

AFRICAN RURAL URBAN MIGRATION

A DECISION MAKING PERSPECTIVE

by

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ABSTRACT

Rural-urban migration is fundamentally a demographic phenomenon. It should be also open to analysis at the level of individual decision making as well as the demographic level so common in the literature. The individual acts or operates within a social and physical environment. He perceives some of the information available to him concerning the various dimensions of his environment. He acts with reference to his perception and his manipulation of that information.

An observer cannot directly perceive the process of a West African making decisions. However he could note relevant information which may be available to a migrant. The observer could then note the migrant's actions. From these two sets of data the observer might surmise about the intermediate decision making process. This might be called the Information-decision-action perspective. From this perspective of the individual level a set of axioms can be constructed to generate a number of hypotheses concerning migration.

Available literature on rural-urban migration in Africa, plus some from other geographic areas for comparison, is examined with respect to the hypotheses generated. As most of the data refer to overall movements, a certain transformation of the data is required to make them useful to the individual level of analysis attempted in this thesis. Most of the source data support the four

categories of hypotheses I have developed but a few notable exceptions provide a useful reexamination of the formal approach of this thesis.

After outlining the perspective and applying it to migration literature I turned to study a localised setting in West Africa. The ethnographic environment of Kwawu migrants is described from census data and personal recollection. The social and physical environments of the Kwawu traditional area and of Accra, the capital city to which most Kwawu migrate, are described as information available to a hypothetical individual. This is followed by an example of a particular individual in a transitory state. The aggregate data related to the differential migration of Kwawu are examined and a demonstration model is generated from the Information-decision-action perspective to indicate the extent to which this approach is predictive.

The individual's decision making process, or Information-decision-action perspective is outlined in Chapter One and is related in Chapter Two to relevant literature. Chapters Three, Four, and Five parallel the Information-decision-action perspective; Chapter Three deals with Kwawu ethnographic information; Chapter Four is a description of one Kwawu individual's decisions; and Chapter Five relates the resulting actions of Kwawu migrants. The problems of relating aggregate data to individual experiences and the problems of integrating personal and library sources of information are briefly examined in a summary chapter.

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INTRODUCTION

The Individual Operating Within Systems

Rural Decisions and Urban Migrants

This process (Urbanization) has several distinct characteristics: economically, the structure of production changes and an increasing proportion of workers are involved in non-agricultural activities and have unequal access to economic opportunities; politically, bureaucratic machinery and administrative control are becoming more extensive; legally, conflicting claims are expressed in contractual rather than in status arrangements. Industrial urbanization is thus more than a shifting of people from country to city, from land bound to urban occupations, and more than increasing population density and economic differentiation. It entails also change in distribution of power, interests, institutional arrangements, norms of conduct, and social values, and as a particular process of increasing complexity, cannot be isolated from the more general context of social growth.¹

Urbanization and Rural-Urban Migration

Two major factors influence West Africa's rapid urban growth. First, the natural population growth rate has increased in recent years as the applications of modern technology have lowered mortality and morbidity but have not overcome an historically functional reluctance to lower birth rates. Yet this does not account for most West African urban increase. Second, the urban population is increasing as a result of migration from rural areas.

Table 1 indicates the rapid urbanization of Ghana where the percentage of urban dwellers has increased from less than 8% of the total population to more than 23% within forty years.

1. Kuper, Hilda. Urbanization and Migration in West Africa. University of California, Berkeley, 1965, page 1.

TABLE 1

INCREASE IN URBAN POPULATION IN GHANA: 1921-1960

	<u>1921</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1960</u>
Urban* Population	181,000	538,000	1,551,000
Rural Population	2,296,000	4,118,000	6,727,000
% of Population in urban areas	7.9%	13.0%	23.1%

* Defined as "people living in areas of over 5,000 inhabitants".

Source: Birmingham et al. (1966:192).

The Importance of Migration to Urban Growth

Table 1 indicates that the Ghanaian urban population is increasing more rapidly than is the rural. That this increment is accounted for more by migration than by natural causes might be indicated in several ways. For present purposes, three sets of demographic data are offered in support of this statement: age structures, fertility differentials, and birthplaces.

If the increase in the urban areas were due to natural causes, then a demographer would expect to find an age distribution consistent with that found in the rest of the country. If the increase were due to migration, however, he would expect to find a greater proportion of persons of employable ages in the urban than in the rural areas. This second demographic structure proves to be the

case. In 1960, 45% of Ghana's total population was under 15 years of age, but in the urban centres of Kumasi, Sekondi, and Accra, the proportions of children under 15 were 42%, 40% and 39% respectively (Birmingham, 1967:129, table 3.11). Furthermore, assuming that persons of employable ages included all those, and only those, between the ages of 15 and 44, then the percentage of such individuals was considerably higher in the three major urban areas than in the total population; 51% in each of the three cities, but only 43% in Ghana as a whole (Birmingham, 1967:129, table 3.11).

Similar indicators can also be found in fertility differentials measured by the ratios of children under the age of five per thousand women aged 15 to 44. The ratio for all of Ghana is 886 per thousand, but in urban centres of over 5,000 it is only 816. The ratio for rural Ghana is 908, but in Kumasi it drops to 827, in Takoradi to 729, and in Accra to 769 (Birmingham, 1967:101, table 2.18). These figures indicate that fewer children are born in urban than in rural areas. Higher rural birth rates indicate that higher urban growth rates are due to migration from rural areas to urban areas.

The third piece of demographic data -- that of birthplace -- becomes significant when it is seen simultaneously with the first two indicators. The 1960 census found that 80% of Ghanaians still lived in their birthplace, but this picture of relative stability in the country as a whole is sharply upset when set against the findings

within particular towns. For example, only 51% of the population in Accra reporting to the census was born in the Accra region. The proportion for Sekondi and Kumasi was 66% and 58% (Birmingham, 1967: 129, table 3.11), somewhat higher than that of Accra, but far below the national figure.

Complementing each other in their findings, these three simple indicators point to the conclusion that urban growth in Ghana is rather the result of migration than of natural increase.

Causes of Rural-Urban Migration

Rural-urban migration poses interesting problems to businessmen, politicians, social scientists, and to the migrants themselves (Boque, 1959:491). It may be looked at as a process and the product of ecological or social forces. The intention here however, is to examine the rural-urban migration process from the perspective of how these forces affect an individual's decision about migration. The migration decision equally includes the decision to remain. When the focus of a study is on the city the migrants are seen to come from a number of areas. When the focus is on a particular area, where most such decisions are made, migrants are seen to have choices of a number of places to go, as well as the choice to not migrate at all.

People move from place A to place B because they see differences between place A and B, but also because they see similari-

ties. The choice to migrate due to perceived differences may be seen as a choice to maximise benefits. The choice to migrate related to perceived similarities may be seen as a choice to minimise costs. Migrants move from A to B because they see in B something different but not too different: different enough to warrant a move but not so different to be uncomfortably alien.

There have been a number of published studies of West African urbanization. These have given three classes of "macro"-level explanations for demographic changes: a diffusionist perspective including colonial and metropolitan influence; an evolutionary perspective of adapting traditional patterns; or geographic, economic cum ecological explanations. The first sees town growth as being a result of administrative structures including civic centers transplanted from colonial metropolises which are eagerly sought by the rural natives who rush to fill the town. This perspective permeates the explanations of Auger's (1968) Congo study, Ampene's (1966) study of Obuasi, Ghana, Crowder (1968), Denis (1966), Epstein (1967), Gamble's (1964) study of Kenema, Sierra Leone, Gulliver's (1966) South Africa study, Horvath's (1968) Ethiopian study, Karmon (1967), Ransom (1965) and Zarembo (1967).

The second "macro" level perspective finds its roots in the idea that urbanization, or particular forms of it, and structures arising from urbanization, stem from traditional patterns. This approach can be used simultaneously with the first view. Traditional

forms of urbanizing or of rural urban migration have been variously described: by Akinola (1967) who sees little clear-cut difference between rural and urban Yoruba, by Bascom (1959) who also refers to Yoruba urbanization, by Gleave (1966) who sees traditional hill settlements adapted to town living after the Europeans imposed peace, by Cohen (1969) who discussed Hausa traditions in Yoruba towns, by Mabogunge, (1962, 1968) who suggests that some traditional urban forms are dysfunctional in that they may be "parasitic" urban growth, by Nzimiru (1965) who reports that Igbo urban migration is, among other things, due to Igbo "progressiveness", by Siddle (1968) who, like Gleave, traces Sierra Leone war town patterns to town living, by Udo (1967) who describes three centuries of Calabar history, by Van Velson who sees Tonga migration as a continuity factor, by Zaremba (1964) who describes traditional cities such as Kano, Ibadan, and Kumasi, and by Henderson (1966) who compares urban Efik and Igbo.

Traditional urbanization as a focus of analysis leads to two more concerns: migration itself as a traditional activity, and cyclical (rural-urban-rural) migration with concomitant dual role individuals. Barbour (1965) provides four rural-rural migration examples: Moslem pilgrims from West Africa who settled in the Sudan; 'Mailo' workers attracted to Buganda; Western movements of Akuapem cocoa farmers in Ghana; and Southbound Igbira migrations in Nigeria. Nzimiro (1965) mentions Igbo fifteenth century migrations of people in search of land and freedom from the Benin Obas. Oppong (1967)

analyses differential migration patterns in two kinds of Northern Ghanaian communities, where there may be centralised political systems with high local male migration and acephalous communities with exogamous patrilines having female movement at marriage. Alverson (1967) notes the extent of cyclic migration comparing European and African, and suggests methods of examination. Ampene (1967) examines different types of cyclic migration and relates it to home ties. Elkan (1968) relates cyclic migration to town growth in East Africa. Gutkind (1965) indicates how cyclic migration shapes urban networks. Mayer (1962, 1965) discusses townsmen who "continue thinking of the hinterland...as their permanent home," and Gulliver (1957) shows how cyclic migration is functional in rural society.

Explanations which examine societal needs and relate behavior to the environment's capability to satisfy these needs are classed as economic-ecological. This is the approach in Acquah's (1958) study of Accra. Apthorpe (1958), Armstrong and McGee (1968), Badouin (1966), Elkan (1960), Forde (1967), Gaveh (1961), Gutkind (1965), Kuper (1965), Moses (1967), and Villien-Rossi (1966) all refer to economic decisions and geographic constraints. Further to this, Badouin (1966), Descloîtres (1965) and Gluckman see these constraints as a form of technical determinism, where technological changes result in social changes. Although Badouin refers to psychological factors only Imoagene (1967) specifically refers to need dispositions apart from objective economic determinants. Caldwell

(1968) refers to a number of sociological factors from his empirical study and Guichard (1968) drafts a typology of seven factors. These authors will be examined in more detail in Chapter Two, but nowhere in the literature on African rural-urban migration is decision making specifically analysed.

Economic Factors in Decisions

Human actions such as migration are often considered to have a purely psychological or economic or sociological or political cause. In fact, human action is the result of the interrelation of all these causes (Beijer, 1963). All human action has a political aspect. Likewise it all has economic, psychological and sociological aspects. An individual's decision to migrate cannot be attributed to a cause that can be classified into one of these categories exclusive of any other. The decision is psychological as it is done by a human individual relating to some psychic process within himself. It has political aspects in that the decision affects and is affected by aims and expressions of power by other humans. It is futile to attempt to catalogue migration decisions, and then report that economics is more important than sociology, or politics is more important than psychology in explaining action.

Some writers who concern themselves with migration in Africa divide reasons for migration into economic and non-economic. This is a false dichotomy. All decisions, analytically speaking, are

ultimately economic. Economics is concerned with the production and allocation of something called wealth, which is socially defined as having a measure of utility and a measure of scarcity. Wealth is sometimes thought of as consisting of goods and services, but ultimately the value of a good is in the service it provides. Writers less familiar with economics tend to see as economic, only that which has a price tag. This is an ethnocentric oversight on the part of people who are familiar only with western systems of allocation, which depend to a large extent on a medium of exchange and a market system of rate fixing. In large sectors of western societies, and in many non-western societies there is allocation of wealth (therefore economic activity) not based on a market system, or even on a monetary medium of exchange. Decisions of migration are based on the satisfaction of desires, or expected income, related to minimization of dislikes, or lower costs. In this analytical sense all decisions have an economic dimension to them, whether or not they may also be classified as psychological, sociological and so on.

Gulliver (1955:32) for example separates "bright lights" reasons from economic, and suggests that "economic necessity is almost always the real cause." The perception, on the part of the individual, of greener fields elsewhere, however is no less "economic" than what Gulliver classes as economic (e.g., wages), regardless of how "real" such perception is as a cause for migration. Mitchell (1959:32) makes a similar dichotomy of economic factors as

a series of personal events which "triggers off his decision to go". He goes farther to suggest that personal rather than economic reasons operate independently of the "underlying factors" which he says are "economic." He distinguishes between incidence and rate of migration and suggests that personal considerations account for the incidence of real urban migration while economic factors account for the rate of migration.

²
Gugler (1969) takes up this economic/non-economic dichotomy although he does not agree that non-economic factors should be lumped together. He does not state explicitly that "economic" means anything to do with money, for example, tax payment time as a time to migrate (p. 143), but the assumption is made covertly so that he does not even consider that decisions affecting the allocation of scarce resources -- that is, economic decisions -- are included in what he calls non-economic. Later (p. 148), Gugler names some non-economic factors. He refers to Watson (1958:70) who reported that older men directed their attention to positions of political importance within the rural community. Gugler suggests that this minimises participation in cash economy, which is acceptable, but surely these are economic decisions. He refers to Balandier (1955:222) who reports that the person who has "fled the village" -- and Gugler calls this a non-economic migration decision -- weakens urban-rural ties. The prediction that an individual leaving a village due to

2. See Appendix 1.

high personal costs of ostracism does not encourage others to follow is not denied, but fleeing the village was the result of an economic decision. Gugler reports that Garbett (1967:312) found that men incapable of advancing their position in a traditional system tended to continue to work in wage labor for as long as possible. Garbett's data may be correct but to suggest that resultant weakening of rural-urban ties is non-economic is faulty analysis. Gugler suggests that because members of high income groups maintain village connections such ties are social and not economic (p. 148). This indicates a misinterpretation of the term economic. The ties have both a social and in economic dimension. Income is not measured in totally monetary terms: income consists of anything which is consumed, which is relatively scarce, and relatively useful. Wealth includes the personal satisfaction of pleasing a god or an elder in the family whether time, money, or labor is spent on the production of that satisfaction. It is not surprising, in terms of economic analysis, to discover that urban residents who desire and can afford to maintain links with the village in what Gugler calls "non-economic" activity. Gugler concludes (p. 155) by saying that economic factors are more important than non-economic factors in causing rural-urban migration and an aggregate labor function taking economic and non-economic factors into account can be constructed. His further analysis is not denied, so long as "economic" is read to mean wage-monetary-exchange-economic:

Among the causes both of rural-urban migration and of the maintenance of urban-rural ties economic factors are of major importance. Analysis has, however, to include non-economic factors. Empirically these are more important in the case of urban-rural ties.

An aggregate labour supply function taking economic and non-economic factors into account can be established. Under present-day conditions in Subsaharan Africa it can at no stage be expected to be backward-sloping.

The incidence of rural-urban migration and of urban-rural ties is determined by the differential impact of collective forces on different individuals. Personal history determines which individual has at a given point in time the characteristics that are socially determined to lead to departure to the town or to return to a rural home.

Where a pattern, be it of rural-urban migration or of the maintenance of urban-rural ties, is established in a given society it often receives normative support, and the frequency of deviance is thus reduced. In the case of rural-urban migration, data are available to show that such norms disappear rapidly once economic conditions have changed. (Gugler, 1969:155)

There is a danger in categorizing causes of activity into economic and non-economic. All decisions to migrate are decisions affecting the allocation of scarce and useful incomes and as such are economic. The insistence of a consistent use of the word economic is not simply an exercise in pedantry. The implication that economic refers only to wage income implies that cultures without money lack economics, yet they do produce and allocate wealth. The assumption may further suggest that non-western is equivalent to non-economic and possibly non-rational as economy is concerned with allocation decisions. Further, if this false dichotomy is

persued to the point where economic factors are said to be more important in rural urban migration than it might be supposed that there was no urbanization or rural urban migration without economy (read "money" instead of "economy"). This is the assumption in so many statements which talk about "the impact of the money economy...." This seriously departs from the empirical archaeological data indicating extensive non-western urbanization in West Africa and Central America. Economics, and economic decisions are not equated with markets and money decisions. Migration decisions, as all allocation decisions, are made with respect to a combined maximization of expected personal gratification and minimization of expected personal dissatisfaction. To understand migration then, it is necessary to include an examination of decision making from the individual perspective.

CHAPTER ONE

The Formal Perspective

Information Decision Action

Weighing Costs and Benefits

The Choice: Go or No-Go

It seems, then, that the study of a town-plus-hinterland field, with its circulating personnel, cannot well hope to proceed as the analysis of "a social structure," and that the quest for an alternative method of approach would be justified. A reasonable alternative method, it is here suggested, would be to begin at the study of the migrant persons themselves, by mapping out their networks of relations from the personal or egocentric point of view, as well as noting their parts in the various structural systems.¹

The Individual

In attempting to employ Mayer's "reasonable alternative method" the lack of primary data provides a serious obstacle. There is very little observation written about an individual's subjective motives relevant to West African rural urban migration. It is possible however, to formulate a perspective and examine secondary data, collected for reasons other than to emphasize the individual. From this perspective a model can be constructed on which one may generate hypotheses to be used to illuminate literature presently available.

The individual cannot be viewed as acting wholly independently of social processes. Rather, he operates within, and his actions relate to, such processes in a significant and observable manner. Confronted by certain information -- be it facts, theories, propositions, or, even, suppositions -- he evaluates, weighs, arrives

1. Philip Mayer, "Migrancy and the Study of Africans in Towns", American Anthropologist, Vol. 64, 1962, p. 579. Reprinted in Africa; Social Problems of Change and Conflict, readings selected and edited by Pierre L. Van Den Berghe, Chandler, San Francisco, 1965.

at a judgment and makes a choice resolving both subjective and objective conflicts. From this choice he moves to his decision and subsequent action. While the internal, subjective workings of an individual's decision-making are neither observable nor measurable, both the information available to him, and the action he takes, can be noted. By ascertaining the "input" or information available to the individual and noting the "output" or resulting action, some observations regarding the intermediate stage -- the decision-making -- may be inferred. Let this threefold view or perspective of decision-making in an individual be called the Information-Decision-Action Perspective, or the I.D.A. This may be used first as an explanatory, and later developed into a predictive device.

In making a choice between two alternatives, the individual weighs in fine balance the benefits and opposing costs he expects will accrue to his decision. Here, benefits and costs are meant to comprise a full complement of credits and demerits, not merely monetary betterment or loss. Benefits certainly include an income adequate to support a satisfactory life-style, but they also include such intangibles as prestige, status, the leisure to enjoy and value a beautiful sunset or a highlife concert, the giving and receiving of love and happiness within the circle of family and friends. Costs include detriments measured in monied terms, but, also, loneliness, fatigue, lack of status, the unaesthetic home and view, foregone pleasure and foregone leisure. A substantivist economist, trained

in a culture emphasizing the market value of benefits and costs, might overlook more nebulous factors. Not so a Ghananian or any individual inheriting a total and integrated approach to values when faced with a personal choice between village and city.

Information-Decision-Action

The simplest Information-decision-action model to employ would relate to an individual living in a rural area and presented with the choice of migrating to only one urban centre. He would have only four basic factors to consider: the benefits of migrating, the costs of migrating, the benefits of remaining, and the costs of remaining. The interaction and relativity of these four factors are important. The individual would choose to migrate if the benefits of moving to the city presented a gain over the total sum of the other three. If the two halves of the equation appeared equal, however, and the individual were caught in a state of indecision, a rise in any one of the factors relative to the other three might resolve the dilemma. For example, new information concerning the benefits of migration would trigger a decision in favour of going provided that the other three remained constant relative to the new information. Conversely, the decision to remain in the rural area would be subject to the same relativity and manipulation of the plus and minus qualities of the four basic factors. An individual presented with higher benefits attached to migration relative to remaining,

might still remain if the costs of migrating were very much higher than the costs of remaining. All four factors are calculated simultaneously.

A Symbolic Shorthand

All of these factors consist of aggregations. Without using money as the measure, it is difficult to weigh the relative importance of each benefit and each cost. Each individual gives his own differing evaluation to each factor, but the relationship between the four remains the same. For the sake of clarity a very elementary mathematical formula is offered. It does not matter which of the four factors is divided, added or subtracted, the most important thing to note is that the choice involves the magnitude of the four factors relative to each other. The individual must decide whether the opportunity of going to a cinema is worth the noise of lorries.

This may be represented symbolically for the sake of brevity. Examine Diagram One. Let C be the aggregate of costs which an individual perceives as accruing to a particular action. Let C_v then be the costs of remaining in a village, and C_c be the costs of migrating to, and living in a city. Let B be the aggregate of benefits which an individual regards as accruing to a particular action. Let B_v then be the benefits of remaining in a village, and B_c be the benefits of migrating to, and living in, a city.

The ratio B_v/C_v will represent the relationship between the benefits and the costs of remaining in a village. The ratio B_c/C_c will represent the relationship between the benefits and costs of migrating to and living in a city. An increase in the ratio B/C indicates that benefits are rising relative to costs; a decrease indicates that costs are rising relative to benefits.

Given only one city to which an individual may migrate, the basic hypothesis supposes that a decision to go will result if the benefit of migrating is greater than its costs and also greater than the sum of remaining less the costs of remaining. This may be more easily visualised with a simple mathematical equation where D is the decision to go or not to go:

$$D = \frac{\sum B_c}{\sum C_c} - \frac{\sum B_v}{\sum C_v}$$

If D is positive the individual will choose to migrate to the city. If D is negative or zero the individual will choose to remain in the village. A zero result means all four factors equalize or negate each other, resulting in a non-choice or a non-decision -- the individual stays where he is.

The individual decides

to go if:

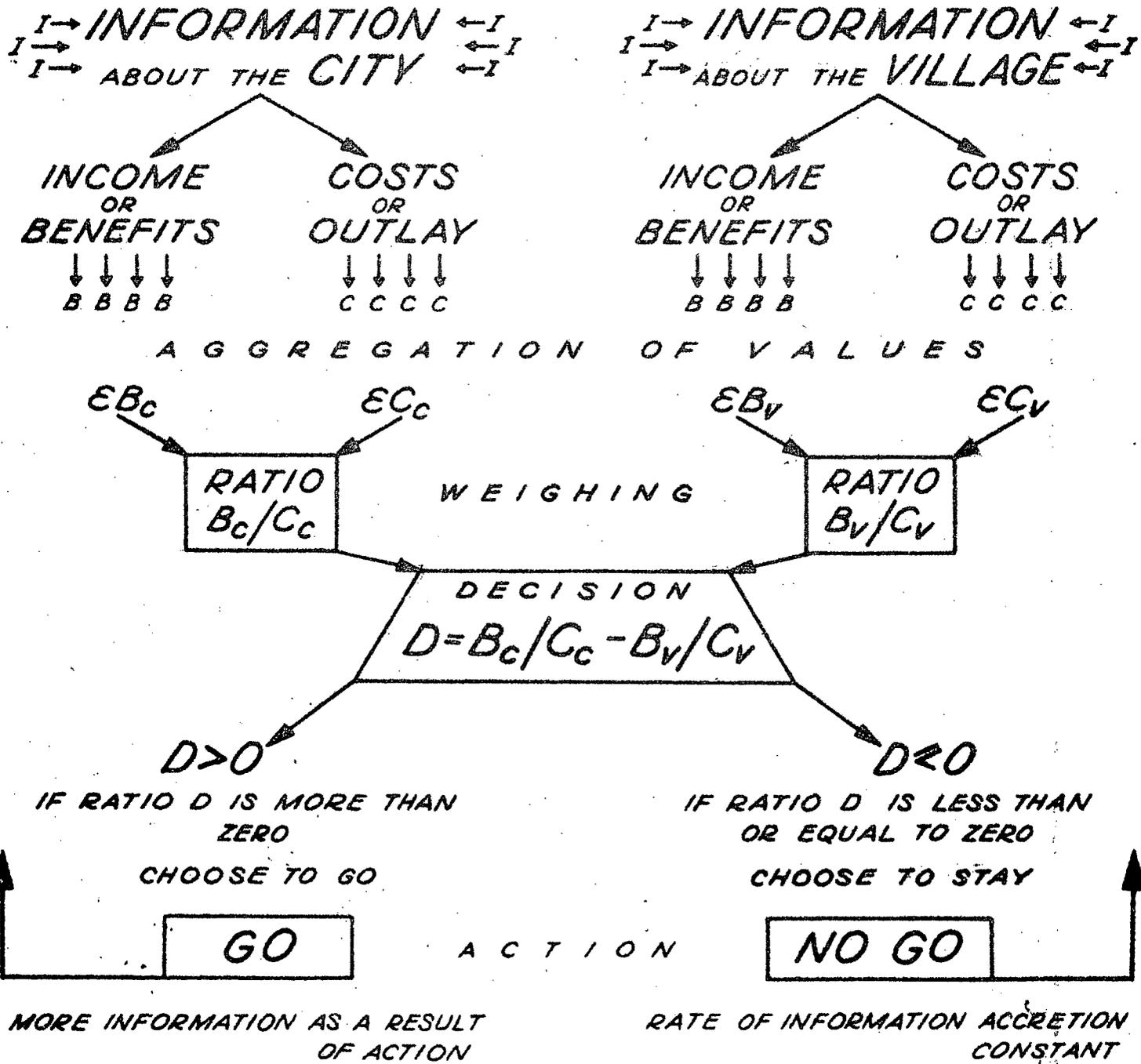
$$D > 0$$

He decides to

remain if:

$$D \leq 0$$

SCHEMATIC VIEW OF DECISION PROCESS



RATIO D INCREASES WHEN: (OTHER FACTORS CONSTANT)

- B_v - BENEFITS PERCEIVED TO ACCRUE TO REMAINING IN THE VILLAGE.
- C_v - COSTS PERCEIVED TO ACCRUE TO REMAINING IN THE VILLAGE.
- B_v/C_v - RATIO OF THE ABOVE TWO.
- B_c - BENEFITS PERCEIVED TO ACCRUE TO MIGRATING TO THE CITY.
- C_c - COSTS PERCEIVED TO ACCRUE TO MIGRATING TO THE CITY.
- B_c/C_c - RATIO OF THE ABOVE TWO.

B AND C ARE NOT VALUES MEASURABLE BY MONEY, BUT ARE PERCEIVED AND EVALUATED BY THE DECISION MAKER AS AGGREGATIONS OF INFORMATION.

Needs and Obligations

Information, in the Information-decision-action perspective does not only include data on expected income or costs according to predetermined or objective criteria. It includes new wants or newly perceived ends or goals. These ends may be immaterial: statuses, ideas, aesthetic views; or material: cinema viewing, beer consumption, television. If these new goals are perceived and internalized the D formula, as illustrated in the diagram above, changes. If they are not perceived the want or dissatisfaction level remains lower. If they become new goals, and if the city is thought to be the only, or most expedient channel of accession then the value of D rises and the probability of a move to the city increases. If the city is perceived to be a barrier to such new goals, e.g., aesthetic view is limited, then the value for costs of migrating to the city (C_c) rises and the D value drops decreasing the probability of a move to the city.

These needs also include substantive or basic metabolic needs such as food and sleep. If the city is seen to be more capable of providing these needs, via job, money income, and assistance from relatives to sustain while first in the city, then the D value increases and there is a higher probability of a move. If these needs are thought of as becoming more scarce, or less easily satisfied in the rural area, again the tendency is to migration.

Another form of information is in the social dimension. Debts, and obligations to deities, ancestors, and relatives in the rural area may require an individual to remain. This is so if by previous internalized information the individual feels such repayment is good. He gains, or hopes to gain satisfaction by paying such debts or fulfilling such obligations. Then there is a higher tendency to remain in the natal area. If, on the other hand, the individual has not internalized such previous information, or the internalization was incomplete, he may perceive a move as an avenue of debt avoidance. This means the Benefit aggregate of a go decision is raised, and the probability of a move is higher.

Rural Origins of Urban Decisions

Migration decisions are not made only in the home village. An individual visiting a city is exposed to a great deal of information of which he may hitherto have been unaware. He may see things which he dislikes, and feel that they would be too much of a cost to him if he were to live in the city. He may see things which he likes, and feel that they might outweigh the costs of living in the city, if he could gain access to them as a result of his living in the city. An individual may leave a village with the intention of returning and yet stay in the city. He might leave the village with the intention of staying away and yet return after a brief residence in the city. The migration decision, as represented by the formula in Diagram 1 is in a continuous state of change as new information is perceived.

Alternative Choices

The simple go/no-go perspective, with an individual in a rural area choosing to remain or to migrate, can now be expanded. There is no simple dichotomy: rural and urban. Conditions vary. The individual may be on an isolated homestead. He could choose to remain or go to any one of a number of nearby hamlets, or slightly larger villages, or larger towns, or cities. There are a number of migratory alternatives. Individuals in small villages might choose to remain or migrate to a larger village, a town or a city. Individuals may live in towns and might choose to remain or to migrate to a larger town or a city. All of these might be classed as rural urban migration decisions. Nevertheless, in each of them the choice is not simply between going and staying. It is between remaining or moving to one of any number of areas.

The mathematical expression of the decision must now be expanded to:

$$D_{1,2,\dots,n} = \frac{(\sum B - \sum C)_{c1}}{\sum B_v - \sum C_v}, \frac{(\sum B - \sum C)_{c2}}{\sum B_v - \sum C_v}, \dots, \frac{(\sum B - \sum C)_{cn}}{\sum B_v - \sum C_v}$$

Using the same symbols as in Diagram 1 and where n represents the number of known alternatives to remaining in a particular area, and the choice between D_1 , D_2 , or D_n is the choice D_g such that the ratio:

$$\frac{\sum B_g - \sum C_g}{\sum B_v - \sum C_v}$$

is the highest of the known alternatives. If all of the ratios are equal to or less than zero, he would choose to remain. In this mathematical expression, zero is arbitrarily set to be equivalent to the state where an individual is indifferent to going or remaining, but momentum and friction result in his remaining. Seen as forces, the aggregate four factors could be seen as always acting so as to reduce the value of D to zero. In this sense the formula could always be seen as an expression of dynamic equilibrium of a minus number approaching zero.

Variations in Information

A further consideration requires another modification of the simplest, mechanistic formula. The content of much information which influences the decision of the individual is not necessarily perceived at a proximal time prior to the action. Examples of long time differences between Information and Action (thus assumed to be between Information and Decision), include information acquired during the individual's early life which is internalized into such obligatory parameters as will restrict his later decision making. This information affects internalized values which the individual considers as limits to his means -- in a means-ends decision. Prior information can act as a framework for subsequent direct information pertaining to the decision (for example: "I would go to the city

except I must stay in the village and care for my grandmother",
"I wouldn't be so keen to live in the city but I want to get out of
this place where my uncle makes such demands on me.")

Certainly the information reported by a social scientist presented here, is not necessarily exactly the same as the information perceived by all or even any of the migrant individuals. Observed information, thought to be available to the individual may be recorded, yet the individual may perceive only a part of the information, or possibly none of it, or he may perceive other information pertinent to his decision but not recorded by the observer. He screens and filters his perception in very complicated ways. The Information-decision-action perspective is necessarily a mechanistic oversimplification of an individual's actual perception process. Both the oversimplification and the mechanistic view are useful however, as long as their limitations are accepted, and considered. The oversimplification allows for clarity for further, more complicated descriptions. The mechanistic view allows for certain mathematical manipulations. From its simplest to its more complex forms, the Information-decision-action perspective is not meant to be a reproduction of any so-called "reality" but is only a representation of a few concepts.

The Environmental Context of the Individual Decision

In order to focus on the individual operating within a system of environmental dimensions, in contrast to a study of those dimensions themselves, it is necessary now to digress slightly, to indicate the nature of those systems, within which the individual acts. The systems may be more or less fixed in structure. Some are more variable over time and geographic cline. At some level of analysis the aggregations and inter-relationships of individual actions comprise some of those systems. At another level those systems themselves inter-relate to comprise the total social and political environment. It is sufficient here to outline those systems and indicate the possible relationships between them and the individual rather than to make a definitive analysis of the structure and dynamics of those systems.

First there are the relatively constant environmental conditions. These are in a sense external to the culture, although not external to individual perception. Such contingent conditions include the ecological or physical environment, climate and land forms. These conditions, not directly variable with cultural variations are roughly parallel to the classical economists' productive category, Land, i.e., those aspects of productive factors which are external to the economic system. Second, and somewhat more variable, is the sum of demographic characteristics. This, the product

of past educational and social activities, includes the aggregate capabilities, tools, training, skills and energies of the people. These activities are related to the historical dimension, that series of events which leads to a particular structure at a particular time. To some extent it is parallel to the classical economists' productive category, capital, or those aspects of productive factors which are the result of prior human activity. The third classical productive category is labour, and in a formalist approach to economics that could include all the productive human characteristics listed below which relate to the social environment of an individual decision maker.

Another dimension of the social environment within which an individual operates is reflected in the extent to which there is competition or co-operation in the society. The individual's ethical criteria will reflect that of his society. This dimension may be examined from the individual perspective in two ways. First, an individual internalises his own competitive and co-operative criteria, and his own socialization processes may be seen as the information facet of the Information-decision-action perspective. Second, an individual who is weighing costs and benefits must consider his desires in terms of accepted norms and parameters of action. His understanding of the extent of co-operation or competition in the society must be included in his calculations.

An individual generally acts in a manner which he knows will be acceptable within his society. If his society's reward for co-operation is personal satisfaction, the individual will act for personal satisfaction. His income is in terms of rewards from others who reinforce the ethic he has internalized. He may, of course act calculating the degree of cost as well as the degree of reward.

A similar relationship exists between an individual and that socio-cultural dimension which might be designated as the structure of habits or customs. Components of this system include life styles, tastes in food, art, clothing, literature, and architecture as well as morals, ideologies, and other cultural values. The individual, as he grows up, receives information about the relative value of alternative habits or patterned actions. The extent to which he conforms to social mores reflects his decisions regarding probable benefits or costs in terms of personal satisfaction and/or social reward or ostracism.

There is further information needed by the individual. He must, at least intuitively if not explicitly, know something of the structure, or processes of socio-political systems within which he may act. He must ask, "What is the extent, the function, and the dynamics of the educational structure?", "What is the nature of stratification, power, prestige, and influence in the society?", "What legal structures provide rewards or punishments for alternative

actions?" He must make his decisions in accordance with his information about these as socialization practices. He must acquire economic information about the substantive costs and benefits of various activities, including migration. Then he must relate his own resources and his own needs or desires to the economic environment. He must see the society's range of acceptable goals, the relative emphasis on immediate or future satisfaction of each. He must then relate his own goals to alternative environments and alternative goals, and his relative capabilities for fulfilling these goals. Complementary to goals are the kinds and extent of stress in each environment. The individual may seek to minimize tension, and his decision-making, in terms of the Information-decision-action perspective, might be seen as stress minimization rather than goal maximization. Either way, his choice represents the maximum ratio of benefits to costs. The individual is both affected by, and affects the extent and nature of stress in a social system.

Finally, he needs information about changes in the social structure. To what extent can he count on kin groups to satisfy certain needs or desires, or alternatively depend on newer structures? These might be a reflection of the society becoming more differentiated. To what extent are corporate groups segmented and independent, such as clans or villages, or integrated and interdependent, such as bureaucracies, or corporations? To what extent does each allow for the whole range of social human participation?

In a society where the extended family is becoming of secondary importance and formal organizations are becoming of greater importance, the individual must act in accordance with his information about these structural changes and processes.

The focus of the Information-decision-action perspective is on the individual. It seeks to isolate the decision making process of the individual by relating his information to his actions. However the individual does not operate in a vacuum. His information consists of his perceptions of the various dimensions of social and physical environment noted above. His actions also affect that environment.

To examine the individual operating within a social environment, it is easier to assume that variables in that environment are first held constant. Then one might examine how an individual chooses as he is exposed to variation in that environment. One must always remember that the environment as well as the individual's perception of it is constantly changing. Only in an analytic sense, not in a personally historic sense, is the environment of a potential migrant ever static. As external conditions change, he may or may not perceive new information which will affect his decision to remain or to go. The individual can be thought of as a unit in a varying multidimensional environment. He is exposed to varying information about the changing conditions of that environment and the potential environments. He perceives and internalizes some of that

information. He balances that information as he receives it and compares it to prior information. He acts according to his perception and consideration of that information.

CHAPTER TWO

The Literature

Weighing Costs and Benefits

The Go/No-Go Choice

Information

Decision

Action

Migration is due to many causes: it is impossible to assess the relative value of economic, social or psychological motives. It is encouraged and organized by the authorities and employers in some countries; in others it is spontaneous, sometimes even clandestine.¹

Categories of Causes

As I have written above, the individual decision to migrate is in essence an economic decision, where economic implies the broadest concept encompassing wealth allocation, a concept not hampered by western ethnocentric limitations such as the equating of "economic" with "monetary". The migration decision is a choice based on expected returns and expected expenses of various courses of action. The weighing of these returns and expenses is based on the information related to each course which the individual considers.

There are basically four categories of information in the simple Go/No-Go perspective of only one available city. The choice depends on information about increased benefits to going, decreased costs to going, increased costs of staying and decreased benefits of staying, each relative to the other three categories. As explained in the previous chapter, in the expanded perspective the choice of remaining or migrating to one of any number of known cities depends upon the highest ratio of benefits to costs for each of the

1. J. Denis, "The Towns of Tropical Africa" (Summary), Civilizations, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1966, p. 43.

known choices. For the sake of simplicity and clarity, however, in this chapter the simpler "model" is used. Information reported by other observers for other purposes is regrouped here under the four categories of information to which a prospective migrant has access. These four categories are associated with the four hypotheses and their converses. As in Diagram 1, C represents costs, B represents benefits, and D represents the ratio of Benefits and Costs of migrating and remaining.

CATEGORY ONE: Information about costs of remaining in the village:

HYPOTHESIS 1

Other factors constant, an increase in costs related to remaining ($\sum C_v$), will result in an increase in the value of D, and increase the probability of a Go decision.

Conversely:

Other factors constant, a decrease in $\sum C_v$ will result in a decrease in the value of D, and decrease the probability of a Go decision.

CATEGORY TWO: Information about benefits of going to the city:

HYPOTHESIS 2

Other factors constant, an increase in benefits related to migrating, ($\sum B_c$), result in an increase in the value of D, and increase the probability of a Go decision.

Conversely:

Other factors constant, a decrease in $\sum B_c$ will result in a decrease in the value of D, and decrease the probability of a Go decision.

CATEGORY THREE: Information about benefits of remaining in the village:

HYPOTHESIS 3

Other factors constant, a decrease in benefits related to remaining ($\sum B_v$), will result in an increase in the value of D, and increase the probability of a Go decision.

Conversely:

Other factors constant, an increase in $\sum B_v$ will result in a decrease in the value of D, and increase the probability of a No-go decision.

CATEGORY FOUR: Information about costs of going to the city:

HYPOTHESIS 4

Other factors constant, a decrease in costs related to migrating ($\sum C_c$), will result in an increase in the value of D, and increase the probability of a Go decision.

Conversely:

Other factors constant, an increase in $\sum C_c$ will result in a decrease in the value of D, and increase the probability of a No-go decision.

All factors related to an individual's choice to go or remain, belong to one or more of the four categories above. The decision does not rest on the absolute quantity of any one of the four factors, but on the strength of each with respect to each other. When the choice is among many alternatives the relationship between expected benefits and expected costs for each possible action, remains the same. Individuals act so as to increase the ratio of expected benefits to expected costs.

Categorizing Source Data

The literature on rural urban migration does not explicitly refer to these categories of information. However, each author has examined factors related to the action of migrating both at the social and individual level of analysis. The "causes" related to demographic movements will here be broken down and re-examined in the light of the individual perspective. Two questions should be kept in mind. How does the individual perceive these "causes" of migration? How does he react or respond to information related to his decision to migrate? References cited in this chapter are often repeated because the causes of migration offered often fit into more than one of the four categories in this benefit-cost analysis.

Costs of Remaining

(Hypothesis 1)

Assuming that an individual has no other information which causes his evaluation of benefits of rural life and his evaluations of costs and benefits of an alternative life in a more urban setting to change, then new information about his perceived costs of remaining in the village will result in a new ratio between the factors and a different tendency to migrate. If the individual feels that costs of living in the village are rising relative to the other factors, he would feel more inclined to leave. If he feels that his costs are decreasing relative to other information, he would probably be more content to remain. These costs range from a general feeling of dissatisfaction to a specific empty stomach.

Religion

(Sub-hypothesis 1.A)

If through religious conversion an individual feels he cannot identify with rural life and the predominant religious beliefs of the village he may find it difficult to remain. This would not be the case if he became a Christian when the village was predominantly Christian or if he became a Moslem if the village was predominantly Moslem. It is not conversion per se which leads to costs which may result in a choice to leave. It is a conversion which sets an individual apart from the dominant religious, ideological and ethical beliefs and practices of his present environment

and which results in "costs" of ostracism or a feeling of being a misfit. Perhaps the same generalized feeling of wanting new or different experiences may be expressed in two ways: conversion to an alien religion and migration to an alternative environment, but both can be seen as action resulting in costs attributed to the status quo.

Education

(Sub-hypotheses 1.B and 1.C)

If through an educational experience an individual begins to perceive himself as being something other than a rural villager, his assessment of his costs of remaining will rise. In western cultures two kinds of educational experiences lead to ostracism. The high achiever is ostracised and called pejorative names such as "egghead". The low achiever may not be capable of gaining even medium grades, and thus suffer the patronizing term "slow learner". An individual may be capable of conforming to the requirements of the authorities who decide his grades and progress record, but a general feeling of dissatisfaction with seemingly arbitrary restrictions may be expressed in being both a misfit and a poor scholar, and eventually in migration. Thus costs of being labelled abnormal are felt by those who do well and those who do poorly as measured by institutional education standards. An individual who perceives these as costs, or as hardships, even if he does not articulate them as such, will be more likely to make a decision to migrate. On the other hand

the individual who does not find the costs of conforming to the "educational" requirements, and who tends to have a progress record closer to the mode or mean of the peer group, will find less ostracism. He then experiences lower costs in remaining in a rural community. The individual who is at either end of the educational achievement scale in Western societies may perceive that smaller communities have higher informal controls than the hoped for cosmopolitan, "freer" urban settings. This may also be in effect to some extent in West African communities.

Modern Costs

(Sub-hypothesis 1.D)

If a West African living in the village finds he has new obligations which are in a sense more connected to "urban living" (as described by Louis Wirth, 1938), then he might find it necessary to go elsewhere to seek means of covering his costs. For example, an individual might never have been required to use much currency, producing most of what he consumes, and relying on familial obligations and a sale of surplus products to provide what he could not produce. He might then be faced with new monetary obligations. A tax may be introduced. Traditional obligations such as dowry or funeral contributions, formerly supplied in the form of food, alcohol, fowl, gold dust, or cloth, might now be expected in the form of cash. He may desire an article such as a transistor radio that can only be

obtained with cash. New monetary costs may force an individual to seek alternative forms of covering those costs, such as wage employment. This employment may be seen to be more easily found in the commerce and industry of urban areas. He may not wish to remain in an urban area but while living in the rural area with its escalating costs he decides to move.

Productive Costs

(Sub-hypothesis 1.E)

New costs may arise in the rural area, not necessarily as a result of information from urban areas. Crops might fail and costs of raising food may increase as a result. Population may increase and more labor and capital intensive techniques be needed for production. Costs of capital, labor, and land may rise, relative to the income derived from living in a rural area, and these rising costs may cause the individual to decide to migrate. In order to keep up with the market, a cocoa farmer may need to introduce chemical fertilizers, or insecticides, or he may be forced to destroy much of his cocoa plantation to eradicate a certain blight, and these costs may help him to decide to leave the land. On the other hand, when crops are good and new costs of production can easily be covered the individual is less tempted to leave for greener fields.

These individual perspective interpretations of rising rural costs leading to more migration from rural areas are supported to some extent by aggregate studies of migration.

Education

(Sub-hypothesis 1.B)

If through having a higher than average education, one individual has a high probability of migrating then a higher probability of a number of individuals having more education will be expressed as a larger proportion of them migrating. Brunner (1957), in a review of all prior migrations, found that better educated persons migrate longer distances and to larger cities. Later studies seem to concur. In 1957 Pihlblad and Gregory noted the high correlations of education and professional training and the statistical tendency of high school graduates in small Missouri towns (a) to migrate, (b) to migrate longer distances, and (c) to migrate to larger rather than smaller cities. The study was done on information about 3,415 persons who had graduated ten years prior to the study. The following year Ramsay and Anderson (1958) noted that migrants were younger and more educated than non-migrants, and the most common occupational categories of migrants were professional and technical. They had studied migration in and out of New York state using census data from 1870 to 1940. Hamilton's study, also in 1958, of North Carolina migrants indicated that for the whole population the rates of migration are correlated with the level of education. However he found that for the population in the 20 to 34 year age group, net migration from rural areas was most associated with extremes in education. This supports the theoretical

contention that individuals burdened with school performance more distant from their peer groups' modal performance would feel costs of ostracism and be more tempted to leave their natal community in search of one with lighter social controls. Marshal (1959), using census data to analyse Wisconsin population changes, noted a high correlation between completion of education and migration to cities. In America the contention seems to be supported. Rose (1958:420) noted the correlation between migration distance and status. Later, in a study of four rural Alabama counties, Huie (1962) observed this tendency and decries the loss of trained and better educated people from those rural areas as a result of differential emigration.

Lijfering (1959), in a study of 1,934 ex-elementary pupils of 262 country schools in the Netherlands, noted four important correlations: intelligence scores increased with (a) migration to more urban areas, (b) migration over longer distance, (c) level of education and (d) degree of social status of occupations.

One note of caution however. This very substantial data on migration and educational indices, showing a positive aggregate statistical correlation, does not mean the individuals may necessarily express their migration decisions prior to their migration. In a study of 260 farm households, representing a ten per cent random sample of Stevens County, Washington, Roy (1961) found the level of aspirations to leave farms for urban life was not correlated

either to education or to additional non-farm skills of the informants. Unfortunately Roy did not obtain data on subsequent migration actions or the part of those people studied. If their actions correlated with other studies one might at first be tempted to ask about his methodological technique. However, a theoretical speculation may be allowed. Persons who say they will leave find that their neighbors react negatively, asking what the migrant finds wrong with his home. A potential migrant may hesitate to voice his dissatisfaction with his present environment even to a sociologist, due to anticipated costs of disapproval by community or family members.

Misfits

(Sub-hypothesis 1.C)

Somewhat related to the costs of remaining in a village due to or coinciding with educational experiences are the costs of feeling alien even while a native of the community. The reference to ostracism of both high educational achievers and low educational achievers was made above. Whether West African village boys tease their mates who excel or do poorly beyond some threshold is yet to be documented but would not prove surprising if demonstrated. There is some substantive data linking migration with alienation. Lijtering, as mentioned earlier, noted correlations not only with education but with I.Q. Duncan (1956:434) noted that cities seemed to attract the extremes in intelligence, in physical traits, and in

social ranking. I have a Kwawu friend who is quite tall, over six feet, whilst I would guess that Kwawu adult men average only five feet. This friend has confidentially articulated on a number of occasions his feelings of distress at being teased for being "abnormal". As a consequence he was applying himself diligently to becoming a lawyer so he could live in Accra and not have to listen to the jeers of his mates. He wanted to return only at festival time, Christmas, Easter, and Afahwe, and then in a big Mercedes car so no one could see his long legs. Ostracism is no mean cost in the individual perspective.

Martinson (1955), using the Bell Adjustment Inventory, Kuder Preference Record and the California Test of Personality in a survey of 1,289 graduates of Minnesota high schools, found that future rural urban migrants were less well adjusted to family and community and better adjusted to high schools. He suggested that for them the high school was the symbol of the outside world of academic, literary, and scientific pursuits. However individuals might become categorized as misfits in their rural community, the psychic costs involved often result in their seeking alternative modes of living, or alternative environments.

Lee (1958), in a study of 56,000 persons admitted to New York mental institutes for the first time, reported that after controlling for age, sex, and color, a high correlation existed between migration and mental disease for both the total of psychoses

and for each specific psychosis. He goes on to discuss possible relationships between migration and mental disease:

The same factors that impel migration may also result in mental disease, or the early stages of mental disease may be accompanied by migration.

Robins and O'Neal (1958) made a study of 524 persons admitted to a psychiatric clinic between 1924 and 1929, and a control group from the same neighborhoods, sex categories and birth years, for Caucasians with I.Q.'s of over 80. They compared 30 year histories of clinic patients and a control group. They found that problem children, after thirty years, had contributed significantly to crime, divorce, violent death by homicide or suicide, to mental hospital populations, and were much more inclined to migrate than the control group. Not all data links alienation with migration however. Migrancy did not seem as closely related to delinquency when the migrants were probably not the ones who made the decision to move, that is children of migrating parents. In fact, Savitz (1960), in a study of 890 Negroes in one of the four highest juvenile delinquency areas of Philadelphia found:

The Philadelphia born population engaged in delinquency to a greater extent than did a migrant cohort of the same age exposed to a similar "risk" of delinquency.

This study is not exactly conclusive because it does not compare those "migrant cohorts" with their peers in the communities from which they migrated. These studies generally support the hypothesis that costs of being a misfit, result in emigration decisions.

African Examples

Some African studies indicated how rising costs of village life contribute to decisions to leave. Nzimiro (1965:121) noted that rising costs of farming contributed to desires to migrate and (1965:123) the desire of educated elites to find new occupations, indicated that costs in the form of cash outlays or dissatisfaction were factors of the migration decision. Caldwell's (1968:363) data indicated that higher educated Ghanaians tended to migrate to cities more than less educated. This supports the earlier thesis (Sub-hypothesis 1.B) that dissatisfaction related to higher educational status is a cost associated with remaining in the village.

Winter (1955:38) noted that Bwamba informants cited a number of costs which contributed to their decisions to leave their village. "Trouble at home" was cited most often. Informants felt bounded at home and could not fulfill their desires to see places. Friction within their family, trouble with their neighbors, and being suspected of practicing witchcraft were also cited. These examples indicate that costs related to unhappiness of living in the village contributed to decisions to go to the city.

An individual who has certain obligations which might be thought of as traditional in form or cause, may perceive the city as being a potential environment for covering such costs (Sub-hypothesis 1.E). Schapera (1947:142) noted that the Kgatla, as soon as cash became acceptable for bridewealth payment in each village, would

allow young men to go to a city to earn cash. This ensured a flow of urban resources into the villages.

Banton (1957:47) in his study of Freetown noted that second to the attraction of wages, freedom from the control of village elders, was most cited by youths as a reason for migrating to the city. The young Sierra Leoneans frequently quoted a phrase: "Make I go Freetown, make I go free." Sometimes this consideration would be called non-economic, but as emphasized in this thesis, in the decision making framework it certainly is economic. "Freedom" in those terms is a scarce commodity or service which is desired. As such it is wealth. Individuals in villages may believe that they can obtain more of this wealth if they re-locate their residence. Thus they act in accordance with a desire to increase the ratio of benefits relative to costs. "Freedom" here can be thought of as an economic "benefit" or consumer good, apart from any metaphysical or sociological dimension it may have.

Balandier (1955:42) cited cases where migrants to Brazzaville decided to come when their positions became untenable through "non-economic factors." The most common cases were individuals who were accused or suspected of murder, adultery, or witchcraft. But individuals who have to live in a social environment where they are ostracised, hassled by their neighbors or the authorities, find psychic costs high enough to consider moving to the city when anonymity to some extent represents lower costs.

Gugler (1969:139) argued that barren women would be the first females to leave a rural community because "without children they are in a weak economic and social position." The costs of living in a social environment which rewards producers of children is a contributing factor to the decision by an individual to leave that environment when unable to conform to that village expectation or requirement. The individual thus situated might perceive the city as being an environment where costs such as ostracism are lower (Sub-hypothesis 1.C). Rising village costs contribute to the decision to leave. Alienation and ostracism are included in such costs.

New "Urban Costs" in the Village

(Sub-hypothesis 1.D)

As well as obvious costs to the rural villager there are other costs that make themselves felt. These to some extent can be seen as "objective" by the social scientists. Batton (1947:21) noted that due to sales and transfer of land, Nigerians and Ghanaians were becoming increasingly dependent upon wage earnings. It is not too difficult to think of a rural villager who finds clan or stool land increasingly difficult to use and usufruct rights diminishing with land alienation. He then seeks a wage earning occupation nearby, or eventually in the city. Drought or crop failure might also result in his inability to make a living. Costs of irrigation, fertilization, or insecticides becomes too much for him to see con-

tinuing village residence as viable action. Traditional costs such as consanguineal and/or affinal obligations may be a burden on an individual. If they become payable in cash or goods and he is unable to produce on the land he may seek to live elsewhere, or he may go to the city only long enough to collect sufficient cash to pay for a dowry or an obituary ceremony.

Gugler (1968:464) noted that among other causes, new obligations caused by the introduction of certain tax policies in rural areas, are among the considerations made by rural residents leaving for urban areas to seek wage employment. These new costs or new goals not easily filled given rural resources, are not simply related to migration. Badouin (1966) suggested that more attention be paid to changes in psychological attitudes of rural populations. The individual must first perceive costs to act on them.

New Urban-like costs, cash demands, taxes, educational costs, familial obligations, and even feelings of alienation from the natal community, can be taken into consideration when seeking an investigation of the migration process. Relative to the individual's perception of his benefits of remaining, his costs of migrating to the city, and his benefits of migrating to a city, he would be more prone to migrate if the whole aggregation of his village costs, as he feels them, become greater.

Benefits of Migrating to a City

(Hypothesis 2)

If we could temporarily assume that an individual has no other information to enable him to re-evaluate the relationship between costs and benefits of leaving or staying, then additional information about benefits accruing to a move to the city would result in a higher ratio of benefits to costs and would tend to increase the probability that he would migrate.

Information

(Sub-hypothesis 2.A)

One of the more important "benefits" accruing to an individual going to an urban environment, is the feeling of being at ease that comes from a knowledge or an understanding of that environment. This includes knowledge of pitfalls that may be found in the city, for that knowledge results in the capability of developing tactics to avoid those pitfalls. If the pitfalls are judged to be too many or too important then of course the costs accruing to the move would be assessed as too high relative to the benefits. Paradoxically though, information about these costs, is an asset not a liability, as it increases the benefit/cost ratio accruing to a move.

Prior to the move to a city, an individual receives information about the benefits that might accrue to his move there. He may get this information via a number of channels -- returned migrants, urban civil servants and businessmen in his town, his teachers,

letters from urban relatives, radio, or his own trip to the city. A few generalizations serve to introduce the effects of such information on the decision of an individual. Often increased information itself, has an effect of increasing familiarity. This familiarity may be thought of as a benefit in the benefit/cost decision and it serves to increase the possibility of a decision to leave. Also this information includes data about new goals and new hopes which may be satisfied by migration. The city may serve as a channel for satisfying goals and hopes originating also in the rural environment. Obligations and debts which might be classed as traditional might be seen as payable, or avoidable if a decision to leave for the city is made. Further, the city affords opportunities. These are in the form of wage opportunities, consumer opportunities, and non-wage opportunities. The knowledge of a transitory environment within the city for example may serve to diminish any apprehension of the unknown. Such an environment may take the form of a ghetto-like society within the city, offering cultural contacts and continuity for the immigrant from the village. All of these things constitute information which an individual may think of as being benefits accruing to a decision to migrate.

Caldwell (1968) found that the propensity of rural Ghanaians to migrate to cities increased both with respect to geographical proximity, and level of education of the potential migrants. This is similar to the findings of Brunner (1957) and Pihlblad and Gregory

(1957) noted above. This demographic phenomenon translated into individual decision making indicates that familiarity with the city, indicated by closeness to the city and amount of urban information in the form of formal education, can be considered as increased benefits or possibly lower psychic costs related to the move.

Smith (1956) in a study of 157 families in Indianapolis, concluded that lack of specific information contributed to geographical immobility. He predicted that employment information, if directed to large segments of southern Negro American populations, would result in presently unemployed or underemployed Negroes migrating more than those in the north, or more than those in Caucasian segments of the southern U.S. population. Information about opportunities increases the benefit ratio, as well as information per se.

Payne (1956) noted that Georgia schoolboys tended to refer to informal interpersonal relationships as sources of information when choosing future urban residence and occupations. Familiarity with a particular urban social environment, as a benefit of migrating may weigh as high if not higher than the colder calculations of the purely monetary returns accruing to such a decision. Payne noted the absence of reference by his informants to formal occupational counselling. Formal educational information is less familiar and less trustworthy.

Descloîtres (1965) contrasted European development with African development, but the contrast does not repudiate the univer-

salinity of the relationship between benefit information and rural urban migration. He noted that the "transistor precedes the tool" and suggests, in contrast to European economic development and social change, that commercialization in Africa precedes mechanization. This he said will result in considerable social change without the relative accompanying technical progress. Subsumed however in this social change are migratory movements which are rooted in individual decisions to move on the basis of urban information gleaned from the transistor radio. African migrants thus have more access to town information and leave more as a result of seeking new opportunities than as a result of being replaced by machines on the farms.

The channels whereby a village resident may gain access to urban information are manifold. Read (1942:610) noted that the majority of temporarily urbanized Africans maintained links with their villages. Van Velson (1960:265) in a study of rural Tonga of Malawi noted that absent villagers still had a stake in village affairs and played social roles despite their absence. Gugler's 1968 and 1969 studies have already been cited. Earlier, Gugler (1965) had noted dual loyalties of urban residents who maintained links with their villages in eastern Nigeria. Read (1942:605) suggested that the great majority of temporarily urbanized Africans maintained some links with their villages of origin. Ampene (1967) pointed out that there were two kinds of urban rural connections from Obuasi, a gold mining town in Ghana to the villages from which much of the population

came. Dagomba, Dagartey and other migrant wage laborers from the north most often stay for just under five years before returning. Akans, Ewes, Adangbes and others from the south of Ghana usually stay much longer, but return home at least once, and on the average, twice a year. Alverson (1967) developed a time series analysis of African cyclic migration. There are many more references to circular migration, temporary urban residence, and continued urban rural links of migrants, in the literature about Africa.

Circular migration combined with urban rural communication links leads to a greater familiarity with certain urban conditions on the part of rural residents. Temporary migration leads to more city information in the village which in turn leads to more migration, part of which is temporary migration. To know that there are friends and relatives like himself who survive in the city increases the benefit estimation in the eyes of a decision maker contemplating city life. Later, when examining city costs I will show that information and familiarity have the dual functions of lowering city costs and increasing city benefits.

Education

(Sub-hypothesis 2.B)

Closely related to the effect of increased informal information causing a higher tendency to migrate, more formal sources of information also increase an individual's familiarity with city life.

One of these more formal channels is public education. Just as higher educational achievements result in the cost of ostracism associated with staying in the village, so do these educational effects result in greater information about a more cosmopolitan, urban life style. An individual may feel more qualified to cope in a city and be more apt to identify with the values in an urban milieu if he has had access to certain information in his formal education. Already noted in the first category, rural costs, were Hamilton's (1958) study of North Carolina migrants, Hine's (1962) study of four Alabama counties, Lijfering's (1959) study of Netherlands migrants, Brunner's (1957) review, Marshall's (1959) analysis of Wisconsin census data, Pihlblad and Gregory's (1957) study of Missouri graduates, Ramsey and Anderson's (1958) study of New York migrants, and Caldwell's (1965) study of Ghanaian rural urban migrants. All of these found a relatively high correlation between educational achievements and migration to cities. This is somewhat the findings of Stub (1962:80) who reported that professionals and managers tended to migrate longer distances than do lower status migrants. It is also substantiated by Allen, Buck, and Winn (1955) who found rural Pennsylvania youth migration to be related to I.Q. A note of caution is needed though. The formal channels may not be as important as informal channels, as Payne (1956) cited above, noted. The formal education however may provide more information of a generalised and abstract nature which may raise the benefit calculation in the estimates of an indi-

vidual considering a move to the city. The informal information is probably more concrete and specific, and is cited in reference to a choice to move to a particular residence, not merely to a city.

Life Style Similarity

(Sub-hypothesis 2.C)

Benefits of living in an alien environment are much lower than those accruing to an environment that is somewhat similar to the immediately prior, familiar, environment. Just as education and other information makes the individual prepared for the city so do rural-like enclaves make the city prepared for the individual. When there are areas in the city which might be called ghettos, or what Hanna (1967) called "middle places", they function so as to transmit information necessary for re-socialization of the migrant. Hanna found that migrants tended to come first to their respective "middle place" when they came to a city. In fact he found that links in these places were often stronger with the village than with modern sectors of the city. A move to such a place might even be sociologically categorised as rural-rural migration rather than rural-urban migration. Abu-Lughod (1961) using 1947 Egyptian census data noted that most migrants to Cairo went to subcommunities which provided comforting similarities to the former rural life style of the migrants. Ampene (1967) cited earlier, noted the importance of tribal associations in Obuasi. Gutkind (1965:57) reported that Ganda moving into Mulaga found extensive kin networks, and found that urban-

ization was rather an extension of Ganda society. The effect is not equivalent in all migrating cultures however. Gutkind also found that non-Ganda found it necessary to construct a "specific urban way of life" and tended to be linked with "association based networks" rather than "kin-based networks". The effect is also varied relative to class structure. Blumberg (1959) in a study consisting of 133 interviews found that Negro Migrants to Philadelphia tended to go to places where they could reinforce kin ties or create pseudo kin ties if they were of less socially mobile lower classes. However they tended to break kin ties and rely more on associations if they were more upwardly mobile and middle class. The effect is varied so as to have more commercially opportune effects in West Africa. Cohen (1969) for example, wrote how Hausa have adapted traditional political links to develop an informal system of long distance trade between Yoruba cities. Other indications are numerous. Mayer (1962) noted the propensity for many African migrants to East London to encapsulate themselves with "tribal-like" relationships in the city and Parkin (1969) reported the persistence of the importance of ethnic and kin ties in the African city ward he studied. Gans (1962:8) reported a similar Italian middle place in Boston. Garique (1956:1090) described a similar French Canadian example. The persistence of "ghetto-like" communities and ethnic sectors of cities enjoying much human geographic mobility is further indication of the trend. What is important here is the effect of these middle

places on the individual decision maker. Such enclaves have close communication links to the rural area from which the migrant population came. Information about these more comfortable, familiar spots within the alien city gets back to the rural residents. If information is such that these enclaves look less frightening, the individual's "benefit of migrating" assessment will rise, and increase his probability of migrating to the city.

Wage Opportunities

(Sub-hypothesis 2.D)

The most oft-cited attraction to African cities, is the hope for wage earnings. Most of the people who do the citing are people who have been socialized and trained in a western culture, one which lays a high value on the worth of a monetary income. It has been stressed here that income is not equivalent to wages nor is monetary income an index necessarily highly correlated to wealth consumption. Consequently when it is suggested that income, or the sum of benefits accruing to urban migration, is a major factor in the decision this is not to equate income with wages or a salary. Still, many writers note that money is evaluated highly in African wealth estimations and as a result of western influence, its estimation is rising. One can then point out that the quantity of money per person is higher in more dense populations, or cities, than in less dense, or rural areas. Money is concentrated in these areas.

Thus individuals may move to these higher concentrations of money in the hopes of getting some.

As early as forty years ago Batton (1930:100) had noted that more and more Nigerians and Ghananians were becoming wholly dependent on wage earnings, and later (1947:21) explained this as being a result of the introduction of sales and transfers of land. Shapera (1947:142) reported that Kgatla would allow young men to go to town to earn cash, ensuring a cash flow of urban resources into the village. Since the second World War, Eames (1954) studied migrants from Madhopur, a village in southeast Uttar Pradesh, India. He noted that informants gave reasons for migrating as better wages and ease in finding employment. These may have been reasons for migrating to the city but they did not seem to be reasons for staying, as he also found that only 13 of the 91 families seemed to have adjusted to city life and that 60 per cent had been there for less than 5 years while only 5 per cent had stayed over 15 years. About the same time, in Africa, Richards (1954:64) noted that laborers in Buganda were attracted from their farms because they were surrounded by consumption and learned to desire wages. Three years later Banton (1957:48) recorded that youth stressed that money, being "more easily come by" was an important consideration in their move to Freetown.

Four years later, a few writers noted the effect of wage attractions on other continents. Ipsen (1958) argued that the mass rural urban migration in Germany had its roots in industrial agglom-

eration rather than in rural conditions. Saville (1958) cited centralization of employment opportunities coupled with steady decline in work and unemployment in rural communities as major factors in English and Welsh migration in the last 150 years. Nash (1958:455) sees rural urban migration basically as a response to the quest for better income sources. He cites the disequilibrium between supply and demand as the fundamental factor. Ramsey and Anderson (1958) found that New York State migrants tended to have more labor force participation than the non-migrant population. However, a word of caution is necessary here. Ramsey and Anderson also found a slight tendency for migrants to have a lower median of incomes than non-migrants. So the hope for wages may be a factor in the migration decision, but the resulting action may not necessarily result in that hope being fulfilled. This attraction of wages combined with action that leads to lower than expected wages, manifests itself in a number of ways. Keyfitz (1965) noted the predominance of tertiary employment in South and Southeast Asia. He found this to be a politically stabilizing factor even if not "economically rational." The attraction of wage labor to towns not coupled with industrial growth has led to the predominance of tertiary sectors in many developing countries, not only in West Africa. Lambert (1965:169) for example notes the tendency of migrants in Latin America, to make for tertiary sectors. Auger (1968) reported the same for Congo. People may come to cities in search of wages even if this results in what

substantivist economists may call inefficient allocation of resources. Migrants unable to get regular jobs in primary or secondary industries end up hawking retail goods on the streets. However, most western observers still see wages as the urban attraction.

Ardener, Edwin and Shirley (1960:250) concluded for example that the overriding cause of rural urban migration in the Cameroons was the "power of economic factors". By this they did not mean by "economic" any universal decision making process, as stressed in this thesis. They meant monetary attractions. This view was confirmed by Gulliver (1960) who said:

The men leave home to obtain money, material wealth; they do not leave it if a reasonable standard is obtainable by labour and enterprise at home.

This view also permeates the literature on migration in Europe. Kempinski (1961), for example, speaks of "economic pull factors" when he talks of East German migrants who go to cities in search of wages and then not finding them, migrate to other countries.

Four years later writers on Africa offered observations for comparison. Nzimiro (1965:125) cited a desire on the part of Igbo educated elites to find new occupations as a major migration consideration. Descloitres (1965), as cited above, observed that commercialization preceded mechanization and questioned the applicability of Western economic models. He suggested that the desire for wage labor may precede any increase in wage employment opportunities due to technological developments. The following year a few

arguments were made in favor of wages being the major drawing power of cities. Ampene (1966) prior to his 1967 study reported on the administrative growth of Obuasi, in southern Ghana, a town which, he said, owes its growth to the establishment of a gold mine.

Gamble (1966) saw the rapid expansion Lunsar, Sierra Leone, as a result of the job opportunities of an open cast iron mine. Ottenberg (1966:190) saw Nigerian urban growth as due to commercial attractions, mining and trade. Hutton (1966) wrote that the overriding factor of migration was, again, "economic" factors. Gugler (op. cit.: 464) noted that among other causes, rural residents when leaving for urban areas seek employment for wages. Badouin (op. cit.), however, in summing up the Lewis and Barber theory and its suggestion that economic growth in urban areas results in "pull", suggested that this is not applicable to African rural urban migration. He noted that changes in psychic attitudes of rural population is more at the root of the cause of this migration. Villien-Rossi (1966:5) published data which supports this, as she shows the persistence of urban migration in spite of urban unemployment in French West Africa.

Byls (1967), in a study of labor migration in French West Africa found that "familiarity with market economics" was an important factor in the rural urban migration decision. He noted the very low demand for labor which was overlooked or ignored by migrants who sought work. This he found as fundamental to excessive labor turnover and low wages in West Africa. The attraction of wage labor

seems to be more apparent than real. This is further substantiated by unemployment figures from urban and rural areas in Ghana. Birmingham (1967:56, table 1,21), for example, calculated that 27 percent of unemployed urban people were in the 20-24 year age group while only 18 percent of the rural unemployed were in that age group. Similar differences accrue to the 25-29 year age group; 15%:8%, and to the 30-34 year age group; 9%:5%. The larger the city, the larger the percentage of the labor force was recorded as unemployed and actively seeking work. Comparable to a 4% unemployment rate for the whole of Ghana, Accra the largest city had 10% unemployed while Kumasi the second largest had 8% unemployed and Sekondi-Takoradi had an unemployment rate of 9%.

Non-Wage Benefits

(Sub-hypothesis 2.E)

There are numerous indications that migrants see wealth accruing to a move to the city, in far more ways than a monetary acquisition. Some have already been mentioned. The positive correlation between education and rural urban migration substantiated by Brunner (1957), Caldwell (1968) in Ghana, Hamilton (1958), Huie (1962), Lijfering (1959), Marshal (1959), Martinson (1958), Pihlblad and Gregory (1957), Ramsey and Anderson (1958) and Roy (1961) cited earlier in this chapter, all indicate that new goods, new identities,

2. See Table in Chapter Three.

new aspirations, associated with educational experiences lead to the hope that new roles, new opportunities for "better" life styles, were offered by cities. The existence of "middle places" and the data provided by Blumberg (1959), Cohen (1969), Mayer (1962), Parkin (1969), Abu-Lughod (1961), Ampene (1967), Gutkind (1965), Hanna (1967) indicate "benefits" of certain city life styles.

In his study of Bwamba economy, Winter (op. cit.:38) found that few urban migrants in Uganda had money uppermost in their minds. They looked at the city as a place which had benefits related to freedom and anonymity. Gutkind (1965a:128) noted that rural urban migration opened up new choices of relationships to the individual. Later (1965b:4) he stated:

The focus behind change and modernization are not rooted in rapid industrialization but rather in a very widespread desire to seek alternative ways of making a living.

Yet he indicated that the perception of those opportunities are not linked to the statistical reports. To the contrary:

Even today the unemployed in most African towns constitute between 12 percent and 22 percent of the urban population. (1965:5)

Later, Imoagene (1967:380) noted that Nigerians who migrated from Jesse, a village community in Midwestern Nigeria, to Sapele, an industrial town, were more motivated by what he called "psycho-social factors of change in migrants' need disposition" than by "objective economic factors." This is similar to the conclusion reached by

Badouin, cited above and Gugler (op. cit.:464). The city was perceived by the individual to be capable of filling the new needs more readily than the village. An example of such non-monetary benefits was noted above where Gugler (op. cit.:137) reported that barren women would be the first to migrate. They might perceive the city as being an environment where there is more freedom, in the form of anonymity. Thus the city provides benefits.

Migration decisions based on wage opportunities do not always yield results as anticipated. It can be fairly safely stated that anticipated wage benefits accruing to an individual moving from a relatively rural area to a more urban one are more important than the availability of wages per se.

Benefits of Remaining

(Hypothesis 3)

Assuming there were no further information about costs or benefits accruing to migration, and that costs of remaining were the same, if an individual perceived that his overall income were diminishing he would consider means of rectifying the situation. Migration is one of such means. Lower rural income, both material and otherwise, should result in migration from rural areas. This seems to be the case as reported by most studies in western cultures. Martinson (op. cit.) for example, found Minnesota migrants who moved, less identified with and adjusted to their rural environment. They were better adjusted to the high school, symbol of the outside world of academic, literary and scientific pursuits, than to their families and their community. Lower psychic income accruing to rural life resulted in their seeking alternative environments. The same holds for more substantive materialistic income. Kempinski (op. cit.) noted a "push" factor as being a fall in farm labor requirements, resulting in less rural employment in Belgium, and thus in rural urban migration. Finding less monetary income rural residents sought work elsewhere. Lower rural income, relative to other costs and benefits, results in migration from the rural areas. He saw this both as rising city benefits and as lowering urban benefits. Saville (1958:63) saw a steady decline in employment in rural communities as a major factor in rural exodus in Wales.

Benefits of Harvest

Gulliver (op. cit.) also noted that migration in southern Africa had most of its impetus in years of poor crops, and then came mostly from poor areas. People were less inclined to migrate from the rural areas when crops were good. This substantiates the third hypothesis of this thesis. It is contradictory, however, to the results of a study made by Caldwell (op. cit.:365) which showed a higher propensity for urban migration amongst those West African rural residents who were better off than for those who were less well to do. These contrasting indications, however, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. A more well-to-do rural resident in West Africa would be more familiar with urban life styles and be more prone to migrate. This agrees with Hypothesis 2. Then again, a given population, at a time of failure of rural resources, would seek alternative incomes. Within a given area and during a particular crop status people with more knowledge of urban life would tend to migrate more than those who had little or none. This agrees with Hypothesis 3. Given a certain knowledge of the city, an individual would be more prone to move than during bad times.

Benefits of Residence

Elkan (1959) noted how on non-alienable communal land usufruct rights in Africa depended solely on occupation. He pointed

3. This is untrue in many parts of Africa, even in "traditional" areas.

out that this resulted in no compensation being paid to migrants for vacating the land. Given the hypothesis generated above, we could predict a higher rate of decisions to remain because benefits of remaining on the land were higher. An individual had access to land only if he stayed. But in Africa this situation resulted in circular migration rather than in remaining in the village. Africans thus tended to view wage employment in the city as temporary. One at first would expect to find less migration where less rural land is salable, and more migration where there are compensations for vacating the land. In Africa, instead of less migration, the migration is less permanent.

Foster (1968) disagreed with a widely held assumption that education caused rising expectations which then caused rural urban migration and thus unemployment due to lack of white collar jobs. This point was raised in Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2. Foster said that school leavers will take manual jobs despite this assumption held about them, but even these manual jobs are unavailable.

Security as a Benefit

Given the Information-decision-action perspective one would expect people with a background or tradition of urban life to be more prone to migration to the city. This is examined more fully in the following and final hypothesis. However Gutkind (1968:44) notes:

We should not ignore the fact that there is far less organized village life in East than in West Africa and hence rural youth can move more readily to the urban areas of the East than to those of West Africa....

This directly contradicts a hypothesis within this thesis which states that an individual would be more prone to migrate given more urban information, that is if he has grown up in a culture with some urban tradition. At the same time this indicates that an individual is more prone to leave a village if it is incapable, in his eyes, of providing enough expected benefits. Security is one such benefit, and more easily found in the village with a clan structure.

Monetary income also poses problems in terms of the African applicability of this hypothesis. Nash (1958) argued that supply and demand disequilibrium leads to a fall in profit and in income levels in agriculture. This is caused by oversupply of agricultural produce, and inflexibility of agricultural output. This in turn leads to migration. His argument however, does not directly apply to West Africa. Prices of farm produce are rising, even relative to capital costs. This is partly due to urbanization, and a greater demand on the market for food produce. Food shortages often have to be met by importing. The western model of explanation does not fit. Increase in wage labor raises demand for food. Rural migration reduces supply of food. Prices and thus profits on food production are rising, not falling, and yet there is still rural urban migration.

Costs of Migrating

(Hypothesis 4)

Assuming that an individual has no other information which causes his evaluation of benefits of urban life and his evaluations of costs and benefits of remaining in a relatively rural setting to change, then new information about his perceived costs of migrating to a city will result in a new ratio between the factors and a different tendency to migrate. If the individual feels that costs of migrating to and living in a city are falling relative to the other three factors then he would be more prone to leave. If he feels that such costs are rising relative to other information, he would probably be more content to remain. Such costs could range from a general feeling of apprehension to a specific knowledge of high rents.

If an individual has grown up in a cultural milieu where migration is common such costs would be lower. Migration would be a more acceptable action than in a less sedentary society. This environment may include his primary socialization environment, his family, his clan, his tribe or so on. If an individual therefore is of an ethnic group with a migration tradition, or has a family with a history of migration, he would probably see migration costs as lower than otherwise. As J. Clyde Mitchell (1959:12) stated:

The normative system of the society is one of the axes along which the motivation of labor migration operates.

The same applies to a family or ethnic tradition of urban living. As with a tradition of migration, a history of urban life

in the milieu of an individual lowers the perceived costs of his own anticipated urban residence. Friends and family talk about migration or urban events. Familiarity lowers the psychic costs. Elders relate their own past actions and the individual sees that people he knows were able to do it. He therefore is less likely to think it strange that he do it.

Such familiarity includes knowledge of certain life styles associated with migration and with city life. A greater understanding of money, of wages, of market transactions increases the mobility of an individual. The same applies to all habits more associated with the city and city life.

Traditions and Family Histories of Rural Urban Migration

There are a number of studies which indicate that there is more tendency for an individual to migrate to the city if he comes from a family or ethnic category more prone to migrate or more familiar with urban life styles. Statistical proofs however tend to be self-fulfilling prophesies unless carefully examined. To say for example that Igbo's tend to live in cities more than other West African ethnic groups live in cities because they have always tended to do so, is not much of a causal explanation. There is no direct consequence of rural urban migration of any individual's being an Igbo. This is not an hypothetical example; Nzimiro (1965) pointed

out that Igbo have a higher rural urban migration rate than any other ethnic group. Causes of Igbo decisions must be found outside anything intrinsic to being Igbo.

As early as fifteen years ago Winter (op. cit.:38) suggested one way in which traditional migration was related to urbanization. Prior to the formation of commercial centers, Bwamba individuals found migration an escape when village situations became unbearable. Psychic costs lead to migration as in Hypothesis 1. Now, however, such individuals seeking escape see life easier in the anonymity of a city rather than in the re-adjustment to a similar nearby village as in the past. A tradition of migration results in low migration costs for individuals.

Shapera (1947:116) noted that travel was a form of initiation into manhood in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In Botswana travel to a city is a recently acceptable custom. Akinola (op. cit.) sees Yoruba rural urban migration less as a consequence of westernization and commercial modernization but more of an extension of traditional urban life style. Yoruba, he reports, reflect such traditions in their semantic categories. Cleave (1966:39) mentions how hill settlements were abandoned after colonists stopped wars. Used to such "urban" life, yet without the need for protection from attack, Africans then transposed a tradition of military-urban life to commercial-urban life in recent times. Siddle (1968) traced the history and decline of war towns in Sierra Leone. They are being

replaced by commercial towns in importance. This is simply a matter of adaptation. People used to "urban" life of precolonial times found that the major importance, defence, was superseded by a new interest, commerce.

Barbour's (1965) four examples of rural-rural migrations has already been cited in the Introduction.

Caldwell (op. cit.) found that Ghanaians were more inclined to migrate to a city if their family had a migration pattern, as well as for the reasons noted earlier. Ameyaw (1966) indicated how the Kwawu located themselves in the present Kwawu area by migrating from Adanse, Kenkyira, Tena, Bretuo, Asona, and Ashanti. They are still moving, as indicated in the following chapters. Boahen (1966) noted how the Akan, including Kwawu comprising two-thirds of the population of Ghana, originated as a result of "Negroes migrating to the Dahomey Gap in the third millenium B.C., and moving into the forest regions from the Bono-Takyiman-Gyaman regions. Abner Cohen (op. cit.) noted how Hausas in Yoruba towns use ethnic customs from rural society to develop a political organization which established economic controls over long distance trade in certain commodities. These adaptations to modern urban life were the direct consequences of ethnic traditions. Rural-urban migration involves low costs for individuals in cultures that have histories and traditions of migration.

Middle Places and Costs of Rural Urban Migration

The lower costs accruing to city life where middle places exist was noted above as higher benefits accruing to urban migration. Hanna (1967), Abu-Lughod (1961), Ampene (1967), Eames (1954), Gutkind (1965), Blumberg (1959), Cohen (1969), Mayer (1962), and Parkin were already cited. It is here that it is difficult to separate lower costs from greater benefits given the frameworks and perspectives in which these authors wrote.

Rural Training and Familiarity with Urban Conditions

Familiarity with urban life style lowers the cost of city living. Such costs include those of finding work. Acqua (1958:65) noted that the majority of jobs in manufacturing in Accra required skilled and semi-skilled labor. Persons from southern Ghana and Ashanti had more training and exposure to such occupations and filled them, whereas persons from the north with less exposure to skilled jobs took menial occupations. Ampene (1967) was cited above. The closer ties of the southerners to their rural homes were linked to more permanent urban life style. Possibly as rural residents they were more familiar with urban life due to the more frequent visits of prior migrants, so they felt "more at home" when they went to Obuasi. As already noted, Byls (1967) found in Francophone Africa the tendency for persons familiar with market economy to migrate in

search of wage labor. Dorjahn (1967) noted in his 1962-63 study of traditional entrepreneurs in Madburaho, Sierra Leone, that most tradesmen were single, had travelled widely and were recent immigrants. Jyrkila (1958) in his study of Finnish youth noted that migrants in cities with some city background were better adjusted than migrants with rural backgrounds. Gugler (1968:480) found that rural urban migration resulted in more wage income in rural areas which resulted then in more rural urban migration. Caldwell (op. cit.) noted that the propensity to migrate to cities in Ghana increases with the proximity to a larger town. This indicated that more information from the city was channeled to potential migrants so as to allow them to become more familiar with urban requirements. He noted that the propensity also increases with population size of the rural center. Interpreted in the Information-decision-action perspective, individuals in larger rural centers are more familiar with city life than individuals in smaller rural centers. This familiarity leads to a greater tendency to migrate to a city. He further noted that the propensity to migrate to cities also increased with the economical well-being of the migrant or potential migrant. This would suggest that migrants are more disposed to move to urban areas (where participation in the monetary economy is almost mandatory) if they are better off substantively and more familiar with wage economics associated with urban life. Migration for such individuals does not represent a big jump from a non-monetary economy but an easy adaptation, the psychic costs

of which are much lower. Caldwell also found the migration propensity also increased with the level of education of the migrant. Costs are lower for the individual more familiar with city life due to contact with teachers, reading of books, and also a greater identification with a more cosmopolitan way of life. However this observation must be tempered with a further finding of Caldwell. Occupations were of minor statistical significance in rural urban migration patterns. Such data to some extent negates this hypothesis, or at least does not support it.

However, the fundamental hypothesis still applies: a decrease in the perceived costs accruing to a move to a more urban area increases the relative value of such migration, and increases the probability of such action.

Conclusions Drawn From the Literature Survey

It is easy to see why "push" factors have collapsed into one category. Rural push is usually seen as a lowering of the capability of rural areas to satisfy the needs of the residents. This must be seen analytically as a change in opposite directions of two factors: an increase in the costs of remaining, and a decrease in the benefits of remaining. As migrants are exposed to new ideas, new forms of income, new opportunities in the broadest sense their goals may be thought to have increased. The failure of the rural

economy and ecology to satisfy these goals may be thought of as a relative decrease in benefits. The increase in perceived hardship related to remaining may be thought of as a relative rise in costs. Both of these can be categorized in the same "rural-push" factor of rural urban migration; higher costs, lower benefits.

There are two lessons to learn from the examination of the literature with respect to the individual perspective. First, monetary and non-monetary incomes play similar roles in explaining individual decision-making. Second, one might predict a decision to remain given a western context but might find, given similar information values, temporary or circular migration instead of no migration. Circular migration is an African adaptation to combined forces leading to migrating from the rural areas and remaining in the rural areas. The general hypothesis still is a valid framework for explanation in that a decision to migrate is more likely when an individual perceives a relative decrease in the monetary or non-monetary benefits accruing to his stay in the rural area.

Rising village costs, lowering village benefits, rising city benefits, and lowering city costs are all interrelated factors. All four contribute to individual's decisions to migrate. Some factors, such as increased urban information, are difficult to categorize as either increased urban benefits or decreased urban costs, but in either category raise the benefit-cost ratio of the migration decision. Likewise as other categories sometimes overlap, it is difficult to assess whether a factor is a rise in cost or a decrease in benefits.

CHAPTER THREE

Information

The Physical and Social Environment

The Environments of a Kwawu Migrant

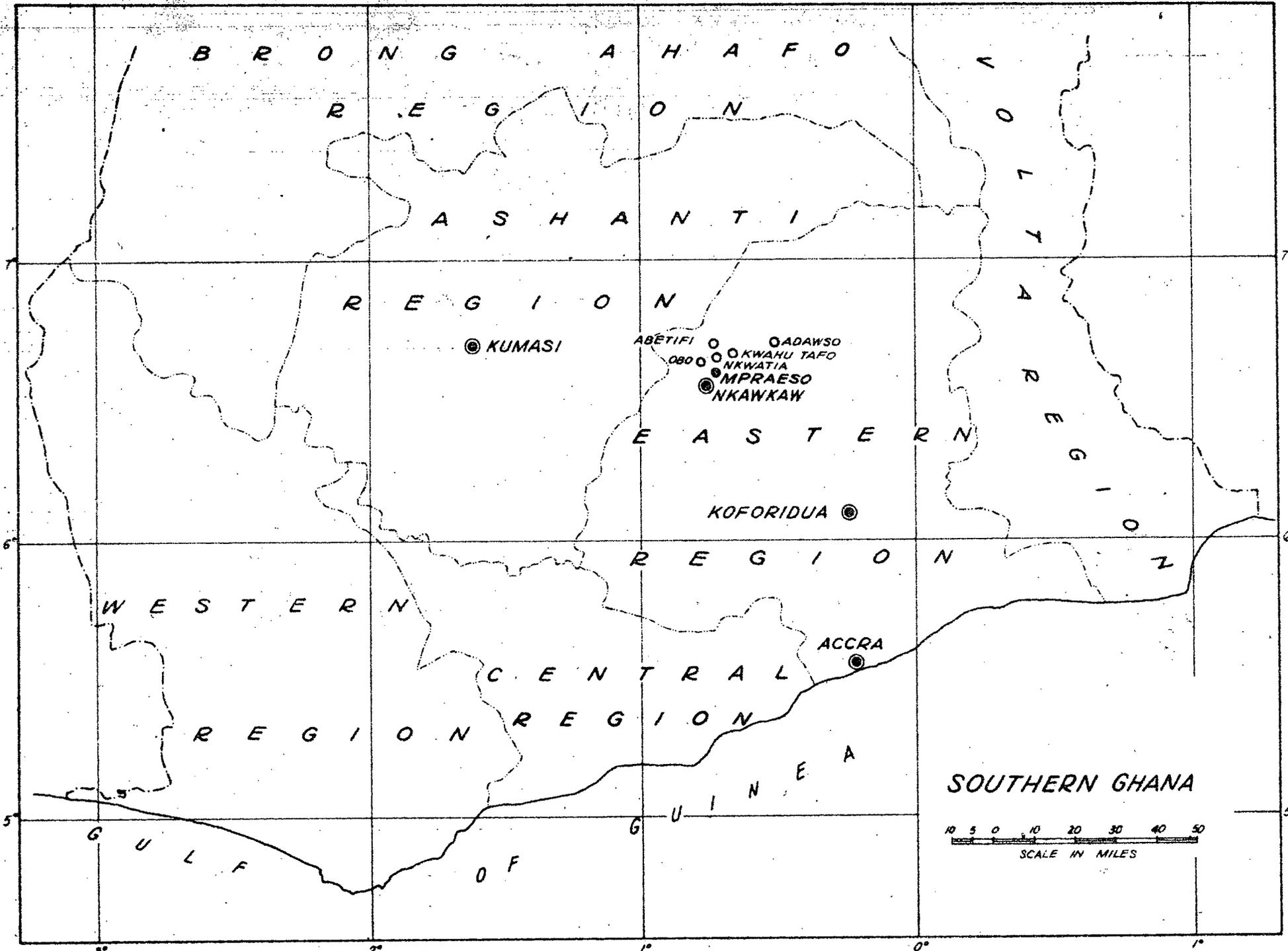


West Africa is more than a locale for urban studies; it is a frame of reference for exploring non-industrial, agricultural, and commercial based cities.¹

In West Africa there are a great number of villages from which migrants leave, and many areas of varying urban status, to which migrants choose to go. The implied permutations are too numerous to list in detail here. Instead, one city and one rural area in Ghana are taken as examples. See Map One, "Census Map of Local Authorities" on page 78. People migrate to that city from many other areas than from the one rural area named here, and they also migrate from that rural area to places other than the city described here. The descriptions of these two areas is offered both as example and as a decision-making environment type within which the individual makes a choice. The information is offered in this chapter to serve two purposes. The first is to provide data corresponding to the Information aspect of the Information-decision-action model. The information perceived assimilated and weighed by any one decision maker in the area, of course, cannot be exactly the same as presented in this thesis since no allowance is made for the individual subjective response. However, these data do correspond to the "Information" aspect of the Information-decision-action perspective. The second purpose is to provide the reader with some relevant ethnographic data about the field so he may be familiar with the physical and social environment.

1. Simms, R.F., Urbanization in West Africa, A Review of Current Literature. Evanston, 1965, p. xiii.

The rural area chosen here is the Kwawu traditional area. Kwawu is in a tropical farm and rain forest terrain partly on a hilly plateau (altitude 1000 feet) and on either side of it. Most of the rural population live in a number of small villages. There is one large town in Kwawu called Nkawkaw which might be called an intermediate point in a rural urban continuum. About one hundred miles south is the closest city: Accra. See Map Two on page 81. The continuum of rural to urban then, in this example, comprises villages in rural Kwawu, Nkawkaw the town, and Accra the city. The social and physical environments of each of these will be briefly sketched.



CHAPTER THREE A

The Rural Area

Kwawu Physical and Social Environment

The Environment From Which Kwawu Migrate

There were no peasants before the first cities.¹

The Kwawu Environment

The Kwawu area is situated in southern Ghana, in the Eastern Region. It is east of Ashanti and west of the Volta Region. The people live on the Kwahu plateau, and on the Afram plains to the north and west of the plateau. See Map Three, "Predominant Tribe in Each Area", on page 97. Prior to the rise of Ashanti, the people of the area lived first in caves and later in villages isolated from each other. At the time of the Adanse disturbances, as Ashanti was being formed, Osei Twum, moved into the area and ruled near Akwatia. Various Twi-speaking clans fleeing the Denkyira, or losing land in Adanse, migrated to the area. It was then named Okwa'u. The Tena and the Beretuo from Mampong Ashanti first moved to Ashanti Bekwai and then moved as one clan to Mampong Akrofonso. The clan then became involved in disputes with Sahanti in Kodiabe and in Hwidiem (Ashanti Akim). They then moved to Dwerebe hill in Kwawu, and from this military vantage point devastated Awere and ruled in Abene. Later immigrants came to Abene from Akwamu in 1733. The Aduana clan

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1. Redfield, Robert, The Primitive World and Its Transformations. Ithica, New York, Cornell University Press, 1953, p. 31.
 2. Both Kwawu and Kwahu refer to the same group. As Okwa'u was transcribed into a Roman Alphabet the "u" was replaced by a "h". As English is pronounced the Kwawu spelling is closer to what the people say. Ghana government documents often use both, with one or the other in parentheses, or else either. The Kwahu spelling appears more frequently on mission and business documents, and on government maps. The "Kwawu" spelling is used here to reflect the people's pronunciation. "Kwahu" is used to refer to place names and census areas thus designated.

settled in Obo. The Asona settled at Mpraeso. The last major group of immigrants were the Oyoko from Ashanti fleeing from Opoku Ware's elders. They settled at Atibie, near Mpraeso. The Kwawu allied with the Ashanti to fight Akyem Kotoku, and Atara Firam. With the Sager-anti war, the Kwawu seceded from Ashanti, yet have maintained amicable terms ever since. This historical association with Ashanti accounts for many similarities between Kwawu and Ashanti. Both speak Twi dialects. See Diagram 4, "Categorization of Spoken Kwawu", on page 137. Rattray was sure enough about the similarities that when he collected Ashanti tales, for the most part he got them from Kwawu informants.

Kwawu in more rural settings still do not tend to live in isolated homesteads. Like most Akans they live in villages containing more than one, and up to seven or eight exogamous matrilineal clans. A standard ethnography, such as Rattray, should give a more comprehensive description. Single nuclear family dwelling units are rare. More common are compounds surrounded by rooms of varying sizes for members of the abusua or matriclan, and for cooking and so on. The center of the compound is open, yet enclosed by rooms or a wall. The architectural design, plus the use of swish, clay, building materials rather than botanical forest products both suggest

3. Rattray, R.S., Akan-Ashanti Folk Tales. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930. For further ethnographic data on Ashanti social structure see Rattray, R.S., Ashanti. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1923.

traditions reaching back to a pre-forest, savannah existence. Nevertheless, a history of urban-like residence is part of Kwawu culture. Few people live on isolated homesteads, with the exception of an occasional "hamlet" which may be temporarily occupied by a few people near an isolated farm during seasons when continuous daily work is required for a week or two. Another exception of isolated living is a handful of fetish priests who live apart from Kwawu villages. In all, however, Kwawu are used to urban-like village life.

Some of the villages on the top of the Kwawu escarpment include: Abene, one of the first Kwawu villages to be founded; Awere, which played an important part in early Kwawu history; Abetifi (literally "palm tree-high" in Twi) which has the highest altitude of the villages on the Kwawu escarpment; Mpraeso, which is on most maps because of its importance to the Americans who built a paved road from Nkawkaw so as to bring bauxite out during the war; Obo, which was founded in the eighteenth century by a woman, Gyemfa Kyaade (the chief of Obo, Nana Kofi Bediako, Kwawu Nifahene, adopted me as his son); Obomeng, (literally, "on the way to Obo", in Twi), sometimes called the "funeral town" due to the disproportionate number of people buried there (as explained later); Tafo or Kwahu-Tafo mentioned later as the hometown of Kwaku the blacksmith; and Takwa, somewhat to the east of the other villages and near the northeast edge of the scarp. Some of the villages down on the plains on the northeast side of the escarpment include: Adawso, now a small ferry port and

fishing village due to the flooding of the Afram and the creation of the Volta Lake; Adufua, Aframso, Mankron, Seidu, and Tiribum, which were displaced by the rise of the Afram making the Volta Lake; and Worobong, which grew as a result of the displacement. Further out on the Afram plains are the villages of Abomasalafuo, Aseyensu, Bonkrom, Faso, Kwesiadai, Mopta, Santaboma, and Sumsei. Many Kwawu have moved out on the Afram plains and across to the northeastern border of North Kwahu, near Kpandu in the Volta Region, and also as far as Jasikan, in the Buem Krachi area of the Volta Region, near the Togo border. The 1960 census reported 53,780 Kwawu living in South Kwahu enumeration area which includes the villages on the escarpment, as well as Nkawkaw and the nearby small villages on the southwest side of the scarp. In North Kwawu, which includes most of the Afram plains as far east as the Volta River, there were 38,500 Kwawu. Of the 1,490 Kwawu in the Volta Region, 1,040 lived in the Buem Krachi enumeration area bordering on the Afram, which includes Jasikan.

Skinner (1965:69) indicates the effect of the returning migrant, offering presents, and having his praise sung by minstrels. The income associated with travel and opportunities in urban areas is contemplated by the villager who thinks he too may get such wealth, such prestige by going to the city. In Kwawu, the successes of the rural urban migrant are visible every day. Elaborate two storied houses and compounds with cement patios and galvanized roofs are

abundant in Kwawu villages. Most of them, the recently built ones, have been erected for successful Kwawu businessmen who live away in some city. Most of the year they are occupied by relatives and a few non-kin tenants such as teachers and postal clerks from other areas. The owner or builder may return once or twice a year to spend two weeks during Christmas, Afahwe, or Easter festival. All year the houses and some of their residents symbolize to the rural villager the opportunities of the city life.

Nkawkaw

Kwaku Otomfuo, who is mentioned later, has his shop at Nkawkaw. The 1960 census reported that it had a population of 16,627. This is far in excess of 3,106 in 1931 or 5,043 in 1948 as reported in the 1948 Census (p. 131). The town serves as a major stop for the train which runs from Accra to Kumasi. During the second world war large trucks would come down the cliffside bringing bauxite from Mpraeso, six miles away, up on the Kwawu escarpment, to the train station for shipment to the coast. The town is a commercial center for the area. It boasts three banks, two bars, many dry goods shops and six petrol stations. It is also on the highway between Kumasi, seventy-five miles north, and Accra, one hundred miles south.

Nkawkaw is not a traditional village. There is no true chief. Many of the residents consider Obomeng, a small village three

miles away, up on the escarpment, to be the place of their official birth and burial. Children are born in Nkawkaw, many at the Catholic Hospital, yet the people refer to Obomeng as their "home town". Strangers often refer to Obomeng as "the funeral town" as the number of funerals in that village seem much too numerous for such a small place. As people drive from Nkawkaw, up the scarp through Obomeng to other parts of Kwawu more often than not a funeral is in process. It is usually that of a resident of Nkawkaw. Obomeng serves more or less as the traditional seat of Nkawkaw.

Not all Nkawkaw residents are Kwawu but the 1960 census lists ethnic categories only for enumeration areas, not towns. Only 3,998 of the population was born in Nkawkaw (see table). Another 6,890 came from other parts of South Kwawu, and 4,937 came from other regions or other countries. Most of the non-Kwawu are laborers from the north, Dagomba, Dagarteh, etc., Hausa and Yoruba traders from Nigeria, and Ewe, Fanti, and Ga migrants from other parts of southern Ghana. Nkawkaw, like most West African towns (Lloyd, 1967: 110), is a bustling, cosmopolitan, colorful, West African town.

Occupations

Kwawu have a reputation in Ghana for being good traders. This, it is said, is why they have migrated to so many places. If you ask people anywhere in Ghana, they will tell you Kwawu go to

Nkawkaw (Demographic Characteristics) 1960

Characteristic	Nkawkaw Town		District Treasury		Zongo		Rom.Cath. Mission		U.A.C. Bungalow	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	7890	7737	1270	1274	547	450	292	276	700	647
<u>Age:</u>										
Below one year	330	346	61	57	16	13	19	18	32	38
1-4 years	1167	1214	214	218	56	72	32	37	114	98
5-9 years	978	1180	177	232	59	64	43	28	64	90
10-14 years	846	978	160	145	52	41	27	34	46	65
15-24 years	1592	1593	232	249	87	100	66	64	113	128
25-44 years	2231	1821	320	292	184	125	80	55	239	174
45-64 years	585	478	87	69	69	27	22	29	64	46
Over 65	161	127	19	12	24	8	3	11	28	8
<u>Born in:</u>										
This locality	1957	2041	401	423	167	177	70	74	163	164
Other location, same region	3098	3792	533	632	91	125	130	148	132	153
Other region	1746	1471	222	163	115	101	62	42	213	202
Other African country	1076	426	114	56	177	47	27	7	190	128
Other Continent	11	7	0	0	0	0	3	5	2	0
<u>Schooling:</u>										
Over 6 years	6155	5900	956	947	453	347	227	216	537	488
6-14 years:										
Never attended	372	851	73	156	36	54	10	20	54	101
Past attendance	62	102	11	11	1	1	2	4	1	5
Present atten- dance	1152	928	214	158	52	32	44	33	38	26
Over 15:										
Never attended	2401	3118	347	508	321	228	65	107	354	327
Past attendance	1837	750	251	87	38	24	82	46	79	25
Present atten- dance	331	151	60	27	5	8	24	6	11	4
<u>Employment:</u>										
Total age 15 over	4569	4019	658	622	364	260	171	159	444	356
Employed total	3864	2584	553	315	336	173	143	124	392	223
Agriculture	1021	684	190	122	61	32	40	57	78	19
Unemployed	206	71	40	10	5	2	1	1	11	3
Homemaker	59	1070	2	266	9	65	1	25	20	121
Other	440	294	63	31	14	20	26	9	21	9

Characteristic	Clinic		Salva- tion Army Mission		Market		Rest House		Presby Mission	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	1145	1057	909	973	1374	1457	892	804	761	791
<u>Age:</u>										
Below one year	45	46	27	37	64	61	30	38	36	38
1-4 years	156	173	144	141	200	214	118	124	133	137
5-9 years	152	160	115	156	168	214	96	109	104	127
10-14 years	109	139	102	137	165	212	101	127	84	78
15-24 years	219	219	221	207	312	306	184	170	158	150
25-44 years	361	242	232	221	353	333	284	192	178	187
45-64 years	82	57	56	56	93	100	63	31	49	63
Over 65	21	21	12	18	19	17	16	13	19	19
<u>Born in:</u>										
This locality	258	220	237	222	332	388	132	146	202	227
Other locality, same region	445	548	387	493	638	827	386	432	356	434
Other region	261	197	218	241	237	203	272	202	146	120
Other African country	180	92	66	17	163	37	102	24	57	18
Other Continent	1	0	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	0
<u>Schooling:</u>										
Over 6 years	911	796	714	758	1074	1140	721	618	562	590
6-14 years:										
Never attended	51	109	36	102	56	153	29	98	27	58
Past attendance	12	17	9	17	13	25	9	11	4	11
Present atten- dance	163	131	148	137	228	206	136	103	127	102
Over 15:										
Never attended	352	419	205	354	375	547	225	305	157	323
Past attendance	290	103	265	127	337	173	285	87	210	78
Present atten- dance	41	17	51	21	65	36	37	14	37	18
<u>Employment:</u>										
Total age 15 over	683	539	521	502	777	756	547	406	404	419
Employed total	595	381	424	338	639	506	461	236	321	288
Agriculture	171	85	104	49	179	132	94	76	104	112
Unemployed	21	18	19	4	58	20	35	9	16	4
Homemaker	1	99	8	87	2	183	2	130	14	94
Other	66	41	70	73	78	47	49	31	53	33

both large and small towns to set up shops selling canned goods, dry goods, or construction material. Yet if one were to look first at Ghana census the occupational data would seem to contradict this reputation. Only a small proportion of the Ghana population are traders; far below what the reputation would indicate. Out of a male occupational force of 67,810 engaged as sales workers, including proprietors, only 2,249 are Kwawu. Out of 278,540 female traders only 3,850 of them are Kwawu. If less than two percent of Ghanaians engaged in trade are Kwawu it would seem this reputation is unsubstantiated. But Kwawu can be excellent traders, and this is related to their having migrated to so many places. To understand this it is necessary to briefly examine the occupational structure of Kwawu rather than its proportion in the whole economy.

The Ghanaian labour force consists of 1,573,170 men and 987,670 women. Kwawu men in the labour force account for 24,860 or 6.3 percent of the male workforce. Kwawu women account for 22,740 or 4.3 percent of the female working population. For the sake of consistency, the proportions of men or women in various occupational categories are calculated as percentages of the total male or female labour forces for all of Ghana or for the Kwawu population. This is to compare the occupational structure of Kwawu with the occupational structure of all of Ghana.

White Collar

Whereas only 3 percent of the Ghana male working population is classed as professional, 5.3 percent of employed Kwawu are professionally employed. Of this category, only 1.3 percent of the Ghanaian working population are teachers, while almost twice the proportion of Kwawu, 2.5 percent, are so employed. Draughtsmen and related technicians account for only .57 percent of the total male working population while they account for 1.81 percent of the Kwawu male working population. Administrators account for only 0.8 percent of the total working population while they account for 1.3 percent of the Kwawu male working population. Of these, Kwawu tend more to take government (.56 versus .30) rather than commercial (.12 versus .21) posts. The proportion of Kwawu clerical workers is almost twice as high as the proportion of all Ghanaian clerks. Only 2.5 percent of all Ghanaian men are clerical workers yet 4.9 percent of employed Kwawu are classed as clerical workers. While only 0.3 percent of the female Ghanaian labour force are clerks, the proportion of Kwawu women who are clerks is twice as high, 0.6 percent.

The 2,240 Kwawu men employed in sales account for 9 percent of the Kwawu male working population whereas the 278,540 men in sales in Ghana account for only 4 percent of the Ghanaian male employed population. However Kwawu women tend less than all Ghanaian women to take sales jobs. For the whole population the proportion is

28.2 percent while for Kwawu it is only 18.3 percent. The absolute number of salesmen and proprietors of other ethnic categories may be higher, but the proportion of Kwawu men engaged in small shop-keeping is much higher. This substantiates the reputation that Kwawu men have for going to various other towns outside Kwawu to set up retail outlets.

Agriculture

The proportion of farmers in the total Ghanaian labour force and in the Kwawu working population is roughly the same. Sixty-two percent of all employed Ghanaian men are farmers and 58.1 percent of all Kwawu working men are farmers. But very few Kwawu are engaged full-time in truck farming; 5 percent compared with the national figure of 29 percent. The majority of Kwawu farmers are cocoa farmers. Whereas only 20 percent of the Ghanaian labour force is engaged in the cocoa industry, 45 percent of the Kwawu labour force is involved in cocoa production. Cocoa growing is quite profitable and Kwawu have a reputation for being relatively wealthy. Much of the profit gained in cocoa farming is reinvested in retail business. While men prefer cocoa farming, Kwawu women are more often engaged in truck cropping and marketing the produce.

Farming other than cocoa is less important to Kwawu. Of the 5,800 men and 660 women engaged in livestock and poultry manage-

ment in Ghana, only 20 Kwawu are classed as such. All of them raise chickens. The rain forest climate and the tsetse fly make cattle raising almost impossible in Kwawu. No Kwawu are classed as fishermen according to the census but this has changed since the census was taken in 1960. When the dam was built the Volta River flooded the Afram plains forming a large shallow lake ideal for fish. Since 1965, the government of Ghana has been sending advisors, mainly Ewes from the Volta region, to come and fish in North Kwawu on the Afram plains, and teach the Kwawu, many of whose farms were flooded, how to exploit this new source of wealth. The fish production has exceeded most predictions as a result of these efforts.

One of the most interesting agricultural occupations is palm wine tapping. The sap of the oil palm tree, because of its high yeast content ferments very quickly. The resulting palm wine is a very refreshing and inexpensive alcoholic beverage. The 1960 census reported 6,820 palm wine tappers, 100 of whom were women. In Akan tradition, palm wine tapping is reserved for men, and 80 of those women are of Guan, Ewe or Nigerian ethnic groups. The 6,720 men who tap palm wine account for less than one-half of one percent of the Ghanaian male labour force, but the 250 Kwawu palm wine tappers account for over one percent of Kwawu employed labour. The 1960 census reported zero females engaged in this agricultural pursuit.

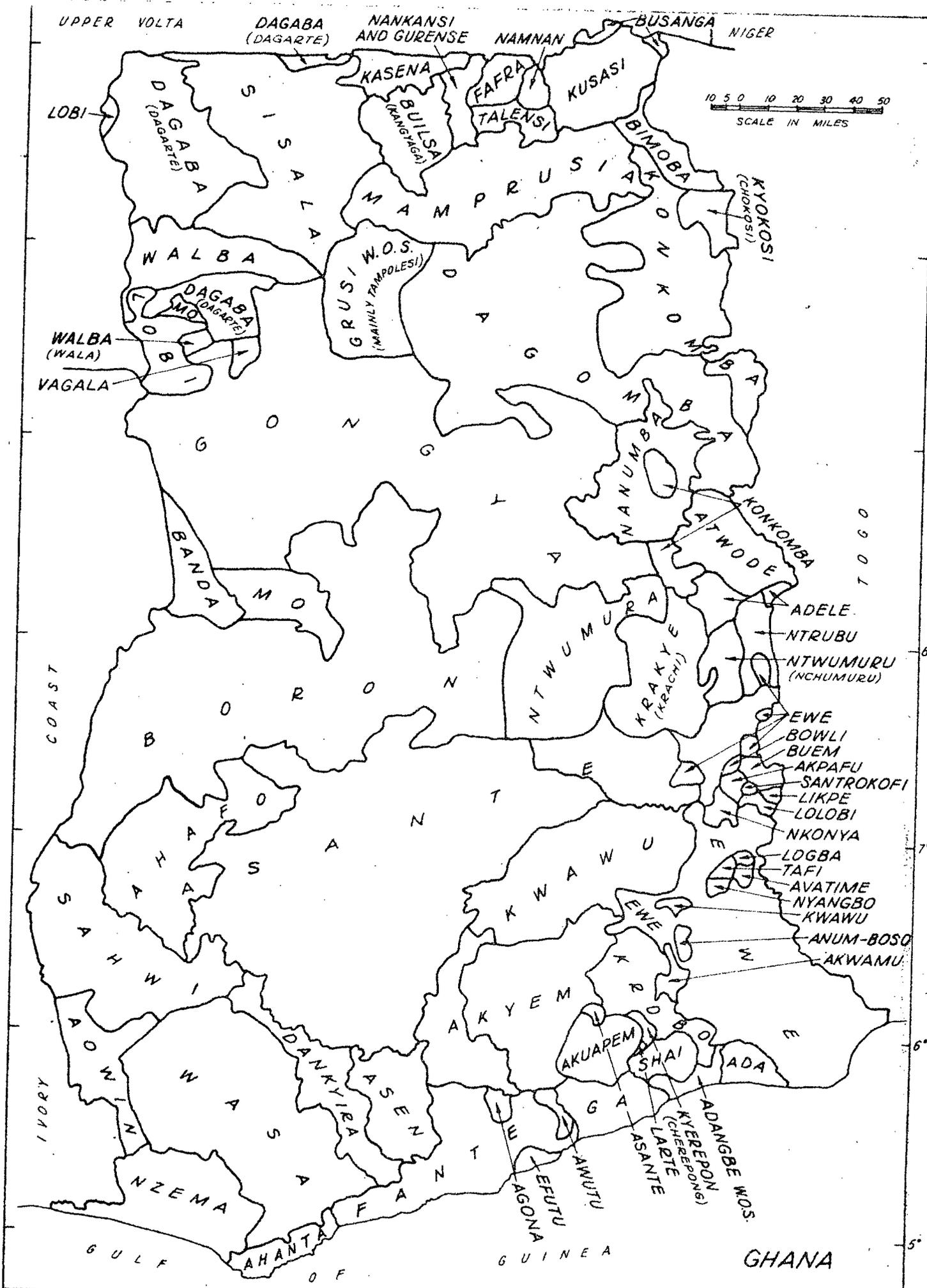
Blue Collar

Manual labour occupations account for a relatively small proportion of the Kwawu employed population. Only 0.24 percent of the male Kwawu working force are miners or quarrymen while over 2 percent of the working males of Ghana are so employed. However six and a half percent of Kwawu men are road transport drivers while the national proportion is only a little over three percent. Most of the Kwawu men employed in transport are taxi drivers or inter-urban passenger Benz bus operators. The Kwawu overall proportion of craftsmen is slightly lower than the national proportion, 13.7 percent versus 18.7 percent. Kwawu proportions in crafts exceed the national proportion only in tailoring; 5.4 percent versus the 2.0 percent national proportion. Generally Kwawu have a low proportion in blue collar occupations, falling quite far below in carpentry (0.7 versus 3.2); bricklaying (0.7 versus 2.0); unspecified unskilled labour (1.5 versus 4.9); and in domestic service (0.12 versus 0.59 percent). Apart from tailors and taxi drivers, Kwawu men tend to be less represented in manual and skilled occupational categories. The proportions for women are roughly the same except that Kwawu women have a slightly higher than national proportion in craft categories, 11.3 percent versus the national 10.3 percent. They are much more highly represented in domestic service occupations than Kwawu men or either men or women in the total labour force. Approximately 2.3

percent of employed Kwawu women are employed in service, sport and recreation, while the proportions for Kwawu men, all men, and all women, are 1.3, 2.5, and 1.6 percent respectively. In general the proportion of the Kwawu employed population which is engaged in blue collar occupations is lower than in the Ghana employment distribution.

The percentages in the above seven paragraphs were calculated from Ghana Population Census, "Selected Occupation of Employed Persons (Aged 15 and Over) by Sex and Tribe (Major groups)", Special Report E, Tribes in Ghana, table 26, pages 114-115, Accra, 1964. They indicate certain trends of Kwawu occupational preferences. Kwawu tend to be represented in some occupations more relative to the whole population of Ghana, and in some occupations less. They tend to favour professional, technical, administrative and clerical occupations. They are well represented in entrepreneurial occupations. They are less represented in agricultural occupations with the notable exception of cocoa farming. This cash cropping activity takes less year round physical effort, requires a fair bit of planning and yields high returns. These profits tend to be reallocated, supporting petty entrepreneurial activities such as taxi driving, tailoring and shop keeping. The Kwawu do not tend to fill manual skilled or unskilled occupations except those which have been regarded traditionally as having higher prestige attached to them, such as palm wine tapping and Kente weaving. The Kwawu might as a group rate higher than the whole of Ghana on an occupational prestige scale.

This occupational structure indicates a Kwawu preference for occupations which are more commonly found in cities, or in those villages which have elements of western urbanization such as taxi transport and shops and organizations requiring clerical labour. The reputation Kwawu have for being good traders is substantiated by two sets of data. The first, out of a small population within Ghana they have a greater concentration of trading occupations, and unlike most other Ghanaians, few Kwawu outside the Kwahu area, are engaged in other occupations such as farming. Second, they are successful, and this is more important than absolute numbers, when it comes to reputations. It is important to keep these occupational tendencies in mind when later examining migration decisions of individuals.



CHAPTER THREE B

The Urban Area

Accra Physical and Social Environment

The Environment to Which Some Kwawu Migrate

In village studies one is normally dealing with people of only one tribe. In towns one meets people from a dozen different tribes in the course of the day...ministers of religion, Muslim teachers, primary school teachers, civil servants, bank clerks, dispensers, native doctors, "cow-boys" (idle young men), thieves, police informers, good-time girls (rah rah girls), traditional blacksmiths, skilled artisans dealing with Euclid earth-moving equipment and diesel locomotives, laboratory assistants, self-confessed witches, rich traders...multiple forms of segmentation and stratification.¹

The City

In order to provide useful data to examine the Information-decision-action perspective certain questions must be asked of the area to which most Kwawu migrants go. What is the human population, and its major industrial activities? What proportion of the population migrated there? From where did they come? How many are from Kwawu? What are the occupations of Kwawu and other migrants? What travel and trade links are there with Kwawu? How far is it by rail? By road? In short what are the Accra-Kwawu communication links?

Accra is the capital of Ghana. It has a population of 388,396 according to the 1960 census. Its major industries are related to its position as nerve center for politics and commerce. It is served by Tema, a sea-port, and most occupations are of a light industrial, administrative, or clerical nature.

1. Gamble, David P., "Kenema, A growing town in Mende Country." Bulletin, Sierra Leone Geographical Society, May 1964, p. 254.

One of the most comprehensive descriptions of Accra was published by Ione Acqua in 1958, Accra Survey. He notes the following ethnic migrant occupational structure:

It will be seen that the majority of farmers and fishermen were Gas and Adangmes. Of the 14% Gas and 14% Adangmes, more than 10% were fishermen.

The manufacturing industries composed for the most part semi-skilled and skilled workers. They came mainly from tribes from southern Ghana and Ashanti.

In the building trade, tribes from southern Ghana predominated, followed by tribes from Ashanti. (p. 65)

In the public service occupations, tribes from Northern Ghana contributed almost as many persons as did Southern Ghana and Ashanti tribes. They were engaged as policemen or in unskilled work (sanitary labourers, watchmen and messengers). Lacking education, it is inevitable that persons from these northern tribes should be confined to such work. Tribes from Southern Ghana and Ashanti contribute on the other hand, the educated workers in clerical, executive and administrative posts. (p. 66)

Another source of data about Accra is Birmingham et al. (1966: 101) who state:

...in the specific case of Accra the endowment of human capital far outruns its share of the urban population of the country. Only 25% of the urban population of Ghana lived in Accra C.D. in 1960 but it contained 34% of persons who had attended institutions of further education, 52% of the directors and managers, 58% of the bookkeepers, accountants and cashiers. The concentration of human capital in the Accra area is much less in respect of technical skills, mechanics, and drivers, although the percentage of electricians in the regions is equal to that of all people with higher education.

The city of Accra is on the Atlantic coast. It was a fishing village comprising Ga people. See Map 3, "Predominant Tribe in

the Area" on page 97. Ga speakers belong to a language group Ga-Adangbe, quite dissimilar to Akan. Ga-Adangbe include Krobo who neighbor Akuapem on the west and Ewe on the east. See Diagram 4, "Categorization of Spoken Kwawu" on page 137. Ga-Adangbe are said to have come from the Congo and Nigeria. Their language and social structure are more related to Yoruba than Akan. They may have come both overland and via the ocean. They are good boatmen and fishermen, and traditional tales speak of them arriving from the south by sea, quite within the probable sea route from Nigeria. Akan on the other hand are said to have come from the North.

The story of how Accra was named was related to me by an Okyeame, or Akan linguist. The Ga called themselves after a certain ant -- in the Adangbe language called Ga. This ant left everyone alone if not provoked, but if disturbed would be a formidable enemy. The Ga called themselves such. When the Europeans came to the coast they met first with the Fanti, further west, who speak Akan. The same ant in Akan is called Nkran' and the Fantis called that the place of the ant, Nkran'. Over the years as the Portuguese, Dutch, and British mispronounced the name, the place became known as Accra. Still, in Twi it is called Nkrang.

Accra became the capital of the Gold Coast under British rule, and although not originally populated by the most dominant group, the Akans, it was soon populated by strangers from Europe and from all parts of Africa.

The 1960 census does not include the ethnic categorization of towns. However, ethnic distribution of regions is provided. Accra region in Ghana includes the city and surrounding areas. About 80% of the population in Accra Region live in Accra or Tema. In that region are 10,920 Kwawu persons. This is the largest number of them outside the 104,130 within the Eastern Region which contains Kwawu. Slightly more than half, 52.0% of those Kwawu in Accra Region are men. This is far above the national average of 47.9% and the Eastern Region proportion of 46.8%. The relatively high ratio of Kwawu men to Kwawu women in Accra Region indicates occupational preference. It is contrasted to Ashanti Region the only region where Kwawu women outnumber Kwawu men (m = 49.8%), possibly due to the attractions of Kumasi marketing, the greater need of Kwawu women for cultural familiarity, greater opportunity for male filled occupations in Accra, or a combination of these.

Those Kwawu women who do go to Accra, for the most part go to trade in one of the large open air markets such as Makola market. One lesser known market in Accra is at Kwawu corner, where one can go to meet market traders, lorry drivers, and associated people to learn the latest gossip of Kwawu. A miniature expatriate Kwawu community is in the middle of Accra. It is not within the scope of the present endeavour to examine Kwawu corner to any depth, suffice to note that it exists and serves to facilitate the Accra-Kwawu communication systems.

Differential Access to Schooling by Tribe
Accra, 1954

Accra)

Tribe	Percentage of Accra Popula- tion in 1948*	Estimated Population in Accra, 1954**	Proportion of Children of 6-5 in group, 1948*	Estimated Child Population 6-15 in 1954***	Actual Child Population Attending School 1954****	Percentage of Estimated Child Popula- tion Attending School in 1951*****
Ga	51.6	99,100	22.9	22,700	20,594	91.0
Ewe	11.1	21,300	19.5	4,150	1,656	40.0
Fanti	5.2	9,900	20.5	2,050	1,957	96.0
Nigerian	4.7	9,000	13.4	1,200	769	64.0
Hausa	3.4	6,500	13.1	850	609	72.0
Ashanti	1.7	3,200	18.6	600	436	72.0
Adangbe	2.8	5,400	22.0	1,200	1,253	
Akuapem	2.2	4,200	18.4	750	717	96.0
Kwahu	2.0	3,800	20.9	800	112	14.0
Zabarima	1.8	3,400	5.0	150	0	
Others	13.5	25,900				
Total		191,000				

* Computed from Gold Coast Census of Population

** Based on the assumption that population proportions remained constant and using 191,000 as the estimated population for 1954, calculated to the nearest hundred.

*** Assuming 1948 proportions, calculated to the nearest fifty.

**** Derived from Acqua.

***** Calculated to the nearest whole number.

Source: Foster (1965:120).

Comparison of Characteristics of the Population of Ghana
and that of Three Largest Towns, 1960

(All Figures as Percentages)

	<u>Ghana</u>	<u>Accra</u>	<u>Kumasi</u>	<u>Sekondi Takoradi</u>
<u>Age Groups:</u>				
(as proportion of all population)				
0-14	45	39	42	40
15-24	17	22	23	21
25-44	26	29	28	30
45-64	9	8	6	8
65+	3	2	1	1
<u>Sex Ratios:</u>				
All population	102	114	112	117
25-44 years age	101	152	143	152
<u>Birthplace:</u>				
(as proportion of all population)				
Same Region	80	51	58	66
Another Region	12	32	30	18
Another Country	8	17	12	16
<u>Schooling:</u>				
(as proportion of all in age group)				
<u>6-14 years of age</u>				
Never	56	31	41	38
Past	4	3	4	2
Present	40	66	56	60
<u>15+ years of age</u>				
Never	80	52	62	58
Past	16	41	32	36
Present	4	7	6	6
<u>Economic Activity:</u>				
(as proportion of all over 15 years of age)				
Unemployed	4	10	8	9
Employed	69	63	69	65
Employed in Agriculture	62	3	7	7

Continued

Comparison of Characteristics of the Population of Ghana
and that of Three Largest Towns, 1960 (continued)

(All Figures as Percentages)

	<u>Ghana</u>	<u>Accra</u>	<u>Kumasi</u>	<u>Sekondi Takoradi</u>
<u>Economic Activity:</u> (continued...)				
(as proportion of females over 15 years of age)				
Females fully occupied with home duties	36	32	32	41

Source: Birmingham, W.I. Neustadt, E.N. Omaboe, A Study of Contemporary Ghana, Volume One, Some Aspects of Social Structure. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1966, page 199, Table 3:11.

Accra exists in the minds of Kwawu villagers. It beckons to them with its busy streets, cosmopolitan population and urban attractions. Kwawu individuals may not see the social structure of Accra the same way as presented in the tables in this chapter, but they know it in their own terms.

Every day Accra seems to call. In the lorry park drivers and their mates call, "Accra, Cra, Cra, Cra." The train goes to Accra. The two newspapers come from Accra. The wireless is broadcast from Accra. The store goods come from Accra. The jets overhead will land in Accra. The cocoa is sent to Accra. All this is information that every potential migrant absorbs in his personal benefit-cost perspective.

CHAPTER THREE C

The I.D.A. Perspective Versus the Ethnographic Information

Information:

Sources

Modes

Content

An individual in the social and physical environment of Kwawu is exposed to much information relevant to migration decision making. He is in an area where historically there has been much mobility. He can speak a language, Twi, understood by people to the South, West, and North of him. Social structure in these areas are related, and even those to the east are not so dissimilar so as to make him feel uncomfortable. He grows up in a social environment where entrepreneurship is emphasised. Occupations he is familiar with are more frequently trading, or if agricultural, cocoa cash cropping rather than traditional subsistence cropping. He is exposed through school, through immigrants in clerical positions, through newspaper and radio, and through relatives that have gone and come, to various aspects of commercial urban life. To the north-west is Kumasi a town of Akans, and to the south is a large cosmopolitan city, Accra. Both these offer attractions and also costs. He combines the information he has about this social and physical environment with the information he has about his own capabilities and desires, so as to decide if he will remain in Kwawu or go elsewhere.

CHAPTER FOUR

Kwaku the Blacksmith

Decision

Some Notes on a Personal History

The cause of a social or individual phenomenon is never another social or individual phenomena alone, but always a combination of a social and an individual phenomenon.¹

The Individual

No one person is typical of migrants or Kwawu. It would be valuable, however, to examine in depth the values and considerations of a number of individuals living in relatively rural areas who are potential urban migrants. This would necessitate a rather complicated methodology. Questionnaires alone might not bring a valid result as a strong empathy between observer and potential migrant would be needed to bring out the highly personal opinions and attitudes upon which the latter based his choice. This is not to say that Caldwell's (1969) study of urbanization is invalid, but private considerations of costs and benefits not easily admitted to a stranger would be even more difficult to elicit by the formal and official-looking questionnaire. Yet in the individual based Information-decision-action perspective these very considerations are fundamental.

It would be useful if it were possible to make a detailed study of a number of migrants and non-migrants with regard to such factors as extent and type of education, the information upon which they acted and its validity, the economic and cultural climate of the

1. Thomas, W.I. and Florian Zuanicki, Polish Peasant in Europe and America, N.Y., Alfred Knopf, 1927. Reprinted by Dover, 1958, Vol. 1, p. 44.

cities chosen, the extent to which some had already been exposed to urbanization by previous visits, and numerous other important variables. This would require at least a year of residence in a rural area, obtaining the trust and the confidence of a number of potential migrants, and noting their considerations and following through their moves to more urban areas. Until I can make such a study it is necessary for me to rely on other sources of data as census statistics, previous studies, and personal recollections of a friendship with one particular, transitional person, Kwaku. His decision is ambivalent; both to go and to remain.

I met Kwaku when I was teaching economics at St. Peter's Secondary School, in Nkwatia, Kwawu. The school is a Roman Catholic mission school, supported by the Ghana Government. During the week that I joined the staff, the headmaster asked Kwaku to come and repair some plumbing fixtures in my staff bungalow. Kwaku and I became close friends. He taught me most of what I know of the Twi language and we spent a lot of time together when I was not teaching and he was not blacksmithing. I introduced him to the western pastime of travelling only for the sake of travelling, of seeing the countryside, and of meeting other people. We went as far as Côte d'Ivoire where we met some friends he had not seen for many years. He taught me many of the finer points of Akan etiquette and I came to appreciate the courtesy, graciousness, and diplomacy of West Africans. Kwaku does not remain anonymous in this study, and as a result I must

suppress a number of benefit and cost considerations which he had occasion to make. I choose Kwaku as an individual in this chapter on decisions because he represents a type, an example, and a friend without whom I would have had little understanding of Kwaku.

His Name

His full name is Peter Kwaku Boateng. He is sometimes addressed as Otomfuo. Peter is his Christian name and is most commonly used by the Catholic missionaries. A few of the Americans and other 'Europeans' at Nkwatia would call him Pete. One of the Canadians at the school dubbed him 'Pete the Plumb' and the name is still used. Kwaku is his day name. Like most Akans, Kwaku had an outdoor ceremony on the eighth day after he was born. The Akans have a seven day week and being born on a Wednesday, he was admitted to being human on the following Wednesday when he had lived one full round of weekdays. So he was called Kwaku, the name given to males born on Wednesday. Boateng is what he calls his family name.

Unlike the Europeans who have a patrilineal surname, the Akans who are matrilineal, have no surname, neither are they addressed according to their abusua or matriclan. However they do have names other than their day names. During Kwaku's outdoor ceremony, his father gave him the name Boateng. He was thus named after a man whom his father admired and wished Kwaku to emulate. This man got the name Boateng in a like manner from his father. Faced with European

nomenclature when filling out forms, most Akans give this kind of name as a surname. Kwaku thus says his family name is Boateng.

He is sometimes addressed as Otomfuo which means "blacksmith", an occupation in West Africa which preceded by three hundred years the bringing of the knowledge of the manufacture of iron to Europe by missionaries from the middle east. The name, Otomfuo, rightly belongs only to those who reduce iron oxide to iron, but Kwaku who only works with iron, but does not produce it, is still called Otomfuo.

The People He Knows

Kwaku has a wife by a Catholic marriage. He is separated from her and the missionaries report a lawyer in Rome is trying to have the marriage annulled. Kwaku never told me this; I found it out via a mutual friend. He presently has a wife, Ama, by a traditional marriage, and this is accepted by the missionaries who would marry them if his previous, barren marriage became annulled. When he speaks of his wife he refers only to Ama, by whom he has three children.

His Work

Three apprentices live with him. Their families have given Kwaku some traditional gifts, a fowl, some alcohol and a small sum of money. He provides their food and teaches them some skills on

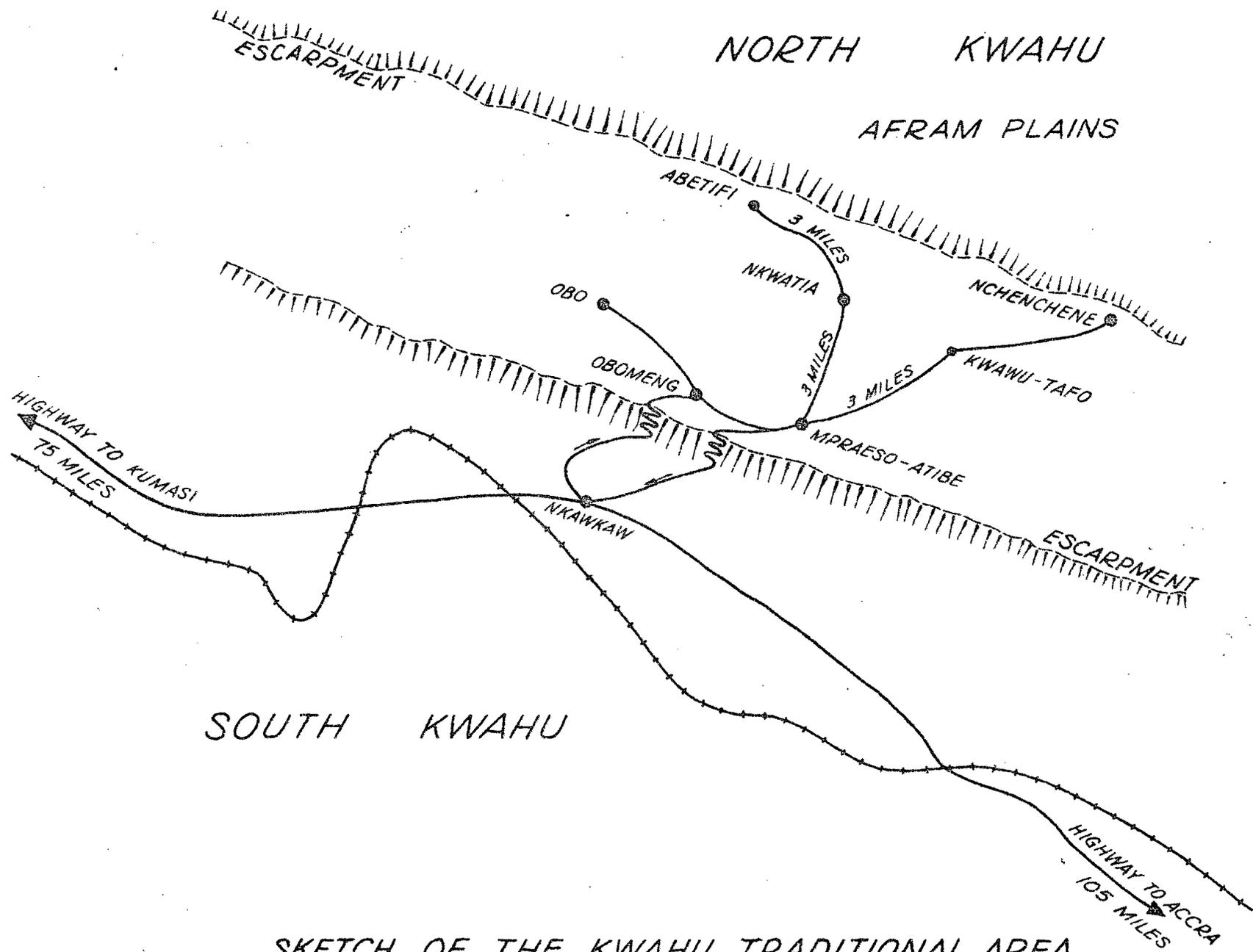
the forge and anvil and with his plumbing tools. In return they help Kwaku with the labour required to run his shop and sell any tools and artifacts that they make.

His Home

Kwaku's home town, Tafo, is a village on the escarpment. He has his blacksmith shop in Nkawkaw. It is in a compound shared by a number of other artisans and craftsmen: a welder, a painter, an electrician, an automotive mechanic. They each accept various jobs and refer to their compound mates those jobs or parts of jobs which they cannot do. Kwaku once rented a room in Nkawkaw, but now he has completed building a house on the outskirts of the town. Unlike the enclosed walled compound common to Akan villages, Kwaku has built a house which resembles the bungalows in the missions from the outside. The inside is designed like the more common Akan houses. When he goes to Tafo he stays in a house belonging to his matriclan. It is about fourteen miles from Nkawkaw to Tafo and about twelve miles from Nkawkaw to Nkwatia, also on the scarp where Kwaku came to fix my plumbing.

His Training

Kwaku did not finish middle school. He can read and write in Twi, using the Roman alphabet developed by the Basel missionaries



SKETCH OF THE KWAHU TRADITIONAL AREA

in Akuapem. He speaks Kwawu-Twi and can make himself understood in other Akan dialects including the distantly related Agni in Côte d'Ivoire. He speaks a few sentences of Hausa, Ga and pidgin French. He does not speak as fluent English as an educated Ghanaian. He seldom uses pidgin English unless speaking to Northerners or Nigerians. Instead he speaks his own form of English with a fairly limited grammar and vocabulary, but admirably flexible and expanded by his use of ingenious circumlocutions, reflecting his ability to be analytical, observant and patient. He might be called a literate, educated, though unschooled, man.

He learned blacksmithing as an apprentice, and later, upon becoming a Catholic, learned plumbing skills from a Catholic brother. He feels rather obligated to the Catholic missions but his feelings appear somewhat ambivalent. His feeling of obligation reflects the traditional, Akan regard of an artisan for his master, but he does not relate this regard to an individual brother. The Catholic missionaries have, seemingly, many aspects of the Akan matriclan -- they address each other as "Father", "Brother", or "Sister", and live together but do not marry. Kwaku projects his traditional obligations of his master onto the lineage of his master. They do not respond, however, in quite the same ways as members of an Akan matriclan.

Since there is more profit in plumbing than in blacksmithing, he tries to buy plumbing fixtures but they are scarce in Nkawkaw.

Such business enterprise requires a trip to Accra, 104 miles from Nkawkaw, involving, about ten to twelve hours travelling time in a Benz passenger bus. Under the circumstances he usually continues blacksmithing.

The Catholic missionaries in Nkawkaw, those at nearby Nkwatia, and the Sisters at the hospital in Nkawkaw, hire him on contract for their plumbing jobs. The same Order in the Catholic church sends sisters to run a hospital, and a Father to run a church nearby in Nkawkaw. It sends Fathers to run a school at Nkwatia. There is a mission and a midwifery at Tafo, Kwaku's home town, and there are missions, training institutes, schools, midwiferies, hospitals, and numerous other mission activities of the Society of the Divine Word (S.V.D.) and Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit (S.S.p.S.) Order, in other regions in Ghana. Kwaku has worked at a few of these, including the headquarters at Accra, and the mission where he was trained. To my knowledge he has not worked at the Seventh Day Adventist hospital in Mpraeso, which is on the road between the Catholic missions in Tafo, Nkwatia, and Nkawkaw. When he works for missions he usually works for Catholic ones. They often provide him with the necessary plumbing fixtures but pay him what he considers low fees. He often makes himself "scarce" by being at a funeral or at another job when the missionaries send word that he is needed. Often he is available as soon as he is called, and, at other times, his excuses mean only delay as he eventually reports

JASIKAN ●

A S H A N T I R E G I O N

● AFRAMSO

● AWURASO

● AFRAMSO

● ASHANTI MAMPONG

NORTH

● BONKROM

● KWESIADAI AND ● SANTABOMA

● FASO

SOUTH

● AFRAMSO

● TIRIBUM

● MOPTI

● SEIDU

● KUMASI

● ABENE

● ABETIFI

● ADWASO

KWAHU

● ADUAMOA

● KWAWU-TAFO

● MANKRONG

● JUASO

● NKWATIA

● OBO

● MPRAESO-ATIBIE

● ADUFO

● NKAWKAW

● AFRAMSO

ESCARPMENT

E A S T E R N R E G I O N

● KOFORIDUA

V O L T A R E G I O N

VILLAGES IN THE KWAWU AREA

for work. Such hesitations, delays and eventual reversals are due to the social and economic pressures put upon him to succeed as an entrepreneur.

Kwaku's present wife, Ama, is from Tafo. When Kwaku rented a store on the main street of Nkawkaw she stayed in it. Prior to that she stayed in a compound room which Kwaku rented before he started building his house. During the day Kwaku could not be around the store. He was usually at his shop, or out doing plumbing jobs, or attending various functions in the district. It is not an unmixed blessing to have a non-wage entrepreneurial artisan occupation. He is free to leave at any time without asking permission from an employer, but his relatives and friends know this and demands for funeral and such functions are made accordingly. Most Akan men feel obliged to give their wives some money as capital so that they may trade. Kwaku has given Ama some money to buy ingredients for pastries, and she often buys and resells bread or canned goods. As she must stay at the store she cannot go to the large open air market to sell. In his store she also sells plumbing fixtures or various tools such as knives, ladles, and hoes, made by Kwaku and the apprentices. Kwaku makes these in response to an anticipated demand. At the opening of the rainy season he makes hoes for the farmers to buy when they start tending their land. He makes the other tools when he sees that they will sell well. Ama sells them at the store, and sits outside selling the bread or canned goods. While Kwaku was building

the house and couldn't afford to rent another room they lived in the small back room of the store. Since the house became habitable they have moved there.

Most Akan women are expected to care for their children. Because there is no farm land available in Nkawkaw, Ama cannot farm to raise food so she must depend on her profits from selling at the store to buy food for the children. Kwaku and Ama earn more than many Kwawu, although not as much as professionals, administrators, and successful cocoa farmers.

Although he makes no outward signs, Kwaku must calculate constantly as an entrepreneur. The jobs that Kwaku gets at his shop are irregular in frequency and remuneration. His blacksmithing business may be slack and his funds low and he would be more prone to taking a lower paid job. This would be more likely if, at the same time he had incurred some obligations such as giving gifts at births or funerals. Often one of the priests would take him to Accra to get parts for the plumbing job, and he could use the opportunity to go to also purchase plumbing parts with what spare cash he has saved, so as to do other jobs in Nkawkaw. His monetary remuneration in taking a job at a mission would be low, compared to some smithing jobs at his shop. However if it involves supplementing his ability to do plumbing jobs outside of the mission he will be more inclined to take the mission job.

Kwaku and the priests would not put it this way. They might say that he has certain obligations to the church. The priests might see those obligations in terms of his religious obligations. Kwaku might see those obligations in terms of obligations to his former master's clan. He doesn't complain to the priests about low remuneration, but he lets it be known. The priests have mentioned that Kwaku does not seem to be charging as much as they might have expected. They would certainly not offer to pay him more if he makes a low bid. They might explain his low bids by saying that he is charging according to a wage structure of many years ago before inflation when he was trained. Since they have a small budget and must maximise they would not find it to their advantage to offer Kwaku a higher price if he makes a low bid.

Kwaku is an entrepreneur half-way between his rural village of Tafo, and the City of Accra. He is half-way between the abusua social structure of his history, and capitalist and Christian society of the western world. Kwaku lives in a transitional state geographically, culturally, socially, and economically. He is a rural urban migrant in so much as he left KwawuTafo to go to Nkawkaw. He is not a rural urban migrant in so much as he was exposed to life and became familiar with the city ways of Accra but chose not to migrate there. His rural-urban migration decision was not a simple go/no-go decision but involved and is involving many complex factors. The migration decision is only one of a whole complex of decisions that make up his life in an urbanizing environment.

CHAPTER FOUR B

Kwaku and the Information-Decision-Action Perspective

Decisions: Prediction or Explanation?

Kwaku and the I.D.A.

Some questions arise as to the applicability of putting in only one example in a formal analysis. The keynote here is "example" in this case, because the Information-decision-action perspective (I.D.A.) calls for tracing through many facets of decisions of a number of people. Kwaku is used here as a demonstration. How then does I.D.A. perspective, as an abstract, apply to an individual? Can it be used to predict future action, or explain past action? Given enough examples of past data and past action, could future action of an individual be plotted? Kwaku was born in Tafo, a small village. He lives in Nkawkaw, a much larger commercial town. He has had some experience in Accra the capital, and a few other West African towns. Was his move from Tafo to Nkawkaw rural-urban migration? Is his present series of trips to Accra part of rural-urban migration? Will he develop closer links with Accra? Could those closer links, or longer stays be understood as urban migration? Will he move to Accra? Is competition too great there, or costs too high for a permanent move? Would he then consider an intermediate sized alternative: Kumasi? Will he return to Tafo? These questions could be answered by field work. It is here possible only to examine briefly the applicability of the four basic hypotheses to what is known about this one individual.

Costs of Remaining

(Hypothesis 1)

Kwaku is not what could be classed as a misfit. Costs associated with ostracism are low. He completed a few years of primary school but the question, as in Chapter Two, of doing well or doing poorly in school cannot here be used as an explanation of a decision to migrate. Kwaku is intelligent but not a genius. His school career did not result in many observable costs. The same applies to religious conversion. Kwaku is very pragmatic. He became a Catholic and his decision was necessarily mixed with his training as a plumber. Yet conversion to Catholicism in his village is not something which leads to ostracism costs. Costs of rural life did rise for Kwaku as he became more identified with town living due to blacksmith and plumbing training. Unlike most Tafo residents, farming plays a very small part in Kwaku's thoughts, aspirations, or activity. Substantive costs of farming per se did not rise for Kwaku, as in the third hypothesis of Chapter Two, but the cost of "being a farmer" could well have been higher for him. Kwaku was far from being a criminal leaving Tafo to avoid costs of associated penalties.

Benefits of Migrating

(Hypothesis 2)

Kwaku learned about many "urban" things as a result of his association with the Brothers. Increased urban information as in

Chapter Two resulted in familiarity with urban life for him. Knowledge, even of the pitfalls, was an asset for him and contributed to the migration benefit aggregate. His training, education and exposure to cosmopolitan life styles increased his identification with urban life styles and resulted in a re-identification such that he valued income associated with urban life. City life had more benefits in the form of familiar Kwawu customs in most of Nkawkaw, and in an area of Accra called Kwawu Corner, or Kwawu Market, to which he took me, he has many acquaintances. Kwaku did not see working for a firm, for wages, as an unmixed benefit. He liked working for the priests, but would not consider being employed in a firm. He felt he would be too tied by wages. The monetary income was valued, but above all he preferred the independence of entrepreneurship. This consideration may have been an important factor in his going from Tafo to Nkawkaw, but not all the way to Accra, where it was more difficult to establish an independent smith shop.

The effect of proximity on the decision (Caldwell, 1968) as noted in Chapter Two, is difficult to assess in the case of one individual. Kwaku's "closeness" to the city is more easily explained as social proximity, through Catholic church contacts, or lorry fares, rather than as the 100 miles or so to Accra, or the 12 miles from Tafo to Nkawkaw, which constitute the geographic measures of proximity. The factor of increased information seems to account for most of the "benefit of migrating" value of his decision. This was more

important than education in its formal institutional context, as predicted in Chapter Two.

Benefits of Remaining

(Hypothesis 3)

Kwaku, as mentioned above, did not identify himself as a farmer. His income, in terms of substantive and psychological acquisition related to farming, was therefore low in Tafo. A bad crop therefore could not account for Kwaku's move to Nkawkaw. Dislike of farming could. Caldwell's findings noted above, are substantiated, because Kwaku, due to his plumbing and smithing activities had a higher income relative to his Tafo peers. Kwaku did not claim abusua (matriclan) land in Tafo, finding enough non-farm income in Nkawkaw. He did arrange to get a small plot of land outside Nkawkaw however, where he built a distinctly non-African (not exactly but somewhat resembling Western) house to live in while he worked at his shop in Nkawkaw. Falling farm income cannot explain Kwaku's migration so much as the identification with a non-rural oriented life style.

Costs of Migrating

(Hypothesis 4)

Travel for the sake of travel was a novel concept to Kwaku when I suggested we take a two-week holiday and travel to the Côte d'Ivoire. He was excited by the new idea of tourism and gave his wife enough money to last, and away we went. But I found that travel

for other reasons was not foreign to Kwaku or other Kwawu. En route we met many relatives and acquaintances, some he had seen when as a child his father had taken with him while travelling to trade, others who had since migrated from Kwawu. In every town or village we went, where there was some commercial activity we met Kwawu, mostly traders, but some clerks and minor officials. Most of them indicated that they had gone there from Kwawu. Very few were born elsewhere. Kwaku had grown up in an environment of much geographical mobility related to commerce. Yet Tafo itself seemed a quiet, unexciting town. People he knew had travelled. For him the cost of migrating would be low relative to what it would be for someone in a more isolated village. Familiarity with urban life styles, and with residence away from the natal village ensured such low costs, and in terms of the Information-decision-action perspective (I.D.A.), resulted in a higher value.

The Fit of the Model

No abstract, or generality agrees entirely with examples of an individual nature. However, certain disparities from the I.D.A. in Kwaku's case, apart from those mentioned above, call for a re-examination of the perspective. The most important variant is the "once only" nature of the perspective. Kwaku did not simply live in Tafo and decide to go or not go to Accra. He was exposed to varying

facets of urban life many times. He presently lives at an intermediate urban area, Nkawkaw, but has been increasing his communication with Accra. This is no simple dichotomy, Rural-Urban, but a process of finding out how to live in an increasingly cosmopolitan world. There are many intermediate points and no absolutes at either end.

Another important difference is the variance between the decision as it is made by an individual, and the logic of its solution. The process of deciding happens over time while the decision formula offered here is a structure within which variables can alter over time.

The final difference has to do with net and gross migration. Looking at net migration statistics often overlooks the process of an individual's moving back and forth, from village to city and town as Kwaku did, and does. The picture one gets from only studying aggregates differs from that which one gets from studying one individual in that same process.

CHAPTER FIVE

Where to Go?

Action

Kwawu Net Migration Patterns

A Demonstration Model

Limited empirical data do not support the hypothesis that migration is proportional to the population of the city of destination, nor that it is inversely proportional to the distance of migration.¹

The I.D.A. perspective consists of three parts: Information, Decision, Action. Chapter Three, Four and Five attempt to give Kwawu examples of each of those three parts. Chapter Three indicates the information available to a Kwawu about the rural and urban areas. Chapter Four gives an example of a particular individual's decision process. This chapter attempts to focus on the aggregate action of Kwawu to see if such demographic data, as available, is useful for examining the individual decision making process. It seeks to ask where have Kwawu people migrated, and in the light of the I.D.A. perspective, "why"? From the perspective a demonstration model is constructed to test this data.

Kwawu have migrated to every region in Ghana, and within each to almost every census enumeration area. They have also left the country to go to Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Togo, Dahomey, Great Britain and America. It is difficult here to estimate the number of Kwawu who go to each area outside Ghana. However it is possible to indicate where they have gone within Ghana, using the 1960 census. The Kwawu developed as a separate ethnic entity in what is now the Eastern Region, in two census enumeration areas: North Kwahu and

1. Stewart, Charles T., "Migration as a Function of Population and Distance", American Sociological Review, Vol. 25, June 1960, pp. 347-356.

South Kwahu. The whole of Kwawu traditional state lies within these two areas. The table provided indicates the regions to which Kwawu or their recent ancestors have migrated.

Looking at the table it becomes obvious that Kwawu have not gone in equal numbers to each region in Ghana. If an explanation is offered for this differentiation in distribution, by drawing on a familiarity with the area, certain factors might be isolated by being made explicit. These factors might then be introduced into the Information-decision-action perspective as Information available to a decision maker, and a demonstration model could be generated from the perspective. These factors could then be tested against an indicator of Action so as to develop a predictive tool.

Most Kwawu live in the Eastern Region. The eastern Region contains the census enumeration regions North Kwahu and South Kwahu, in which the traditional state of Kwawu developed. If Kwawu have migrated to other parts of the Eastern Region it may be partially explained by social and geographical proximity of the areas. Within the Eastern Region outside of Kwahu, one would expect Kwawu to migrate to the largest town, Koforidua, and this is the case. Apart from the traditional area, most Kwawu, 2,360, live in New Juaben in which Koforidua is situated, or in East Akim Abuakwa, 2,500, which borders South Kwahu. Most of the people of the Eastern Region are Akans and speak dialects of Twi which are similar to the Kwawu dialect. Geographical proximity and urban attractions account for much migration.

Regional Distribution of Kwawu in Ghana

<u>Region</u>	<u>No. of Kwawu 1948</u>	<u>No. of Kwawu 1960</u>	<u>Notes</u>	<u>% Kwawu who are male (1960)</u>	<u>Urban % Pop. in centers 5,000+ (1960)</u>
Ghana total	79,313	131,970		47.9%	23%
Eastern Region	69,647*	104,130	Region of Origin	46.8	20
Accra Region	2,686	10,920	Major urban area	52.0	80
Ashanti Region	3,198	8,590	Most similar social structure, fairly urban, borders Kwawu	49.8	25
Western Region	2,437*	3,840	Related social structure, fairly urban, further away	56.3	26
Brong Ahafo	239	2,748	Similar social structure, rural, further away	51.7	16
Volta Region	759	1,490	Different social structure, borders Kwawu, rural.	53.4	13
Norther Regions	67	260	Very different culture, most distant, rural	61.5	8

Source: Ghana Census 1948 (p. 131). Ghana Census 1960. Last column: Birmingham et al., 1967, Vol. 2, p. 47, Table 1:15. Eastern Region in 1948 included Birim (K=67,285) and Akuapem New Juaben (K=2,262). Western Region in 1948 included Ahanta Nzima (K=257), Cape Coast (1,456), Sefui (86) and Wassaw-Aowin (640).

(Where to Go)

The region with the second largest number of Kwawu is the Accra Region. It is very small in area but it includes the city of Accra. Within this region Kwawu are more likely to go to the city than to Ga-Dangbe and Shai rural outskirts. The region is the traditional home of Adangbe groups which are quite distinct linguistically and culturally from Akan. The biggest indicator of this is that the Adangbe groups are patrilineal while Akan are matrilineal. The city itself, however, is more cosmopolitan, and about one-fifth of the population are Akan speakers. The factors accounting for Kwawu migration to Accra are overwhelmingly factors connected to its urban character, followed by its distance to Kwawu and the extent of familiar life styles in the city.

The region with the third largest number of Kwawu is the Ashanti Region. This region has even closer historical and cultural ties with Kwawu than other parts of the Eastern Region. Most of the Kwawu who do go there, go to Kumasi the second largest city in Ghana. Again, urban attractions coupled with social and geographical proximity help to explain why there are fewer Kwawu in the Ashanti Region than in the Accra Region and the Eastern Region, but more Kwawu than in the remaining regions. Note the ratios of men to women. Kwawu women outnumber the men. The difference is greatest at the point of origin. More men migrate than women. Women are more likely to travel to trade. They tend more to travel to areas which have outdoor markets, famous in Ghana for their wealthy "market mammies". Kwawu

women who do travel to trade are more attracted to markets which are geographically and socially proximate to their home. Kwawu men, even traders are not as attracted to outdoor markets of the traditional sort. If they migrate to trade they set up small retail shops rather than trade in open air markets. Thus Kwawu women outnumber Kwawu men in the Ashanti and Eastern Regions. Another reason for the differences in the male-female ratios is that the men migrate to areas which have fewer ethnic similarities, such as Accra, because they are attracted to certain occupations such as shopkeeping and clerical work, which do not require the comfort and security provided by well known patterns of interaction as in Akan outdoor markets. Where the men outnumber the women the most is in the Northern Regions where few Kwawu migrate, where customs are most unfamiliar, and where urban opportunities are the fewest.

The region where the fourth largest Kwawu population has gone is the Western Region. Akans such as the Fanti and the Nzima live in the Western Region, and these are about as similar to the Kwawu as are the Boron and the Agni (Anyi) who live in the Brong Ahafo Region. However the Western Region is on the coast, has had more historical exposure to and contact with Europe, and is more urban. Faced with two areas which are approximately the same distance away, and approximately as similar in customs and language, the Kwawu tend then to move to the area which is more urban. Thus the Brong Ahafo Region is fourth on the scale in Table IV.1 while the Western Region is third.

The Volta Region is an interesting area. This region borders partly on Kwawu and is generally quite close. However, relatively few Kwawu have migrated to that region. Within the region, fewer Kwawu have migrated to the more urban coastal south, and more have migrated to Buem-Krachi in the north. The Kwawu migration differential here must be explained by cultural similarity rather than by distance or urban opportunities. Most of the people in the Volta region are Ewes. Many are Ga-dangbe and many are Guan. These groups have languages and customs which are very different from Akan tribes such as Kwawu. Only in Buem-Krachi is there a large proportion of Akans, the Krakye. It is quite easy for a Kwawu living on the Afram plains in North Kwahu, to cross the lake and live in Buem.

The areas to which the least number of Kwawus migrate are in the Northern Region. Almost twice as many Kwawu men as Kwawu women go to the Northern Regions. These areas are relatively very rural. They are the furthest in Ghana from Kwawu and the people differ the most from Kwawu in language and customs.

Looking at this descriptive account of the differences in Kwawu migration, three independent variables seem to be most evident. These variables can be seen as information perceived by the individual deciding where or if to migrate. These variables are: 1) the extent to which each area offers urban benefits, 2) the extent to which the cost of getting there is low, and 3) the extent to which the culture

of each area is similar to the culture of the home area. It is difficult to decide at this point which variable is most important but the degree of urban opportunities seems to account for the greatest part of the migration. The extent to which the host areas are similar in social structure to the home area seems to be more important for Kwawu women than for Kwawu men.

Combining the hypotheses with a limit of four variables, a demonstration model can be constructed. Using some elementary regression techniques the relationship between action and information can be indicated. This would be expressed in the form of $Y = f(X_1, X_2, X_3)$. Let the dependent variable be the number of Kwawu who migrate to a particular area. Let the three independent variables be: extent to which the areas are urban, distance to the area from Kwawu, and the degree to which Kwawu may be familiar with the language and customs of the area.

Given the nature of the variables and the sources of the data, the indicators of these four variables must be distortions and representations of the variables. A few of these distortions are listed here. No census data on recent migrations exist. The 1960 census lists the number of Kwawu in 69 regions of Ghana, but does not indicate the proportion who have migrated in each or who have been born in each. However, using the total number of Kwawu in each region rather than only the number who have migrated to an area, does not result in a serious misrepresentation for two reasons. First,

the Kwawu developed fairly recently as an independent group separate from the Ashanti or other Akan who formed the Kwawu. Thus the total number of Kwawu in each region represent the people or progeny of people who have migrated to each post-colonization census division. Second, the indicator, if used in regression analysis is more valuable if concerned with the differential or variation in immigration to each of the areas, rather than to the absolute number of migrants. Thus a relatively high Kwawu population in any region other than Kwawu indicates also a relatively high migration to that area. The extent to which a region is urban must always be an approximation when using census data. Density may not be valid because a very urban area may be included within boundaries encompassing vast unoccupied areas. For purposes of approximation however, a crude indicator consisting of the percentage of people living in centers of over some arbitrary number of people is sufficient. This is reasonable as long as the boundaries encompass similar geographical areas and populations. As a rough measure of the distance from Kwawu to each region, a straight line distance, measured on the map, from the center of Kwawu to the center of each region is adequate. Straight line distances are not the same as economic distances. Roads almost never go in straight lines. Costs of travel per mile are much lower in Southern Ghana than in Northern Ghana due to a more efficient infrastructure. This again is not a serious distraction to the model so long as the indicator is to be used for regression analysis. What is important

Simple Correlation Table

Index of Kwawu Migration in Ghana Against Selected
Characteristics of Ghanaian Census Enumeration Areas

	<u>Number of Kwawu</u>	<u>% of Kwawu</u>
Distance index, (map straight lines)	-0.299	-0.423
Inverse distance index	0.404	0.529
Total population	0.580	0.027
Number of Akan Speakers	0.200	0.056
Number of Twi Speakers	0.216	0.133
Number of Akan Speakers plus Twi Speakers	0.570	0.219
Percent of Akan speakers	0.024	0.163
Percent of Twi speakers	0.150	0.254
Percent Twi plus Akan	0.172	0.338
No. individuals res. in centers over 5,000 pop.	0.812	0.308
No. individuals res. in centers over 10,000 pop.	0.780	0.322
Number of wage employed individuals	0.778	0.274
Index of urban size (Sum of above three)	0.802	0.316
% individuals res. in centers over 5,000 pop.	0.328	0.454
Percentage index of urban size	0.303	0.413

Numerical Migration Index:

(Akan + Twi speakers) (Pop. over 5,000 + Pop. over 10,000 + Wage Earners)
(distance)

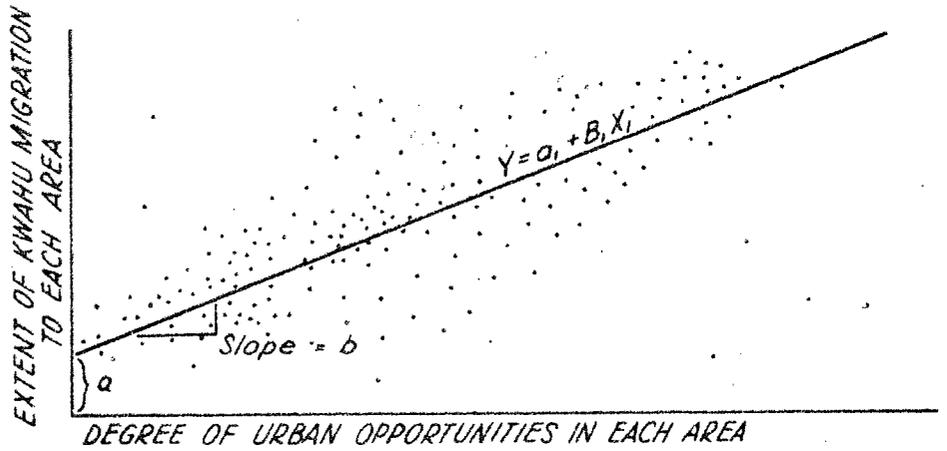
0.853 0.311

EXPECTED SCATTERGRAM ASSOCIATIONS

$$Y = f(X_1)$$

$$= a_1 + B_1 X_1$$

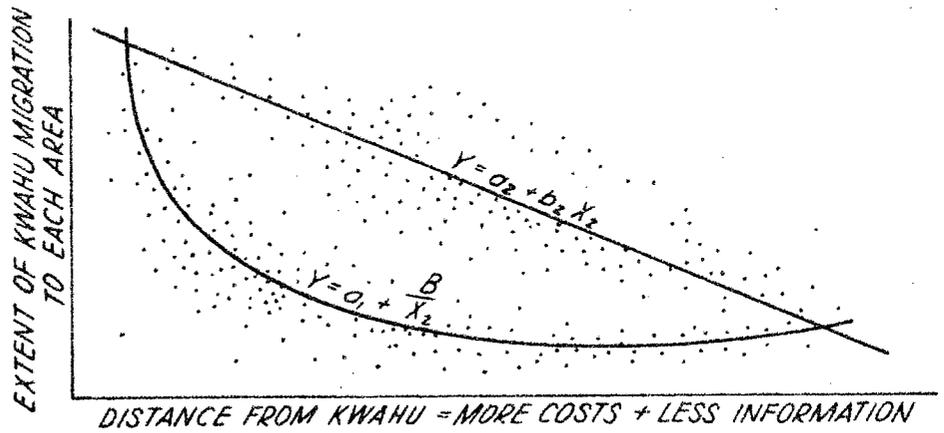
$$B_1 \geq 0$$



$$Y = f(X_2)$$

$$= a_2 + B_2 X_2$$

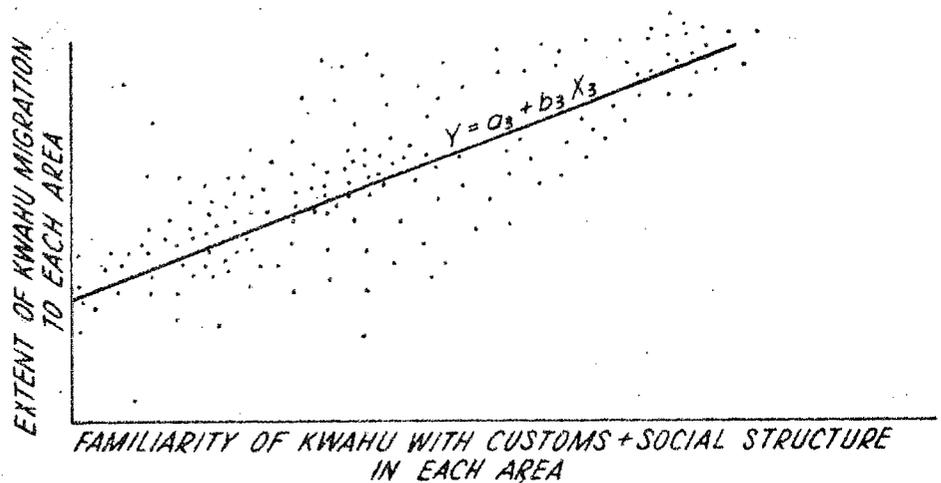
$$B_2 \leq 0$$



$$Y = f(X_3)$$

$$= a_3 + B_3 X_3$$

$$B_3 \geq 0$$



NOTE:-SIMPLE LINEAR REGRESSIONS ONLY.
 -MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION IS NOT
 SUITABLE FOR TWO DIMENSIONAL
 GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION.

is not the absolute distance but the relative differences in distances between the potential choices open to an individual. The same applies to an indicator of similarity of language and habits. The percentage of people in each area who speak Akan dialects is only an approximation of the degree to which a Kwawu migrant may be familiar with the culture. People who speak Nzima in the Western Region would be classed as Akan yet have more different customs than have the Akuapem who are closer to the Kwawu both socially and geographically, yet both are classed as Akan. For regression analysis to be valid the indicators must indicate the degree to which the variables vary with each observation which is not necessarily the absolute measure of the variable.

The dependent variable is the extent of Kwawu migration to each area as indicated by the variation in numbers of Kwawu in each area. The independent variables are: degree to which each area is urban, distance to each area, and similarity of culture of the people in each area. The variation in these three independent variables is measured by: 1) percent of population living in centers of over 10,000, 2) distance from the center of Kwawu to the center of each area, and 3) percent of the population in each area which speaks an Akan language. The sources for each of these is found in the 1960 census of Ghana.

Simple Linear Regression Table

Kwawu Migration Related to Inverse of Distance of Migration

$$Y = A_2 + Cx_2$$

Where:

- Y = Number of Kwawu in each census enumeration area
- x_2 = Inverse of the direct line distance from the center of Kwahu to the center of each other census division
- A_2 = Constant for the regression
- C = Coefficient of independent variable x_2
-
- 592.4 = Arithmetic mean of Y
- 1450 = Standard deviation of Y
- 1,463 = Arithmetic mean of x_2
- 1.064 = Standard deviation of x_2
-
- A = -2.13 (standard error = 279.2)
- C = 5.55 (standard error = 15,480)
- r^2 = 0.163
- F.prob. = 0.0000

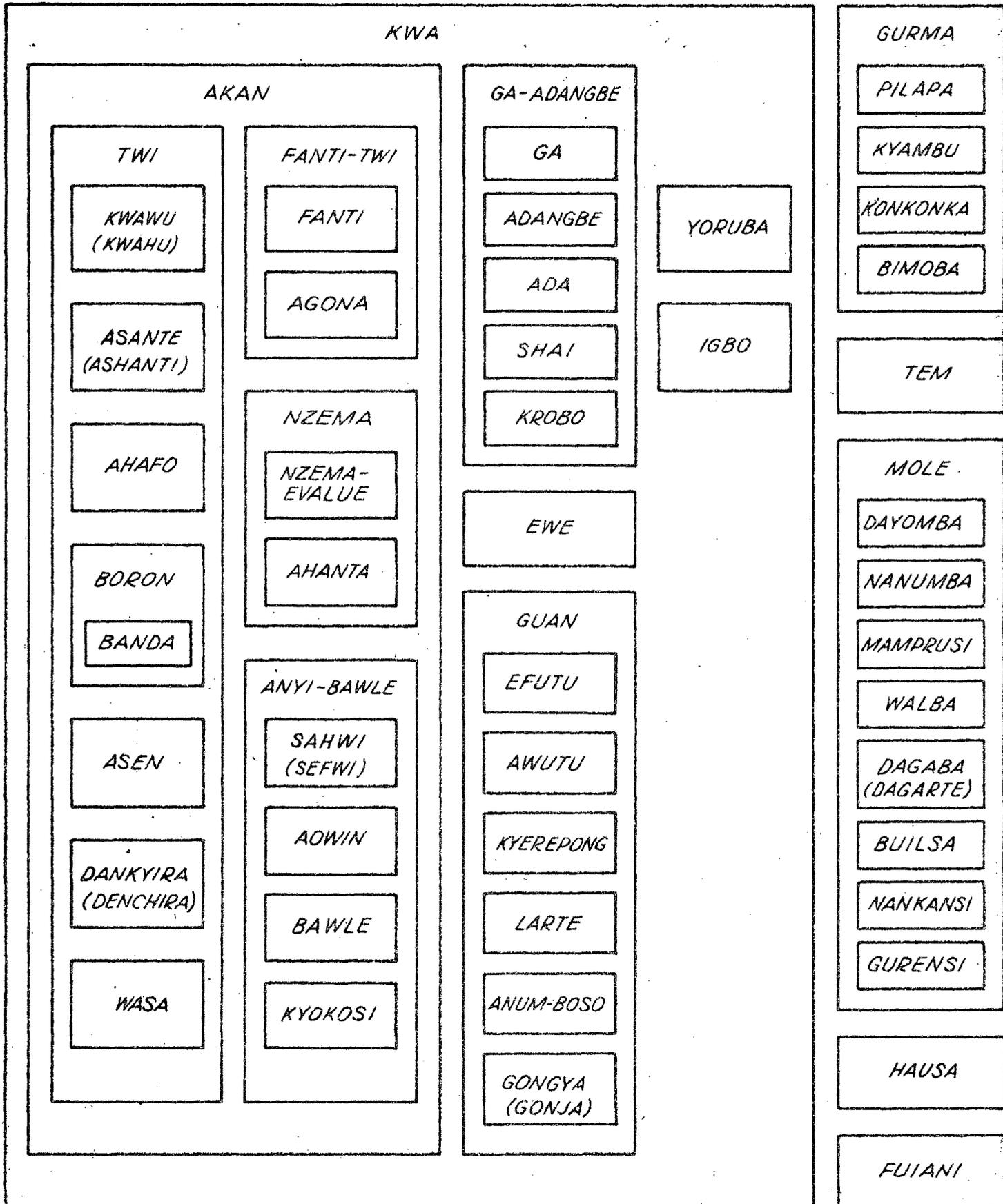
Distance

The number of Kwawu in each of the 67 census areas was taken as an indication of the number of Kwawu who had migrated there from the two Kwawu census areas. This was set as the dependent variable. The first independent variable was distance. As distance from Kwawu increased it was predicted that fewer Kwawu would migrate. See Diagram 3, page 133, Part 2. This was the case. The correlation for Kwawu and distance was -0.30 , which is low, but considering the very crude measure of distance, straight lines on a map, this was not surprising. A second independent variable, the inverse of the distance, as measured by the first method, was correlated with Kwawu and it was found to be higher: 0.41 . This was used for subsequent computations.

Familiarity

The second independent variable, extent to which the area is similar in social structure to Kwawu, was indicated in an interesting way. Greenberg (1965:50) has already shown the relationship between language, identification and social alignment in multilingual urban situations. The number of Akan speakers plus the number of Twi speakers -- as noted in the 1960 census document Tribes in Ghana (Special Report E) was used as an indicator. Kwawu-Twi is a dialect of Twi. Twi is an Akan language. See Diagram 4, "Categorization of Spoken Kwawu", on page 137. The indicator thus calculated

CATEGORIZATION OF SPOKEN KWAWU



was as if zero points were given to each non-Akan speaker, one point were given to each Akan but non-Twi speaker, and two points were given to each Twi speaker. The aggregate of points in each census area was used as the indicator of the extent to which the area might be familiar to a potential Kwawu migrant. See Diagram 3, page 133, Part 3. Interestingly enough the "Akan" variable correlated with a coefficient of 0.20 and the "Twi" correlated slightly higher with 0.22 but the combined index of ethnic similarity had a coefficient of 0.57.

Urbanization

Still using census enumeration areas, it was difficult to build in an index of urbanization and remain theoretically consistent. So for each area points were again given to individuals, as in the ethnic similarity indicator: zero points for each person living in centers of less than 5,000 population, one point if he lived in a center of over 5,000 or two points if he lived in a center of over 10,000, and one extra point if he earned a wage income no matter where he lived. Thus relative size of urban centers, and also wage employment could be combined as an index of urbanization² in each census area. Even though there are other measures of "urban-

2. See Map 6, "Geographical Distribution of Urban Density" on page 141. This was constructed by calculating the percent of population living in centers of over 5,000 population using 1960 Census data, and shading each census enumeration area with the appropriate density.

Simple Linear Regression Table

Kwawu Migration Related to Socio-Cultural Similarity

$$Y = A_3 + Dx_3$$

Where:

- Y = Number of Kwawu in each census division, (dependent variable)
- x_3 = Socio-cultural similarity index (independent variable) in each census division a point each per individual who:
speaks any Akan language
speaks Twi
- D = Coefficient of independent variable, x_3
- A_3 = Constant for the regression
- 592.4 - Arithmetic mean of Y
- 1450 = Standard deviation of Y
- 53670 - Arithmetic mean of x_3
- 59260 = Standard deviation of x_3
- A = -156.3 (standard error = 198.6)
- D = 0.0140 (standard error = 0.0025)
- r^2 = 0.325
- F.prob. - 0.0000

ness" this indicator should roughly correspond to the variation between the census areas of whatever might be measured as urbanization. See Diagram 3, Part 1, page 133. The number of persons living in centers of over 5,000 correlated with a coefficient of 0.81. This was the highest of the degrees of relationship with Kwawu migration. The number of persons living in centers of over 10,000 correlated to Kwawu migration with a coefficient of 0.78, a little lower. The number of paid employees was just slightly lower than 0.78 (0.7779) and the index of urbanization, used in further calculations correlated with a coefficient of 0.80.

The Predictive Index

Combining the three indicators into one index which is the multiple of the degree of urbanness, the extent of ethnic similarity and the inverse of distance, Kwawu migration correlated with a coefficient of 0.85. By combining the three variables into a multiple regression formula a predictive formula was calculated: with Kwawu migration as the dependent variable, the constant was -507.8, the urbanization index independent variable coefficient was 0.01, the inverse of the distance was 0.43 and ethnic similarity was 0.48 with an F probability for the whole equation of 0.0000, but the r squared was 0.74. Combining the indications as the degree of urbanness multiplied by the degree of ethnic similarity divided by the distance from Kwawu, the F probability was again 0.0000 but the

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN DENSITY

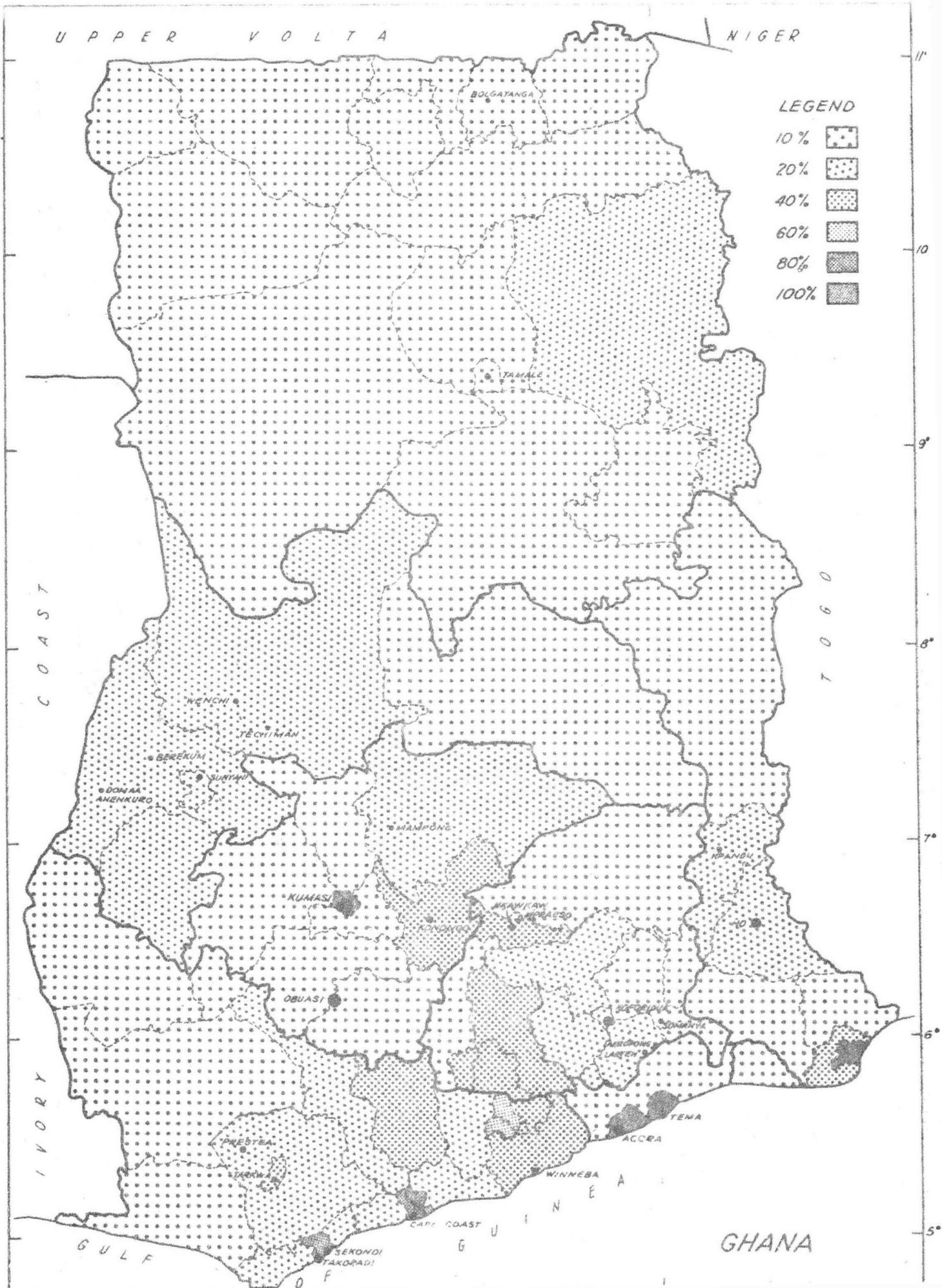


LEGEND

- 10% [Lightest stippled pattern]
- 20% [Light stippled pattern]
- 40% [Medium stippled pattern]
- 60% [Dark stippled pattern]
- 80% [Very dark stippled pattern]
- 100% [Darkest stippled pattern]

GHANA

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN DENSITY



Simple Linear Regression Table

Kwawu Migration Related to Ghanaian Urbanization

$$Y = A + Bx$$

Where:

Y = Number of Kwawu in each census division

A = Constant for the regression

B = Coefficient of independent variable, x

x = Urban Index:

Number of people in centers over 5,000, plus

Number of people in centers over 10,000, plus

Number of wage employees

592.4 - Arithmetic mean of ϕ , (dependent variable)

1450 - Standard deviation of Y

46200 = Arithmetic mean of X, (independent variable)

109,300 - Standard deviation of x

A - 101.36

B - 0.011

r^2 = 0.642

F.prob. = 0.0000

r squared was 0.73. This may be roughly translated as saying that about three-quarters of the variation can be "explained" in terms of each formula, and given an area with a certain degree of urbanness, a certain degree of ethnic similarity to Kwawu and a certain distance from Kwawu, one could predict how many Kwawu would have migrated to that area. This conclusion directly contradicts Stewart (1960:356) who reported:

Limited empirical data do not support the hypothesis that migration is proportional to the population of the city of destination, nor that it is inversely proportional to the distance of migration.

If his data had been less limited, if he had used a formal rather than an empirical approach, and if he had seen migration from the individual perspective, he might have come up with another conclusion.

Improving the Predictive Model

There is no doubt that with better indicators of the three indexes, a highly predictive formula could be calculated. The "distance" variable is highly suspect. Simple straight line distances on a map from the rough center of Kwawu to the rough center of each census area is very crude. Road distances vary tremendously. For example it is only forty or forty-five miles due East by air from the center of Kwawu to the center of the Ho census district. But to get there by lorry, it is one hundred miles first from Nkawkaw South-

east to Accra, then about one hundred miles Northeast again from Accra to the town of Ho. Dirt roads cost more in terms of discomfort, time, and lorry prices, than paved highways. Most people migrating from Kwawu to the nearby Kpandu area of the Volta region probably do not migrate the whole distance from the center of Kwawu to the center of Kpandu, but simply a few miles across the border. A better indicator of distance than straight line map distances used in this model, would be the lorry prices from center to center. Similar criticism could easily be laid against the "similarity" indicator and the "urban" indicator. It is surprising, in fact, that such crude measures, the only ones possible to obtain while in Vancouver, could show such high predictive values. Given an opportunity to collect data within the country, even better results should accrue.

CHAPTER SIX

Methodological Note

Relevance of the Perspective

Sources of Data and Their Interpretation

The approach taken in this endeavour was fraught with pitfalls. However, they proved to be heuristically useful. When the study was undertaken, certain difficulties were expected. Most of the data available did not lend themselves to the individual perspective. Migration data tend to be demographic, and reports in the literature tend to examine them as sociological, political, economic or ecological. Given the traditions of these disciplines, structures, networks or processes were always sought. Yet migration does not lend itself to these traditional examinations. To understand migration one must combine these "macro" views with the understanding of an individual's decision. Further problems were expected: reliance on personal memory; reliance on a few notes in a diary, written at a time when research was not an objective; reliance on library sources in a library dedicated to Asian rather than African collections, resulted in sketchy data. The most difficult methodological problem rested on the fact that the experience of deciding to migrate from a West African village cannot be transmitted as an experience to the observer of that migration. These problems were expected. More became apparent.

The Information-decision-action perspective cannot be used very well to make predictive statements about urbanization, that is, about the growth of cities or increase of city ways. It can be used to help understand urbanization a little more. The Information-decision-action perspective can be also used to develop a model to

predict rural-urban migration, one facet of urbanization, as well as to help understand the process of rural-urban migration. The Information-decision-action formal perspective is very simple but the simplicity is deceptive. From it the four hypotheses or axioms can be easily formulated so as to generate a whole series of subhypotheses, some of which were mentioned in the chapter on the literature, Chapter Two. Yet the migration decision making process is much more complicated. The scope of this thesis was not large enough to explore some of the more interesting complications. For example the relationship between action and information, and how the latter influences the former, as well as vice versa as mentioned above, would be very interesting. The observation that the D formula tends to be negative, migration resulting from a positive number, and leading to a new residence with a new negative D could have been expanded. This may have resulted in a whole new dimension of hypotheses related to a dynamic equilibrium model where D always tends to approach zero, and is always minimized by actions. Another weakness not seen until the project was underway, was the differential effect of information on the decision depending on the mode of that information channel, be it news media or returned or circular migrants. Nor was the phenomenon of information itself -- both negative and positive -- explored in depth as a facet of the benefit aggregation.

In the examination of the literature the thesis rejects the suggestion that any one factor is more important as a "cause", than

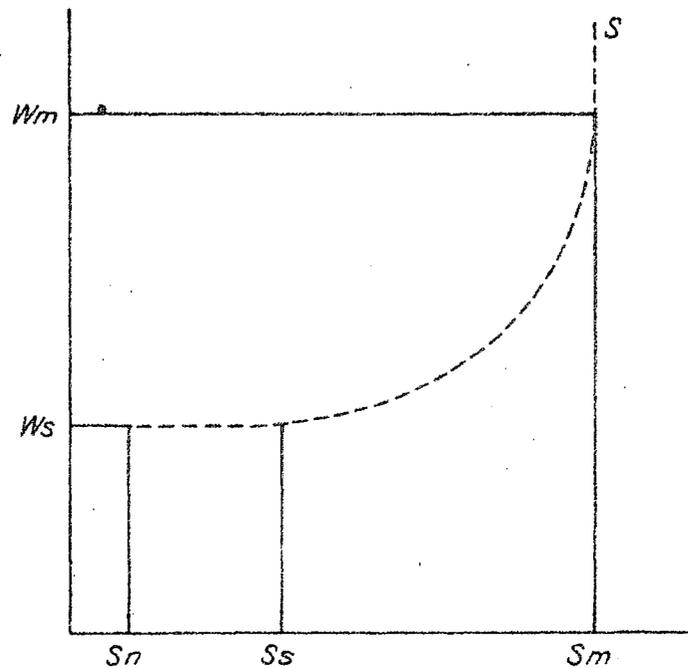
another. A decision is based on the balancing of aggregates in the four categories. The data in the literature were simply fitted into each category. The four facets of the decision act as a synthesis of all other observations. Some apparent contradictions to the hypotheses generated from the Information-decision-action perspective were briefly examined. None disproved any hypotheses yet all, by their "macro" nature were difficult here to fit into this "micro" or individual level of analysis.

In the Kwawu example, Chapters Three, Four, Five, the information data was sketchy due to lack of data. The environments of Tafo, the rural area example, Nkawkaw, the intermediate town, and Accra, the city, are all perceived differently by different potential and realized migrants, as well as the observer and reader. The individual cited could not be used as a type or as a model, yet because he was not kept anonymous, more personal considerations entering into the decision making process could not be included. A better examination, done with field research should include a number of anonymous individual studies in depth for comparison. As a sketch of an actual individual the example proved a difficult fit into the Information-decision-action perspective. One man is not a simple model; he is a complex socio-biological organism. The "Action" example again was hampered by lack of data and lack of sources of data. Yet it produced a surprisingly high predictive capability. This acts as an argument for much more intensive study using the individual decision-

making as the framework for observation and analysis. It is especially suited for migration. Traditional anthropological approaches do not lend themselves to such a study of social change. This approach is necessary.

APPENDICES

OFFER OF MIGRATORY LABOUR FROM ONE REGION



S = supply of labour
Ws = wage providing worker's subsistence minimum.
Wm = wage securing maxim supply of labour
Sn = supply for non-economic reasons
Ss = *Sn* plus supply of those who cannot subsist in rural economy
Sm = maximum supply

Source:

Gugler, Joseph,

"On the Theory of Rural-Urban Migration; The Case of Subsaharan Africa" in Migration edited by J.A. Jackson, Cambridge, Sociological Studies 2, University Press, Cambridge 1969, p.154 adopted from

Mühlenberg, Friedrich,

Wanderarbeit in Südafrika: Ursachen eines Arbeitsmarktphänomens Dualistischer Wirtschaftsgesellschaften (Stuttgart) 1967, p.220.

APPENDIX II

Urban Fertility Differentials as Measured by
Child-Woman Ratios

(Children, 0-4, per 1,000 females 15-44)

<u>Urban Area</u>	<u>C-W Ratio</u>	<u>Total area or Region</u>	<u>C-W Ratio</u>	<u>Urban difference from Regional ratio, as a percentage</u>
All urban population*	816	All population of Ghana	886	- 8
All urban population	816	All rural population	908	-10
Accra**	769	All population of Ghana	886	-13
Kumasi	827	Ashanti	1,006	-12
Takoradi	792	Western and Central	903	-12
Cape Coast	797	Western and Central	903	-12
Koforidna	797	Eastern	924	-14
Nkawkaw***	895	Eastern	924	- 3
Sunyani	907	Brong Ahafo	1,017	-10
Ho	672	Volta	865	-22
Tamale	788	Northern and Upper	756	+ 4
Bawku	763	Northern and Upper	756	+ 1

* Population in centers with 5,000 or more inhabitants.

** Accra municipality; not Accra Capital District.

*** Calculated from table in Chapter Four.

Source: Birmingham (1967:102) Table 2.18.

APPENDIX III

1

Cross National Correlations with Urban Population

<u>Listed on page²</u>	<u>Correlated on page³</u>	<u>Variable number & code name⁴</u>	<u>Correlation coefficient & no. of obs.</u>		<u>Definition of cross national variable</u>
67	267	9 PC20	100	120	Percent of population in urban areas of over 20,000 population.
69	269	19 GGEM	82	18	<u>Employed by general government</u> , social security and public enterprises as percent of working age population.
175	279	52NONA	78	75	<u>Non-agricultural employment</u> as a percentage of working age population.
217	283	63 PSED	72	115	<u>Primary and secondary school pupils</u> as a percent of population aged 5-19.
175	279	50 LFAG	-72	92	Percentage of labour force employed in agriculture.
149	277	44 GNPC	71	110	<u>Gross National Product per capita</u> .
196	281	57 LIFE	71	69	Life expectancy - females at age zero.
107	272	31 NEWS	69	115	Daily newspaper circulation per 1,000 population.
202	283	59 PHYS	-69	114	Inhabitants per physician.
28	265	3 WAGE	69	76	Wage and salary earners as a percent of working age population.
118	274	35 RADS	68	109	Radios per 1,000 population.
184	280	53 INDY	67	76	Employment in industry as a percentage of working age population.

Continued

<u>Listed on page²</u>	<u>Correlated on page³</u>	<u>Variable number & code name⁴</u>	<u>Correlation coefficient & no. of obs.</u>		<u>Definition of cross national variable</u>
172	278	49 GPAG	-67	73	Percentage of gross domestic product originating in agriculture.
221	283	64 LIT	66	109	Percentage literate of population aged 15-64.
111	273	32 DOML	65	68	Items of domestic mail per capita.
207	282	60 HOSP	-62	117	Inhabitants per hospital bed.
128	275	38 CINE	62	96	Cinema attendance per capita.
213	283	62 HIED	56	100	Students enrolled in higher education per 100,000 population.
118	274	37 TELE	54	67	Television sets per 1000 population.
111	273	33 FOML	54	66	Items of foreign mail per capita.
132	275	39 LANG	54	61	Speakers of dominant language as a percent of population.
248	287	74 CHRS	50	95	All christians as a percent of total population.
34	265	5 BRTH	-50	80	Live births per 1,000 population.
231	284	67 IMMG	50	39	Immigrants per 1,000 population.

1. Source: Russett, B.M. et al. (eds.), World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators.
2. Page in Russett on which names of countries and value of variable found.
3. Page in Russett on which correlation with PC20 is found.
4. Variable number and code name assigned by Russett.

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