables. During the exploratory study the theoretical framework of the major study is determined. Quantitative methods can then be used to test the validity and generality of this framework. As I can see it, most anthropological studies are, in a sense, exploratory studies. Unfortunately they hardly ever lead on to a quantitative enquiry which can test and modify the theories arrived at during the intensive study. Quantitative studies are complementary.
In the long run it appears pointless to produce nothing but fragments of theory which are not tested and developed - it is equally or more fruitless to attempt quantification without the guide of theory.

Quantitative methods may be used in two ways. They may be used to throw up associations of social characteristics which call for some sociological explanation... They may also be used to test and refine hypotheses derived by intensive studies .. In this interaction between intensive and quantitative research it is likely that fruitful hypotheses will arise most frequently out of the insights acquired in intensive studies. The appropriate role for quantitative research is to test and refine hypotheses rather than to generate them (J.C. Mitchell, 1966, p. 42).

Although data to be used in quantitative analysis are most often collected with the aid of a schedule or questionnaire, this is not necessary. All information collected in a systematic fashion from a sufficient number of people is amenable to statistical treatment.

The social anthropologist usually prefers to work towards the "participant observation" end of the continuum. This does not mean that the data he collects by these techniques are of necessity not quantifiable... The real process of abstraction lies in the classification, not in the enumeration. It is because of the necessity of collecting material systematically that schedules have come to be used more and more in fieldwork (J.C. Mitchell, 1967, p. 26).

R.E. Mitchell, writing about the problems of survey research in developing countries, points out the importance of interaction between intensive and extensive study:

Rather than collect masses of partially relevant and irrelevant materials, the survey researcher attempts by prior inquiry to isolate major dimensions he wishes to study. And, rather than pore over his notes in an attempt to substantiate (more typically illustrate) his major hypotheses, and rather than be in a position where no information is available to test alternative hypotheses, the survey researcher, in the ideal situation, collects data permitting him to perform both of these tasks (R.E. Mitchell, 1965, p. 675).

In discussing interviewer bias and "clinical witnesses" (meaning people other than the respondent present during the interview), he points out that the best method of avoiding or solving these problems may be to have "resident interviewers":

The resident interviewer acquires knowledge and contacts to permit him to check on the information he receives; he recognizes errors and inconsistencies which can then be quickly clarified; he may be able to eliminate the recall problem; and by being a member of the community, he is able to overcome the natives' resistance to giving truthful information to outsiders (ibid., p. 680).
The roles of resident interviewer and anthropologist resemble each other strongly. In a way, the appearance of a "resident interviewer" in an article on problems of survey research may be regarded as a concession to the continued importance of "traditional" anthropological methods. To me, it shows that there is no point in being methodologically dogmatic in the approach to research in developing countries. Solutions to problems of method have to be provided by all of our social sciences.

VI. TOWARDS A THEORY OF MIGRATION

Everett S. Lee has attempted to draw together the present knowledge of migration into a consistent, though tentative theory (Lee, 1969, pp. 282-297). This theory he has used to formulate a series of hypotheses about the volume of migration under varying conditions, the development of stream and counter-stream, and the characteristics of migrants. The basic concepts of the theory are simple, but it is still possible to formulate on this basis immediately testable hypotheses.

This conceptualization of migration as involving a set of factors at origin and destination, a set of intervening obstacles, and a series of personal factors is a simple one which may perhaps be accepted as self-evident. It is now argued that, simple though it is, it provides a framework for much of what we know about migration and indicates a number of fields for investigation (Lee, 1969, p. 288).

Although the hypotheses do not deal specifically with rural-urban migration and although some of them require international data or data extending over a period of time to be tested, it is still possible to relate some of the hypotheses to the findings of the Ghana migration study. Seeing that the hypotheses were not formulated with any particular continent or region in mind, it is interesting to see how these general concepts related to migration compare with the actual findings of a fairly large-scale study in an African country.

Before starting the comparisons, it is necessary to say a few words about the Ghana study. It was planned as a complementary study to the census and the post-enumeration survey carried out in 1960. The study was undertaken by the Demography Unit attached to the University of Ghana in the period 1962-4:

a full understanding of social phenomena depends on various types of inquiry. In this case it was felt that the rural-urban migration stream could be better understood if many detailed questions could be asked of migrants and non-migrants in rural emigrant and urban immigrant areas. Investigations of population samples in depth, and the asking of many intimate questions, can often be more easily undertaken in unofficial inquiries of this kind than by government (Caldwell, 1969, p. 2).
The study was divided into two parts, one dealing with the rural and the other with the urban population. It was decided that the most important decisions about migration must be made at the rural end of the process and therefore the chief effort of the study was put into an examination of the sending area (ibid., p. 15). Since it would not be possible, because of limited resources, to make a true national study, it was decided to limit the rural study to four areas with different characteristics. In all, 15,000 persons were to be interviewed in the rural part of the study. The urban study was carried out in a quite different manner.

We wanted a limited survey, carried out in the same country and at the same time as the rural survey, to serve as a check on the latter and to determine if the picture painted of town-living by those in rural areas approximated to the impressions of those who had arrived in towns (ibid., p. 23).

Three thousand urbanites were interviewed, mostly in Accra. Households were the sampling unit, both in the rural and in the urban study, and the selection procedure was that of systematic random sampling. Since the study was not a national one, the results are only valid for the communities studies.

Indeed, the essence of the survey is not to determine the nation-wide pattern, but instead to search for patterns in the various communities studies. It seeks to correlate information by asking of each other, for instance, what the relative proportions of long-term and seasonal migrants were; whether the educated showed a stronger propensity to migrate than those without education; how prospective migrants regarded the attractions and dangers of the far-off city (ibid., p.26).

There are in all 18 hypotheses set out in Lee's article. They are all to be found on pages 288 to 296 in Jackson's Migration. I will here only quote the ones that can be related to the Ghana study or other relevant, though qualitative, African studies.

(1) The volume of migration within a given territory varies with the degree of diversity of areas included in that territory.

To be able to test this hypotheses against African data, it would be necessary to have comparable statistics on internal differentiation and migration from different countries. Still, I think it is fair to say that the historical development of migration in Africa bears this point out. Large-scale labour migration, and later rural-urban migration, started first in areas where European techniques of production and new cash crops were first introduced. Once the new crops and techniques had been established, these first-favoured areas developed at a rate much faster than the rest of the regions and, as we have seen, the economic differential between the earnings of
subsistence farmers and wage labourers is considered to be the main factor behind African rural-urban migration. So, for instance, long-distance labour migration to the South African and Rhodesian mines, to the West African cocoa farms and the Ugandan cotton areas developed long before people of more homogeneous regions had begun migrating.

(2) The volume of migration is related to the difficulty of surmounting intervening obstacles.

The greatest single intervening obstacle in all migration is distance and the cost associated with overcoming this obstacle. Caldwell found that distance affects migration in three ways. First, as the distance increases, the number of long-term absentees falls steeply. Conversely, with distance the proportion who have never migrated rises, except in some very distant areas which are very poor and where seasonal migration is a necessity for survival. Secondly, "... many of the forces working towards an increase in rural-urban migration are products of social and economic modernisation, which tend to weaken the greater the distances from the towns, for, while the latter themselves the results of such change, they are the extreme type and the centre from which change diffuses further" (ibid., p. 58)

Thirdly, long distances make the break with relatives and other villages left behind more complete. This means that it will be more difficult to retain rural-urban links; there will be fewer returnees and fewer visits. This may also be because the more distant areas are the poorest and the incentive to return is weaker for that reason as well. Another intervening obstacle is frontiers. As I have noted on page 10, independence and the subsequent tightening up of frontier regulations have led to a decrease in international migration in Africa.

(3) The volume of migration varies with fluctuations in the economy.

This has been noted for several areas in Africa. Gulliver (1955) found a close correlation between cash cropping and emigration, and Powesland (1954) noted that the size of the available labour force in Uganda varied with the relative success of harvests in the sending areas. He also wrote that the introduction of cotton in Buganda led to an almost complete stoppage of unskilled labour migration into Kampala from that area.

(4) Unless severe checks are imposed, both volume and rate of migration tend to increase with time.

Caldwell found that the spread of education, rise in rural living standards and the existence of relatives already established in town
were some of the factors that increased the propensity to migrate. Since present tendencies make it seem likely that all of these factors will influence more and more people, it is also likely that the flow to the towns will continue and increase.

... the pattern described implies that rural-urban migration, and consequently urban population, are likely to increase very much in the years ahead. The reasons are the continued spread of schooling, literacy, and spoken English, the rise in rural living standards, and the certainty with each year of continued rural-urban migration that more villagers will have relatives in town. More generally, all kinds of social and economic change work towards increasing the flow to the towns, and such change is visibly penetrating ever further into traditional Ghana. (Caldwell, 1969, p. 86).

The present rapid increase in urbanization in all of tropical Africa shows that this situation is not peculiar to Ghana.

One of the basic findings of the study of migration in Ghana is that it is the already fairly developed areas that contribute most to migration. This is because the developed rural area, large village or small town also have the highest incidence of education and are most profoundly affected by external, "modernizing" influences, both of which factors are found to be closely related to the rate of migration. Lee's elaboration of this hypothesis seems to be relevant to the Ghanaian experience:

In an economically progressive country, the differences among areas are accentuated by industrial development and the differences among people by education. At the same time, intervening obstacles to migration within the country are lessened by improving technology and by political design (Lee, 1969, p. 292).

In this context it must be remembered that not all rural-urban migration in Ghana is of this "modern" type - brought about by people wanting to improve their already fairly comfortable lives. Co-existing with the affluent young migrants are migrants for whom the trip to town provides a necessary supplement to subsistence agriculture:

Socially and economically advanced areas can produce a high proportion of young people who would prefer to work in the town ... But backward areas, such as Ghana's north, may have an agricultural system too primitive to cope fully with the harsh wet-dry cycle of the climate and expanding too slowly to provide extra employment rapidly enough. In these circumstances, a considerable proportion of the migrants may be seasonal ones... (Caldwell, 1969, p. 55).

Caldwell seems to think that the rate of development in Ghana is such that it is not unrealistic to think that within a reasonable period of
time the northern regions will have a type of migration similar to that of the southern regions at the time of the study.

The whole process is doubtless a continuing one. The towns will become in social and economic terms more unlike traditional Ghana, the southern rural areas will become more like the town today, and the north will become more like contemporary southern rural areas (ibid., p. 219).

(6) Migration tends to take place largely within well-defined streams.

Caldwell found that rural-urban migration in Ghana was a very typical example of chain migration:

The position appears to be as follows. Village families without relatives in town are unlikely to send members to visit the town. Almost certainly they are also unlikely to migrate, for the penchant for commencing a migration by joining a relative in the town is very strong. But if some determined member of the family does break precedent by establishing a beach-head in the town, he is likely to be followed at intervals by a wife, children, if any, and, for temporary accommodation, by siblings, nephews, nieces, or others. This is chain migration in quite an extreme form (ibid., p. 136).

This leads, among other things, to some families and some villages having proportionately much higher representations in certain towns than others. It also leads to considerable difficulty for the persons who were the first to arrive and who are subsequently obliged to cater for the later arrivals. Gutkind's study (1967) of the unemployed in Lagos and Nairobi shows that the pattern of migration is very similar there to that described for Ghana. It also shows that, as unemployment in the towns rises, the resentment felt by the town hosts towards their uninvited guests is likely to increase. It is impossible to foretell whether this in the end will lead to a change in the pattern of migration. Regardless of whether chain migration, in its present form, will cease or not, it seems likely that migrants from certain areas will continue to migrate to the same specific places. Here again, Lee's observations seem very relevant.

This is true in part because opportunities tend to be highly localized and in part because migrants must usually follow established routes of transportation. Perhaps just as important is the flow of knowledge back from destination to origin and, indeed, the actual recruitment of migrants at the place of origin. The overcoming of a set of intervening obstacles by early migrants lessens the difficulty of the passage for later migrants, and in effect pathways are created which pass over intervening opportunities as elevated highways pass over the countryside (Lee, 1959, p. 292).

(7) For every major migration stream, a counterstream develops.

This hypothesis is thoroughly substantiated by the data from Ghana.
In the age-group 15-19 years, seasonal migration was most important relative to long-term migration and, of course, in this age-group the counterstream would be provided by the young men coming home after a short period of work away. After the age of 20, long-term migration gains in relation to seasonal migration and for the age group up till about 45 many of the men in the counterstream would be unsuccessful migrants, who, as unemployed are no longer able to sustain themselves in town and who therefore have to return home. After the age of 45 there is an increasing number of men returning to the village for good (Caldwell, 1969, p. 51). Many of the successful migrants have prepared their home-coming thoroughly; in a sense, their entire stay in town has been geared towards the day when they can return home and establish themselves as experienced and important persons.

This desire to return to the place of origin means, as I have already mentioned, that the counterstream is not only a stream of people, it is also a stream of money and goods. Caldwell notes that

There is a close connection between the growth of the urban labour market in Ghana (in addition to the growth of cash cropping) and the very great investment in substantial housing in the smaller towns and villages (ibid., p. 145).

(8) Migration is selective.

In Ghana, Caldwell found that it was predominantly the young people who moved to town, particularly those between 15 and 29 years of age. This seems to be true, not only of migration in Africa, but of migration everywhere. One scholar who attempted to construct a theory of differential migration wrote, I suspect in despair, that ... apart from age ... "further differentials do not exist and should not be expected to exist" (D.J. Bogue, quoted in Jansen, 1969, p. 63).

Caldwell found, however, a few other differentials. There seem to have been more males than females in the migrant stream, a fact which may partly be explained by the sex differential in rural education and partly by there being fewer employment opportunities for girls in town. Furthermore, education and its degree play a tremendous role in deciding who is to migrate and who is to stay. It was also found that the eldest children, especially the two eldest sons and the eldest daughter, are less likely to migrate and more likely to return if they do migrate (Caldwell, 1969, p. 849).
The heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life-cycle is important in the selection of migrants. Apart from the very strong influence of age already mentioned, there is little in the Ghana material that shows that the stage of the life-cycle is important on more than two occasions - when the decision to migrate to town is made and when the decision to migrate back to the rural area is taken. Caldwell found that the families acquired by the young migrant are much more mobile than was previously thought. In his discussion of the circular migration pattern in Rhodesia, J.C. Mitchell (1969 a) implies that the greatest single factor in the rural "pull" is the fact that the migrant, for reasons of administrative regulation and prohibitive costs, cannot bring his family with him. In such a situation the various stages of the life-cycle of both the migrant and his dependents play a much more important part than in a situation where the town-dweller can have at least part of his family with him.

In conclusion, I think one can safely say that the theoretical framework and the explicit hypotheses set out by Lee appear very fruitful in comparative migration research and in setting out lines of further enquiry. What is needed is much more material, collected in a way which will allow of inter- and intra-national comparison, and which can be analysed in relation to these and other hypotheses which have proved relevant and enlightening when applied to existing material.
VII. BIBLIOGRAPHY


Research Reports


