

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION AS AN ASPECT  
OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY:  
JAMAICA, EXAMINED AS A CASE STUDY

by

BLOSSOM ADOLPHUS

B. A. (Hons.) University of Toronto, Toronto 1966

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
Master of Arts  
in the School  
of  
Community and Regional Planning

We accept this thesis as conforming to the  
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

May, 1970

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study.

I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

School of  
~~Department of~~ Planning

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date May, 1970.

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study is to substantiate and document the notion that a comprehensive planning policy for integrated socio-economic development aimed at solving the underlying problems of the rural "push" factors would yield more effective solutions to rural-urban migration as a generic issue in developing regions than measures already proposed in these regions. The premise was examined within the context of the existing Government measures geared to make rural living more attractive in the developing country of Jamaica, West Indies.

Based on a review of rural-urban migration in Latin America, of which Jamaica is a part, it is indicated that the movement has reached unprecedented levels. The impoverished economic and social conditions of the countryside are real as evidenced by the ever increasing flow of rural-urban migration mainly to one urban area. The cities are unable to employ all their inhabitants and consequently various measures of raising the level of rural living have been introduced. In Latin America the principal focus has been on land tenure and colonization but these have always fallen short of their aim. Such schemes need groupings of people into urban centres for their success. Bolder attempts at coordination of measures at the national and local level are vital.

The case study of Jamaica reveals that rural to urban

migration has become an increasingly important phenomenon. The main currents have meant a movement to the Kingston and St. Andrew Metropolitan Area. However, the rate and volume of the movement far exceed the current absorptive capacities of this area and this has created problems pertaining to under-employment, housing shortages and certain social ills. Faced with these problems, the Government of Jamaica has, since 1938, initiated measures to halt the growing trek of rural population to the city. The Land Settlement scheme involving the distribution of small plots of land to the rural population, previously introduced in the 1880's, was vigorously pursued after 1938.

Since the 1940's, however, the main area of concentration of policy switched to measures for rehabilitation of the hillsides and improvements with the land. These have been implemented through the Farm Improvement Scheme, 1947; the Land Authorities Law, 1951; the Farm Recovery Scheme, 1951; the Farm Development Scheme, 1955; the Agricultural Development Programme, 1960 and the Farm Production Programme in 1963. Improvements to the social environment have been mainly through the Social Development Commission and the 4-H Clubs.

While the schemes have been instrumental in increasing total area under cultivation they have been far from successful in raising rural levels of living with the aim of controlling rural-urban migration. They were only

concerned with issues relating to the land with insufficient thought for the people who occupied that land. The attempts made by the Social Development Commission have achieved little, if any, success in stemming rural flows.

This thesis reveals a formidable gap between these government measures and what rural Jamaica requires. The needs of the latter are non-agricultural in nature and revolve about the provision of modest urban services which have become a normal feature of daily living. It is concluded that this could be achieved through a system leading to the "rurbanization" of rural Jamaica--a process that would create an urban environment but at the same time would not be truly urban. All the basic services and amenities would be provided and concentrated in selected existing centres. These "rurban" centres arranged in an integrated manner would have advantages that would serve to facilitate the transformation of rural areas into stable societies, and in addition assist the process of modernization which Jamaica is now undergoing.

For best results the island must be divided into regions. It is concluded that the Town Planning Department of Jamaica should guide the physical planning of these settlements as it is already charged with the necessary powers.

The solution has implications not only for Jamaica but also for other developing regions. Plans for rural

reconstruction aimed at curbing rural-urban migration in these areas need to give a more prominent place to basic urban factors than has been customary in the past. An urban environment is necessary for the modernization process the regions are now pursuing.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT .....	ii.
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	vi.
LIST OF FIGURES .....	ix.
LIST OF TABLES .....	x.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	xi.
 CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION .....	 1
General Introduction .....	1
The Purpose of the Study .....	3
Scope of the Study .....	4
Planning and Rural-Urban Migration .....	4
The Significance of the Problem to Jamaica ..	12
Hypothesis of the Study .....	15
Definition of Terms .....	15
Organization of the Study .....	16
 CHAPTER 2 - URBANIZATION AND RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN LATIN AMERICA .....	 18
Introduction .....	18
Growth of Urban Population .....	19
The Causes of Urban Growth .....	22
Rural-Urban Migration in Latin America .....	27
Migration Selectivity .....	27

Pattern of Migration .....	29
Causes of Rural-Urban Migration .....	31
Effects of Rural-Urban Migration .....	36
Measures to Balance Rural -Urban Migration ...	38
Summary .....	42
CHAPTER 3 - RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN JAMAICA .....	44
Introduction .....	44
Extent of Rural-Urban Migration .....	48
Selectivity of Migrants .....	52
Migration Patterns .....	53
Causes of Rural-Urban Migration .....	54
Measures to Control Rural-Urban Migration ...	70
Summary .....	79
CHAPTER 4 - THE FAILURE OF MEASURES TO MAKE RURAL LIVING MORE ATTRACTIVE .....	82
Introduction .....	82
The Land Settlement Programme .....	82
Post World War II Schemes .....	87
Social Development Commission .....	91
Genuine Needs of Rural Jamaica .....	94
Summary .....	98

CHAPTER 5 - A PROPOSED SOLUTION FOR STABILIZING RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN JAMAICA .....	100
Introduction .....	100
Adoption of Incomes Policy .....	102
Location of Industry in Rural Areas .....	106
Solution .....	110
Summary .....	121
CHAPTER 6 - IMPLICATIONS OF THE HYPOTHESIS FOR DEVELOPING REGIONS .....	124
Summary .....	129
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	131

# LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		AFTER PAGE
1	MIGRATION INTO THE KINGSTON AND ST. ANDREW AREA, 1921-1943 .....	49
2	MIGRATION INTO THE KINGSTON AND ST. ANDREW AREA FROM THE COUNTRY, 1959 ....	51
3	KINGSTON - ST. ANDREW: INTENSITY OF IMMIGRATION BY CONSTITUENCIES, 1959 .....	51
4	INTENSITY OF OUTMIGRATION, 1959 .....	51

# LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
1	DECENNIAL INCREASE IN URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN LATIN AMERICA 1920-1960 .....	20
2	URBANIZATION DUE TO MIGRATION IN SELECTED LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES .....	26
3	ANNUAL RATES OF MIGRATION TO URBAN AREAS OF SEVERAL LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES (1938-1963) .....	28
4	JAMAICA: GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT AT FACTOR COST (CURRENT PRICES) FOR SELECTED YEARS .....	46
5	NET MIGRATION BY SEX INTO THE KINGSTON AND ST. ANDREW METROPOLITAN AREA .....	53
6	REASONS FOR MIGRATING FROM THE VILLAGE OF TOP ALBANY, ST. MARY .....	56
7	REASONS FOR REMAINING IN THE VILLAGE OF TOP ALBANY, ST. MARY .....	58
8	NUMBERS OF FARMS BY SIZE GROUPS AND PERCENTAGE TOTAL IN EACH GROUP: 1942, 1954, 1961 .....	67
9	ACREAGE OF LANDS IN FARMS BY SIZE GROUPS AND PERCENTAGE TOTAL IN EACH GROUP: 1961 .	68
10	SIZE DISTRIBUTION OF FARMS ON LAND SETTLEMENTS, 1961 .....	72
11	DEVELOPMENTS VILLAGERS WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN TOP ALBANY .....	95

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many persons deserve gratitude for their special contributions to this thesis. Among these, I wish to express thanks especially to Dr. Craig Davis for his guidance and constructive criticisms; Dr. H. Peter Oberlander for his helpful suggestions; my friend, Jeniphier Nevers, a Jamaican, whose response to my proposed solution was of great importance to me; the many villagers of Top Albany who freely told of the problems encountered in their village; the members of various departments of the Government in Jamaica who willingly spoke to me and provided the necessary data without which the study could not have been done; and also Mrs. D. Van Tine who typed the paper.

Finally, I am grateful to the Government of Jamaica for sponsoring my two-year study programme at the University of British Columbia.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### General Introduction

Urbanization is a world phenomenon which transcends natural boundaries and has been increasing particularly since World War II. This phenomenon represents a dramatic break with traditional habits, especially in developing countries whose history basically has been rural. Convincing empirical evidence lies in demographic factors--factors relating to the population increase in cities.<sup>1</sup>

The most important of these is internal migration, and in particular, rural-urban migration. This movement has not only demographic but also socio-economic implications and its effects are more serious in the developing countries than in the developed areas.<sup>2</sup> Although the characteristics implied in this phenomenon are somewhat similar to those of the latter nations, its background--

---

<sup>1</sup> Glen Beyer, ed., The Urban Explosion in Latin America (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Toshio Kuroda, "Internal Migration: an overview of problems and studies", of Proceedings of the World Population Conference, 1965, Vol. IV (United Nations Conference on Population, E/conf:41/s, 1965), p. 505.

ecological pattern, technological standard and the extent of socio-economic development--is essentially different<sup>3</sup> in the developing countries.

In the process, millions of agricultural workers are attracted to and try to enter the non-agricultural employment but the cities are more times than not unable to absorb the migrants at the pace at which they arrive. Planners and others have thought in terms of the broad appeal of industrialization to absorb the unemployed but Myrdhal maintains that because of the "low level of industrialization from which these countries begin, and the rapid population increase, modern industry even if it grows at an extremely rapid rate will not be able to absorb more than a small fraction of the natural increment in the labour force for decades ahead".<sup>4</sup>

Realizing this, various developing countries are implementing several aspects of agrarian reform to alleviate the impoverished economic and social conditions of the rural areas--the repelling factors. However, the contributions of rural programmes of this nature to economic growth and consequently their control of rural-urban migration, always the subject of many criticisms, usually fall short of their aim. To Stavenhagen, "rural communities have generally, on the

---

<sup>3</sup> Toshio Kuroda, ibid., p. 505.

<sup>4</sup> Gunnar Myrdhal, Asian Drama (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1968), pp. 1202-1203.

whole, lost more than they have gained".<sup>5</sup>

The programmes are usually spasmodic, few in number, and are carried out in isolation and in a piecemeal fashion. This does not imply that the measures or the approach are necessarily wrong but they cannot stop at this point if movement to the urban areas is to be curbed. However, it seems reasonable to say that an increase in such programmes will not result in any substantial improvements. The process must continue and the developing countries cannot wait until a higher economic level is reached before taking action. Thus it seems reasonable to suggest that no improvements in the rural sector will have an impact unless they are integrated within an overall planning framework. Then and only then--and within the limits of the economic possibilities of the developing countries--will the "pushing" character of rural zones be decreased. In short, rural and urban development will move for greater balance.

#### The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to substantiate the premise that existing measures of raising levels of living in rural areas are unlikely to stabilize the

---

<sup>5</sup> J. A. Ponsioen, "An analysis of--and a policy regarding--rural migration in developing countries", Proceedings of the World Population Conference, 1965, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 519.

rural-urban migration. The study will show further that the solution lies in an integrated planning approach on a regional level. The objective is to investigate these measures in Jamaica and to establish whether or not they are effectively integrated within a plan.

### Scope of Study

This study, realizing that generalizations concerning rural-urban migration in developing countries can be misleading, concentrates on conditions in Latin America with special emphasis on Jamaica, West Indies. In essence, it is an attempt to provide a qualitative framework and if the general premise be accepted, then it can serve as a basis for future quantitative studies; without the former, the latter cannot proceed in a meaningful fashion.

Most of the data used is secondary, based on books, published documents and articles on the subject. Although there is a considerable literature on urbanization in Latin America, statistical studies and available estimates of rural-urban migration are incomplete. There exists also a dearth of empirical studies because the process is complex and little understood. The present study is theoretical rather than empirical in nature. Such studies are valuable in that they point the way for further empirical research, such as the testing of the hypothesis in this paper.

### Planning and Rural-Urban Migration

Throughout most of the history of developing countries,

measures to raise the rural level of living have received much less attention than those used to stimulate industry or reinforce the city--a clear case of an urban bias. However, in recent years these countries have recognized that rural development exerts a "decisive influence on the urbanization process, while at the same time, it is an indispensable adjunct to overall development of the country".<sup>6</sup>

To this end, almost all countries have drawn up national plans incorporating programmes aimed at closing the conspicuous gap between the urban area and the countryside. Some programmes are very explicit, others generalized; some are not designed for that purpose but do decrease rural migration; some are only of an experimental nature while others exist at a national level but are not defined in the local context. And, the delegation and success of these is intimately connected with the effective decision of the planning sector of the country.

In many of the Latin American countries, especially in Jamaica, programmes are distributed among a whole gamut of government, semi-government or independent agencies which never seem to know what the other is doing. So, besides the problem of initiating the appropriate measures, there is this added one of a conspicuous lack of coordination within the administration.

---

<sup>6</sup> Philip Hauser, ed., Urbanization in Latin America (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), p. 62.

Hauser maintains that there is a virtual absence of 6 planning in these countries as is evidenced by the following:

1. The formulation of detailed plans for distant areas, by planning agencies which are more often than not located in the capitals and frequently have little relevance to the actual rural situation. Hence, the factor of the local communities playing a significant role is overlooked.
2. The provision of services are usually made ignoring any fixed order of priorities--especially those of an economic nature. Invariably this leads to adverse effects on the economic development of the countries themselves.
3. There is not only a general lack of planning at different levels but a great need to encourage planning among the politicians and the public.<sup>7</sup>

This negative approach to planning results no doubt from a lack of universal understanding about the nature of the problems or paths along which solutions must be sought. It would be helpful for predictive purposes to be able to refer to a model or theory of rural-urban migration in these developing countries. But the fact is that little is known about the phenomenon. Herrick maintains that: "urban

"urban migration is usually considered as a series of events occurring in a dynamically changing economy....Movement from the countryside to the towns, necessary if strictly balanced growth of the two parts of the labour force is to occur, becomes even more imperative if an increase in the size of the industrial sector is among the goals of the developing economy. This response of labour to a changing industrial structure and to its increasing demands for factors of production is usually viewed cheerfully as

---

<sup>7</sup> Philip Hauser, op. cit., p. 76.

evidence of a society's dynamism and economic flexibility".<sup>8</sup>

But there is yet another model in which rural-urban migration is an index of stagnation of the economy, reflecting the economic and demographic situations surrounding it. All Latin American countries attest to this pattern in various degrees. Here much of the urban population growth has not occurred in response to economic need for the city as there is a larger population "than is justified by the present level of agriculture and non-agricultural productivity".<sup>9</sup>

The situation of both models is paradoxical as in both the most commonly accepted indexes of economic development--urban migration accompanied by expanding secondary and tertiary sectors and relatively contracting primary ones<sup>10</sup>--are seen but development in terms of "industrialization" is occurring in one but not in the other.

In trying to achieve some balanced measure of development, planners have argued on both sides of the coin. Some believe that the rate of urbanization should be slowed down substantially

"and that to attain this objective, much of the government's attention and investment should be

---

<sup>8</sup> Bruce H. Herrick, Urban Migration and Economic Development in Chile (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1965), p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Philip M. Hauser, ed., Urbanization in Asia and the Far East (Calcutta: UNESCO, 1957), p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Bruce Herrick, op. cit., p. 2.

directed to rural rather than urban areas. If rural areas can be made more attractive....people will be less likely to abandon them for city life".<sup>11</sup>

Others are skeptical as there has been no conclusive evidence to indicate the effectiveness of any country controlling or regulating its rate of urbanization. And what might well be a most convincing notion is the argument that successful economic development is best carried out in urban areas. For example, large-scale regional development plans should stress urban factors more than has been customary in the past.

These debates are related to considerable disagreement as to whether rural-urban migration is advantageous to Latin America's development. That the process is detrimental is governed by three arguments.<sup>12</sup> First, the magnitude of migration is too great because it results in a strain on essential urban services and reduces the efficiency of the cities themselves. Second, the social characteristics of the migrants, for example, educational qualifications, do not make for easy integration in city living. As such they are said to represent a drag on the economy. Third, the migrants have great difficulties in making social and psychological adjustments to the city. True enough, these negative criticisms hold, but

---

<sup>11</sup> Glen H. Beyer, ed., The Urban Explosion in Latin America (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 74.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

positive arguments can also be found. The process, then, is very involved and it is no small wonder that planners find it difficult to reach useful conclusions.

Yet another drawback to planning is the lack of tested quantitative data to provide the necessary information base for the causes of migration so that more appropriate solutions can be found to improve the conditions in which the migrants are living. Theories of causes centre around two sorts of pressures--the "push" and the "pull". As regards the former, the pressure of rural poverty pushes the farmer off the land.<sup>13</sup> The explanations for rural poverty are numerous and include the following: over-population in rural areas which has implications in land tenure relationships, employment and food; scarce opportunities in government and business;<sup>14</sup> low agricultural productivity determined by lack of education and energy of the cultivators, "or on land tenure arrangements that fail to provide incentives for capital improvements, or on government price policies that discourage investment in agriculture";<sup>15</sup> soil exhaustion, lack of welfare and good transportation.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Bruce H. Herrick, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>14</sup> Gerald Breese, Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966), p. 80.

<sup>15</sup> Bruce H. Herrick, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Glen Beyer, ed., op. cit., p. 97.

The "pull" theory results from the lure of more attractive opportunities of the city.

"The economist may tend to think first of job opportunities or chances for increased pay, but opportunities for education, entertainment, marriage, or even crime have also been considered in the literature. The pull hypothesis can deal even with migration originating from comparatively rich rural regions. It says simply that the attractions of the city...are sufficient to pluck some people out of the rural population and deposit them in the city!"<sup>17</sup>

However, the dichotomy is not differentiated. This makes the reasons for migration difficult to ascertain, and complicates planning. It is quite evident that both factors have an impact on rural-urban migration: the "push" reinforced by the "pull". But the nature of the mix between both factors is like the "chicken and egg" problem.<sup>18</sup> The tendency in Latin America is to emphasize the "push" factor as the movement is greater than employment opportunities in the cities. Herrick believes the two theories "may be unified in one, in which urban migration is a function of expected rural-urban income difference".<sup>19</sup> But he goes on to say that this makes the motivation purely economic which omits the links to

---

<sup>17</sup> Bruce H. Herrick, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Irving L. Horowitz, "Electoral Politics, Urbanization and Social Development in Latin America", Urban Affairs Quarterly, II (March 1967), p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Bruce H. Herrick, op. cit., p. 14.

achievement drives.<sup>20</sup> These unresolved questions indicate the extent of planning to be done.

It is therefore not surprising that this aspect of urbanization has received most attention so far as measures and proposals to retard it are concerned. The rural areas have many disadvantages and as "optimum use of renewal resources is an important base for undertaking socio-economic programme in developing countries",<sup>21</sup> programmes directed toward rural improvement are essential. And bearing in mind that viable prospects

"for future industrial expansion are to a large extent dependent on the incorporation of the rural sectors into the national communities, [and] the improvement of the standard of living of these sectors...it is easy to see that industry alone, during the next few years, will not be capable of constituting the great energizing factor for development in the countries of Latin America".<sup>22</sup>

If attempts at solution have been tried and have failed and if conditions worsen, then more drastic ones may seem not only acceptable but appealing as the way out of an impossible situation. But they cannot be carried out in isolation and future plans had best take cognizance of the fact that they cannot now be concerned with the

---

<sup>20</sup> For example, the desire to give their children better education and to take advantage of medical facilities and other cultural aspects of the city.

<sup>21</sup> Lawrence W. Bass and S. J. Langley, "Utilization of Renewable Resources as a Stimulus for Socio-Economic Development", Proceedings of the World Population Conference, 1965, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 312.

<sup>22</sup> Claudio Veliz, Obstacles to Change in Latin America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 81.

welfare of the migrants themselves but rather with that of the whole society in which they live. Planners cannot emphasize urban development at the expense of rural areas. And the latter must be conceived as a whole unit to be linked with urban policy making for national integration.

### The Significance of the Problem to Jamaica

Alarmed by the drift to urban areas, the Government of Jamaica, since the 1930's, has initiated various measures for raising the level of living in rural areas, and hence making life in the country parts more attractive. An overview of these demonstrates the use of necessary tools possessed by the Government which could yield more effective development objectives in the rural areas.

Among several national plans, that of the Five Year Independence Plan 1963-1968 stands out as being the first to embody a methodical survey of expected production targets in the private sector. "The Plan involves the integration of the efforts of the Government and of the private sectors into a set of overall goals. The plan involves the interaction of development in different sectors of the economy."<sup>23</sup> In addition, it recognizes the need for comprehensive planning on a long term basis to "achieve rapid and balanced development and avoid

---

<sup>23</sup> Jamaica: Ministry of Development and Welfare, Five Year Independence Plan 1963-1968: A long term development programme for Jamaica (Kingston: The Government Printer, 1963), before p. 1.

wastage and duplication".<sup>24</sup>

One of the Plan's major goals in this direction places an emphasis

"on the provision of economic, social and cultural services mainly for the benefit of those sections of the community where the need is greatest and where the demand for improvement has been clearly reflected in discontent and unrest over the years. This will be particularly directed towards the rural agricultural economy in a determined effort to reduce rural migration to over-crowded towns".<sup>25</sup>

This it is hoped would result in development gains through the minimization of discontent which it accepts as a deterrent to development.<sup>26</sup>

However, the problem according to Walters is, and the writer agrees, that

"national planning in Jamaica has been organized on a sectional basis without emphasis on the proper relationships between all sectors of the economy. This has had the effect of de-emphasizing the importance of agriculture in the economy"<sup>27</sup>

and hence has contributed to the lag in the rural areas. Nor does the plan provide for any great detail at the local level.

---

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>27</sup> Norma Walters, "Land Settlement Schemes in Jamaica" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis in Geography, McGill University, 1966), p. 86.

The plan also recognizes the multiple-service approach to community development in order to assist in upgrading the prospect of village life. This means that

"the same village where literacy classes are organized should at the same time receive home economics training, organize dance presentations, etc....(involving) the whole community in various ways and creating the necessary impact that generates a fertile community charged with activity and the desire to succeed".<sup>28</sup>

However, it does not provide a detailed and well-integrated framework as to how this section of the plan can be best carried out. Agencies engaged in rural development are myriad: Agricultural Extension Services, Jamaica Agricultural Society, the Jamaica Social Development Commission, 4-H Clubs and Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Board are only a few. Usually, it is not surprising to find duplication of services which leads to great inefficiency in programmes.<sup>29</sup> And planning in programmes for agriculture is at best land oriented.

Fortunately, the need for plan for rural areas to curb the out-migration to the urban areas, has been realized by the Government and stated in various plans. However, as the main concern appears to be village improvement programmes, it is obvious that what is lacking here is a

---

<sup>28</sup> Jamaica, Ministry of Development and Welfare, op. cit., p. 187.

<sup>29</sup> Rene Dumont, Planning Agricultural Development, Report to the Government of Jamaica (Rome: FAO of the United Nations, 1963), p. 27.

comprehensive planning approach. In spite of all the mistakes made, the writer believes that it is feasible within the prevailing conditions on the island to integrate measures of controlling urban migration within a total planning framework. The island must strive toward this as it has to make the best use of its limited resources.

### Hypothesis of the Study

The hypothesis of the study can be stated as:

A comprehensive planning policy for integrated socio-economic development aimed at solving the underlying problems of the rural "push" factors would yield more effective solutions to rural-urban migration as a generic issue in developing regions than measures already proposed in these regions.

This hypothesis will be tested within the context of existing Government measures in Jamaica.

### Definitions of Terms

The following meaning is given to various terms in this Thesis:

Rural to Urban Migrants: - Those people who move from areas statistically classified as rural to those statistically classified as urban.

Urbanization: - The process whereby an increasing proportion of a country's population live in urban localities.

Degree of Urbanization: - The proportion of the population resident in urban places.

Urban Areas: - Excluding Jamaica, those conglomerates urban in character possessing over 20,000 people.

Rural Areas: - Excluding Jamaica, those areas having less than 20,000 people.

Latin America: - Embracing all lands south of the Mexico-United States boundary including the Caribbean Islands.

### Organization of the Study

In Chapter 2 a review is made of the literature dealing with the contribution of rural-urban migration to urbanization in Latin America, of which Jamaica is a part. It will demonstrate the alarm caused by the extent of the movement and, in addition, the causes leading to such an exodus. It will also give the measures initiated to deal with this urgent problem and their limited success in controlling rural flows to the already overcrowded cities.

The following three chapters introduce the main theme of the study which is a detailed examination of rural-urban migration in one country of Latin America--the island of Jamaica, West Indies. Chapter 3 illustrates for this case study the extent of its rural-urban migration, the destination of its migrants, the selectivity patterns and the causes for leaving the rural areas. In addition, the existing government measures aimed at reducing the rural "push" factors with a view to making rural life more attractive, will be be discussed.

Chapter 4 will be an evaluation of these existing government measures in order to show their inadequacy in controlling rural-urban migration as stated in the hypothesis of the study. To complete the analysis, Chapter 5 will propose a solution for attacking the underlying problems of the rural "push" factors in Jamaica. Chapter 6 gives the implications of the hypothesis for developing regions.

## CHAPTER 2

### URBANIZATION AND RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN LATIN AMERICA

#### Introduction

The growth of urbanization in Latin America has been phenomenal. In 1950 and again in 1960 the percentage of its urban population--25% and 32% respectively--was above the average for the world's--21% and 24%-25%<sup>1</sup> respectively--yet it is less urbanized than the developed countries.<sup>2</sup> However, within Latin America there are differences in the levels of urbanization. The degree of urbanization ranges from 11.6% in Honduras (1961) to 57.5% in Argentina (1960).<sup>3</sup> The latter, together with Chile (54.7%-1960) and Uruguay (49.5%-1963),<sup>4</sup> are the most urbanized and exhibit a degree of urbanization greater than that of every other region of the world except Australia and New Zealand.<sup>5</sup> Next is

---

<sup>1</sup> Gerald Breese, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> John D. Durand and C. A. Palaez, "Patterns of Urbanization in Latin America" in The Role of Migration in the Demographic Development of Latin America, ed. by Louis J. Ducoff, Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XCIII, (October 1965), p. 172-173.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 173.

<sup>5</sup> Gerald Breese, op. cit., p. 33.

Venezuela with 47.2% (1961) which is on par with the United States in this respect. Several other Latin American countries are slightly, if any, less urbanized than some European countries, for example, Brazil and Mexico are only slightly less urbanized than Switzerland and more urbanized than Czechoslovakia.<sup>6</sup>

Latin America, then, is experiencing an extraordinary trend toward urbanization. And, probably its soundest empirical evidence rests in demographic factors--factors relating to population increases in the cities. Much of the overview which follows relates to the particular demographic aspect of rural-urban migration simply because the new migrants create problems greater than those resulting from natural population increase within cities. Although migration is the major matter of concern, it cannot be considered in isolation. Any discussion related to it must of necessity include the growth of urban population in Latin America, the contribution of migration in relation to other factors causing increase in city population, the selectivity, pattern and causes of migration and the policies adopted to alter its volume and direction.

#### Growth of Urban Population

The trend towards urbanization has been both very recent and rapid--within the last three decades. Up to

---

<sup>6</sup> John D. Durand and C. A. Palaez, op. cit., p. 171.

the 1920's, urbanization was minimal in Brazil, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic,<sup>7</sup> for example. However, there are three notable exceptions: Argentina, Chile and Cuba. Here the urbanization process must have been initiated in the nineteenth century because by the beginning of the twentieth century, the percentages of their population in urban places were high: Argentina - 40.5% (1914); Chile - 27.7% (1907); Cuba - 24.3% (1919).<sup>8</sup>

A general discussion on the growth of urban population is a hazardous undertaking because of the great variation of levels of rates of urbanization. However, some meaningful overview can be made. Urban population increases since the 1920's have been significantly higher than that of the rural areas. Table 1 shows this phenomenon.

Table 1<sup>9</sup>

DECENNIAL INCREASES IN URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN LATIN AMERICA 1920-1960 (Rough Estimates by Per Cent)

	1920-1930	1930-1940	1940-1950	1950-1960
Urban	40	39	61	67
Rural	17	17	16	19

<sup>7</sup> Percentages are 11.3, 10.3, 9.2 and 3.5 respectively. Ibid., pp. 172-173.

<sup>8</sup> From what is known about contemporary Uruguay, it can be supposed that there was a similar phenomenon. Pan American Assembly on Population, Population Dilemma in Latin America (Washington: Potomac Books, 1966), p. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Glen Beyer, ed., op. cit., p. 95.

Of paramount importance is the fact that while the urban population increased from 39% (1930-1940) to 61% (1940-1950), and again in 1950-1960, that of the rural areas has tended to remain somewhat stationary.

"This is not because of any failure of the rural populations to multiply. On the contrary, the rural populations are increasing very rapidly; but (it) is outpaced by still faster rates in the towns and cities. In a word, in Latin America.... the rates at which towns and cities are growing are even higher than those for the rural districts."<sup>10</sup>

An important feature of urbanization in Latin America is its relative centralization. Sixteen of the 22 countries in Latin America have one-half or more of their urban population concentrated in one city and a seventeenth country, Chile, was only slightly below this ratio (47.3%). In two countries (Paraguay and Costa Rica), the largest cities contained the total urban population. Jamaica was close behind with 94% of its urban population concentrated in the Kingston and St. Andrew Metropolitan Area. Urbanization in Latin America is consequently megaloccephalic or exhibits megapolitanism as it is concentrated in the largest or primary city, usually the capital.<sup>11</sup>

Three of the remaining five countries do not conform to this situation of high primacy: Ecuador, Brazil and Colombia. However, the first two are only partial

---

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Lynn Smith, Latin American Population Studies (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960), p. 79.

<sup>11</sup> John D. Durand and C. A. Palaez, op. cit., pp. 172-173.

exceptions because both have two "first" cities of nearly equal size, either of which is larger than the third city.<sup>12</sup> Thus a case of "shared" primacy or marked bicephalic concentration exists. Colombia is apparently the true exception, having by contrast an almost "normal" pyramidal hierarchy.

Rates of growth are very high as between 1950 and 1960 the urban population in large cities increased from 25% to 32% of the total population.<sup>13</sup> If the urban concentration has been so conspicuous and as it is destined to be maintained or increased, the next question is why such an explosive urbanization is taking place.

#### The Causes of Urban Growth

The increases in city population have resulted from a combination of migration from abroad, natural increase (excess of births over deaths) and internal migration.

##### (a) Immigration

Prior to the 1930's, immigration from abroad was the principal source of population growth in some of the largest cities, for example Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires,

---

<sup>12</sup> In Brazil, Rio de Janeiro with over 3 million and Sao Paulo with 2.5 million compare with Recife and its 700,000. The differential in Ecuador is between Guayaquil (266,637) and Quito (212,135) and Guenca (42,000). Carr B. Lavell, Population Growth and the Development of South America (Washington: Washington University, 1959), p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Glen Beyer, ed., op. cit., p. 93.

Sao Paulo and Montevideo.<sup>14</sup> Since then, its significance has been minimal and only selective immigration has been occurring. In Argentina and Brazil, the two leading countries where immigration was resumed after World War II (1947-1952), this factor contributed only 10%<sup>15</sup> of the post-war upsurge in population, most of which was in urban areas. Since 1952 the movement in these two countries has fallen from annual peaks of 100,000 to about 50,000<sup>16</sup>, due in part to high re-emigration rates.

Currently, Venezuela is the only country showing an upward trend in an immigration which has made a contribution to city growth. The net gain in population is, however, low because a substantial number re-emigrated--62% between 1950-1955.<sup>17</sup> Immigration into Latin America in the near future is not likely to exceed 300,000<sup>18</sup> annually, most of whom will go to the three above-mentioned countries. It

---

<sup>14</sup> United Nations, New York, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1957 Report on the World Social Situation (E/CN.5/324/Rev.1), 1957, p. 174.

<sup>15</sup> Richard Robbins, "Myth and Realities of International Migration in Latin America", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCXVI (March 1958), p. 102.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>17</sup> Louis J. Ducoff, op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>18</sup> Richard Robbins, op. cit., p. 102.

therefore cannot decisively affect rapid growth of urban population.

(b) Natural Increase

Studies in Latin America indicate that urban fertility rates are lower than rural areas and this pattern is indeed consistent throughout the world. Without exception, wherever the data are available, the ratio of children to women in the reproductive ages, is lower in the city than in the country.<sup>19</sup> Not only do the largest cities have the lowest ratio but the difference between them and the smaller cities is far less than that between the cities in general and the rest of the country. In short, the gap between cities of various sizes is less in this respect than that between urban and rural areas.<sup>20</sup> Urban rates, however, have remained very high.<sup>21</sup>

Evidence of mortality differential appears to be less conclusive. However, to judge by reported rates, there is no marked or consistent difference between city and country. Thus it can be inferred that the rural-urban differences in fertility is greater than that in mortality.

---

<sup>19</sup> Thomas Lynn Smith, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>20</sup> Kingsley Davis and Ana Casis, op. cit., Part 2, p. 296.

<sup>21</sup> Harley L. Browning, "Recent Trends in Latin American Urbanization", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCXVI (March 1958), p. 118.

As cities display a birth rate lower than and a death rate equal to or higher than the rural areas, their natural increase will be less than the latter. This factor therefore cannot explain the rate of increase in urban areas which frequently is twice that in the rural areas. Accurate statistics are too scant to permit a precise evaluation of the importance of this factor of urban growth but it is sizeable.<sup>22</sup>

If immigration is only of minimal importance at the present time, and natural increase is significant but not decisive, this can only mean that a substantial movement of population is under way from rural areas to urban localities.

(c) Rural-Urban Migration

Most studies, despite the limitations in data and rough or crude assumptions, indicate that one-half or more of the urban population increase is attributable to migration from the countryside. The findings of a United Nations study indicate that in 10 Latin American countries for the years preceding 1950, rural-urban migration accounted for between 40 and 70 per cent of urban growth.<sup>23</sup> And the contribution of this factor for

---

<sup>22</sup> Harley L. Browning, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>23</sup> Philip Hauser, op. cit., p. 110.

the decade 1950-1960 has been estimated at a magnitude of 43%<sup>24</sup> in Latin America as a whole--the rural population retaining 51% of its natural increase in comparison to 63% for the previous decade. Thus the ability for rural areas to retain their increases seem to be dwindling. A continued 16% increase postulated per decade until 1980<sup>25</sup> seems a conservative estimate for appraising the future volume of rural exodus.

It is impossible to give the variation for each Latin American country, in this overview, so Table 2 has to be very selective.

Table 2<sup>26</sup>

## URBANIZATION DUE TO MIGRATION IN SELECTED LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

City	Intercensal Period	Approximate percentage of urban growth due to	
		Natural	Migration
Venezuela	1941-50	29	71
Colombia	1938-51	32	68
Dominican Republic	1935-50	35	65
Nicaragua	1940-50	35	65
Paraguay	1937-50	45	55
El Salvador	1930-50	46	54
Brazil	1940-50	51	49
Chile	1940-52	53	47
Mexico	1940-50	58	42
Cuba	1931-43	74	26

<sup>24</sup> Louis J. Ducoff, "The Role of Migration in the Demographic Development of Latin America", in Louis J. Ducoff, ed., op. cit., p. 202.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 203.

<sup>26</sup> Philip Hauser, op. cit., p. 110.

It can be seen that rural-urban migration is a powerful force and the increase of urbanization takes place at the expense of the rural population. Careful consideration of its causes and impact must now be analyzed.

### Rural-Urban Migration in Latin America

Statistics and documents on rural-urban migration in Latin America are scarce and fragmentary. However, enough exist to assemble satisfactory information on the process. To identify factors relating to its selectivity, pattern, causes, implications and measures of control are the objectives of this section.

### Migration Selectivity

Who moves into the urban areas? Comparison by sex indicates that there is a greater trend toward female migration than male migration in Latin America, except with the Andean Indians, where males predominate.<sup>27</sup> Table 3 illustrates this difference and it is most marked in the Central American countries of Costa Rica, Panama and El Salvador.

Migration consists mainly of young adults between 15 and 39<sup>28</sup> years of age with the highest mobility occurring

---

<sup>27</sup> Gerald Breese, op. cit., p. 83.

<sup>28</sup> United Nations, Population Branch, Demographic Aspects of Urbanization in Latin America (E/CN.12/604), 1958, p. 2.

Table 3<sup>29</sup>ANNUAL RATES OF MIGRATION TO URBAN AREAS OF SEVERAL  
LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES (1938-1963)

Country and Period of Time	Annual Rates (%) of Migration of People 10 or more years of age at End of Period	
	Male	Female
Urban Area		
Chile (1952-1960)	1.6	1.7
Costa Rica (1950-63)	0.7	1.2
El Salvador (1950-61)	0.7	1.0
Panama (1950-60)	1.7	2.2
Nicaragua (1950-63)	1.3	1.5
Colombia (1938-51)	2.8	3.2
Venezuela (1941-50)	3.7	3.7

between 15 and 29 years.<sup>30</sup> Herrick explains this selection by stating that it is the task of the oncoming generation to adapt to the social and economic changes taking place.

"Where these changes require a shift of population, it is the younger, more flexible and less burdened members who re-examine the distributional imbalance and make needed improvements."<sup>31</sup>

Differential or selective migration by education is

---

<sup>29</sup> Adopted from Juan C. Elizaga, op. cit., p. 147.

<sup>30</sup> Juan C. Elizaga, "Internal Migrations in Latin America", in Louis J. Ducoff, ed., op. cit., p. 150.

<sup>31</sup> Bruce H. Herrick, op. cit., p. 71.

most inconclusive. Some maintain that there is a qualitative de-population in the rural areas as it is the more ambitious, literate and educated who leave. On the other hand, a sizeable proportion of the poor, the landless and the illiterate farmers have migrated. Thus it appears that there is no clear-cut generalization as to whether migration selects the least able or the most able.

The migrants include representatives of various social strata and the man with relatives or friends in the city seems more likely to migrate than the man with none.

### Pattern of Migration

Even less is known about the pattern of migration but a few studies exist today which reveal more specific knowledge than that gained from non-scientific observation in previous years. Elizaga points out that the volume of migration decreases with distance and that migrants from urban centres traverse longer distances than migrants from rural areas.<sup>32</sup> How much of this involves a multi-stage process going from rural to very small towns then to larger urban centres and finally to the primate city is highly debatable.

There is some evidence of this step migration in Chile, Argentina, Venezuela and Uruguay,<sup>33</sup> for example. In these

---

<sup>32</sup> Juan C. Elizaga, op. cit., p. 163.

<sup>33</sup> Marshal Wolfe, "Rural Settlement Pattern and Social Change", Latin American Research Review, 1 (Fall, 1965), p. 19.

countries the rural people ordinarily migrate directly to the nearby small towns (less than 20,000) whereas the inhabitants of these towns leave for the larger centres. This type of movement contributes to the transition from dependence on agricultural work to a disposition to try anything. In a while these small towns have little to offer the migrant and he is then ready for the next move or step to larger urban areas, his place presumably being taken by migrants from rural areas.<sup>34</sup> This staging process assists in quick adaptation of the migrant to the larger city environment.

This argument has been disputed by Harley Browning, who believes that migration does not proceed in this step-fashion. For example, in Mexico and Ecuador the rural migrants often by-pass the intermediate forms of non-agricultural and semi-rural employment to become a factory worker in the big city.<sup>35</sup> It appears also that there is a certain amount of "floating" migrants who go from city to city hoping to find their niche.

"Push-back" migration from the city is not common and seems to exist only in a crisis situation. The violence and economic disorganization following the Bolivian revolution in 1952, for example, did trigger a back-to-the-

---

<sup>34</sup> This migratory turnover of small towns may in part be responsible for their failure to develop.

<sup>35</sup> R. M. Morse, "Latin American Cities: Aspects of Function and Structure" in Regional Development and Planning, ed. by J. Friedman and W. Alonso, 1964, p. 370.

farm movement.<sup>36</sup>

### Causes of Rural-Urban Migration

Basic to an understanding of the process is an appreciation of the factors which induce rural residents to move. However, they are a subject of speculation and isolated studies by sociologists and economists. Essentially the reasons may be logically divided between two categories, economic and non-economic.

Economic reasons for migrating include the following: poverty of village, labour conflicts in the village, lack of work, non-possession of property, unproductive land and the desire to improve one's economic situation. Fundamentally, these are rooted in an inefficient agrarian system, the key factors of which are:

1. The land tenure system which signifies a difficult access to land for the rural proletariat. This is characterized by the concentration of land in the hands of a few people--the latifundia--as against the establishment of small property among the great masses of the rural population--the minifundia.

2. Resident workers on these large estates are being uprooted by mechanization and electrification of agriculture<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Bruce H. Herrick, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>37</sup> Giorgio Mortara, "Factors Affecting Rural-Urban Migration in Latin America", in Proceedings of the World Population Conference, IV, op. cit., p. 511.

thereby augmenting the class of landless workers.

3. Nuclei of small owner-cultivators are being squeezed by growing apportionment because of increase in family size, soil exhaustion and declining demand for seasonal labour on the large estates.

4. The latifundia give preference to export crops and do not furnish enough food for the population. Reliance on this has heightened vulnerability of the agricultural sector to fluctuations in world prices and declining terms of trade in these primary commodities. But a deterrent to this is the fact that some latifundia are exploited to only a very limited extent. Even more serious is the fact that quite frequently there is a lack of cultivation as the owners are simply waiting for speculative valorization of their respective lands.

5. Agriculture receives only a small share--less than its contribution to the gross domestic product--of the total public investment.<sup>38</sup> Thus attempts have been geared to raise economic production through an expansion of the industrial sector while assigning a low priority to agriculture. There has also been serious repercussion to the small rural handicraft industries because of imported goods.

6. Agricultural incomes have been kept low due to

---

<sup>38</sup> J. P. Cole, Latin America, an Economic and Social Geography (Washington: Butterworths, 1965), p. 413.

pricing policies because in an effort to strike a balance between farmers and food consuming urbanites, government more often than not have favoured the latter mainly out of fear of political uprising in the cities.

7. The existence of labour legislation, for example, trade unions, gives regularly employed urban workers in Latin America an important advantage over the rural ones and consequently urban jobs are more secure.

Non-economic causes for migration, on the other hand, include the following: social and cultural, psychological, military, that of insecurity, and physical.

The scarcity of a particular social or cultural service may operate as the specific reason for migration. In many rural areas health protection does not exist. There are five times as many physicians in the capitals and large cities as in the rest of the country. Santiago (Chile) has 30% of the total population but 64% of the doctors.<sup>39</sup> Usually there are no pharmacists and hospitals can be located miles away.

In education, as in health, there is a serious imbalance between the services available in the city and those in the village. Not only are there no well distributed primary and secondary school systems, but the educational facilities

---

<sup>39</sup> United Nations, International Social Development Review, No. 1, Urbanization: Development Policies and Planning (ST/SOA/Ser X/1), 1968, p. 92.

are limited<sup>40</sup> and not geared to prepare the pupil for rural living. There are virtually no institutions of higher learning and as parents, no matter how poor, fervently desire their children to rise to a higher social level through education, they have no alternative but to migrate.<sup>41</sup> Of a study done on motives for rural-urban migration in Peru, education was the third reason given out of seven.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the calibre of teacher is low as there is a great reluctance of qualified teachers to go into these backward rural zones.

Often there is a lack of police and judicial services, and when they do exist, protection is often a farce as they can be influenced by those who dominate the local scene.<sup>43</sup> Other social and cultural services, for example, water, electricity, social welfare and social insurance, libraries and recreational facilities have rarely penetrated the rural areas.

---

<sup>40</sup> For example, certain rural primary schools in Mexico offer only two years of education. Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>41</sup> Giorgio Mortara, op. cit., p. 512.

<sup>42</sup> Jose Matos Mar, Urbanizacion y Barriadas en America del Sur (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1968), p. 33.

<sup>43</sup> For example, in Latin America the influence of a large landowner is more strongly felt than in urban areas where there are several such people.

The psychological determinants are more difficult to ascertain and include "the illusions inspired in country people by the reports they hear of employment...in urban opportunities, the less arduous nature of such occupations and the ease with which the worker may move from one job to another".<sup>44</sup> In a like manner the contempt given to rural labour and the lack of comforts help to strengthen the mirage of urban life.

There is also migration because of military reasons. To enter this service the entrant must come to the city and their training is so geared that at the end of the process they are stimulated to remain in the city.

The existence of insecurity as a contributing factor is not unknown. During the Mexican revolution, for example, there was a flight to the cities for safety as life and property were insecure in the rural areas.<sup>45</sup>

Physical reasons, for example, adverse climatic conditions, have been a motivation for migration. Northeast Brazil has been the source of chronic emigration because severe droughts have meant poor crops and pastures. Over and above these reasons are forces which have nourished and sustained migration. These include the development of communications and transport which has not only reduced travel time and cost but have linked the back-country with

---

<sup>44</sup> Giorgio Mortara, op. cit., p. 152.

<sup>45</sup> George J. Eder, "Urban Concentration, Agriculture and Agrarian Reform", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLX (July 1965), p. 32.

the city; imitation where a follow-my-leader mentality is the impulse as those remaining believe that they too can find a job; inertia when migration continues although the conditions creating it in the first place no longer exist; mass media reaching even the remotest rural back-water inevitably draw rural people into the currents of the modern world; and the demand of urban women for maids and of labour contractors for workers on construction jobs.

The main causes therefore reflect poor living conditions of rural population and the imbalance resulting from the development of cities and the complete abandonment of agriculture. Although an attempt has been made here to differentiate between causes of migration, such distinction is more theoretical than real as there are several factors motivating the migrant. Economic, often the most important, is not the only one.

#### Effects of Rural-Urban Migration

The role of migration represents normally a better distribution of population to resources and the effectiveness of that redistribution is always relative to the absorptive capacities of the areas receiving the migration streams.<sup>46</sup> However, in Latin America the movement is so extensive that it is out of proportion to fresh opportunities for stable urban employment, especially that of industrial. The city

---

<sup>46</sup> Louis J. Ducoff, op. cit., p. 207.

then is unable to absorb all the migrants, who often are not skilled. Latin America represents, therefore, a clear case of an urbanization moving ahead of industrialization: in Argentina, Chile, Venezuela and Colombia the index of urbanization was 48.3, 42.8, 31.0 and 22.3 while that of industrialization was 26.9, 24.2, 15.6 and 14.6<sup>47</sup> respectively. Some writers describe the situation as "over-urbanization" but others challenge this concept.

The surplus labour has been rapidly absorbed in the tertiary or "services" sector and has resulted in what could best be called a true "tertiary" crisis. The ratio of this sector approaches that of the United States--1.4<sup>48</sup> as against 1.5 for the latter country--but they bear little resemblance. In the United States the development of services was preceded by great increases in productivity but in Latin America expansion of services has preceded rather than followed growth. In addition, it is heavily weighed toward the least productive services: domestic service, petty commerce, street vending, home industries, etc. As such Latin America is overburdened with services, which are not central to the functioning of the urban process.

---

<sup>47</sup> United Nations, "Demographic Aspects of Urbanization in Latin America", op. cit., p. 52. Figures are for census years 1947, 1952, 1950 and 1951 respectively.

<sup>48</sup> Harley L. Browning, op. cit., p. 116.

The city has insufficient resources to absorb these migrants. This means that both the government and private enterprise lack the wherewithal to mount vast housing programmes. Therefore, many new migrants are forced to build their own "cities" on the periphery of the existing one, overburdening the existing services. These urban shanty towns or slums are the hallmark of Latin American cities from Mexico to Argentina. Nomenclature vary from country to country: "barriada" (Peru), "favelas" (Brazil), "callampa" (Chile), "ranchos" (Venezuela), "villas miserias" (Argentina), etc. These settlements reflecting urban subsistence may be viewed as the last stage in a complicated and very imperfectly understood series of migratory pressures starting in the countryside.

There are also impacts on the sending areas. Although the movement leads towards improvement in the levels of living, the older population remaining are not receptive to innovation in the rural sector. Certain large landowners are finding it difficult to secure labour while qualitatively the area is worse off.

#### Measures to Balance Rural-Urban Migration

The preceding pages add up a dark picture of rural life. Latin American countries have become sufficiently alarmed to take corrective steps, as a lack of effort in this direction would mean that urbanization will have a depressing effect. Thus the rural lag is now being attacked

by many instruments of policy, among which agrarian reform stands paramount, and so far this has embodied land tenure and colonization as its major policies.

The overcrowding of the older agricultural areas under existing conditions of land tenure and production techniques and the availability of vast acreage of empty land make colonization of these lands one of the first practical measures to be undertaken.<sup>49</sup> Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala and Venezuela<sup>50</sup> are notable examples but the success of this measure has been minimal. These resettlement schemes in the main located farmers so far from their markets that commerce was impossible and in addition, soil fertility was not taken into account. This objection is not so relevant in Colombia where full penetration of the eastern jungle has not been attempted or to Venezuela where it hugs the northern areas in easy reach of the urban centres. But in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia to a certain extent, these areas are far removed from the cities which are the market and the manufacturing centres.<sup>51</sup> These self-sufficient "hidden" colonies can hardly raise the level of living for

---

<sup>49</sup> United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1963 Report on the World Social Situation (E/CN.5/375/Rev. 1), 1963, p. 129.

<sup>50</sup> John P. Powelson and A. A. Solow, "Urban and Rural Development in Latin America", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLX (July 1965), p. 57.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

the rural dweller.

The opening of new lands such as these requires very heavy investments in roads, forest clearing, building of houses and schools, instruction in new agricultural techniques, etc. Thus only those experienced in commercial farming and with capital to meet at least part of their needs until the farm becomes productive can be delegated as fit pioneers.<sup>52</sup> Mexico has been the most successful country in these pioneer schemes largely through large scale irrigation but although production has increased substantially the lot of the small cultivator has remained the same.

In recent years colonization policies are calling for creation of compact planned settlement with fairly elaborate agricultural and social services. These settlements as yet only include a minute fraction of the people, are slow to succeed and become very expensive in relation to the people involved. Too often these are too paternalistic in aiding the colonist to be self-supporting farmers.

The reform of land tenure in the older agricultural areas has been most controversial and at times steeped in political implications. The basic problem here is to expropriate and split up the large holdings whereby the "minifundio" cultivators or landless individuals are to

---

<sup>52</sup> United Nations, 1963, op. cit., p. 130.

receive holdings large enough to enable them to function as efficient family farmers.<sup>53</sup> And, most of the reform laws set standards, varying with type of land, for the minimum size of economic holdings.

However, to the extent that lands are expropriated, land tenure schemes have tended to take only idle or poorly cultivated lands and reform laws have usually designated that these must be first expropriated. Thus the receivers are beneficiaries of submarginal parcels that will only do very little to raise their standard of living. The parcelling of productive land is therefore avoided on the basis of two economic arguments. First, it is said that production would diminish if there was a change to small units as these could not take advantage of mechanization. But Powelson and Solow maintain that there is nothing a machine can do that man cannot do equally well with a shovel and a hoe provided that there are enough men<sup>54</sup>-- and in Latin America hands abound. As these large farms have not been responsive to the demands of urbanization, only through family-sized units can rural development be helped. And in addition to the redistribution of productive lands, roads to markets, irrigation, education and

---

<sup>53</sup> United Nations, 1963, op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>54</sup> John P. Powelson and A. A. Solow, op. cit., p. 59.

credit schemes are necessary.<sup>55</sup>

A considerable number of rural projects intended to raise rural living exist throughout Latin America but none of these have been given the resources to operate on a national scale. Often there is insufficient coordination and the presence of the latifundio at times destroy self-help schemes.

No one can endorse the colonization or resettlement schemes, land tenure changes and community organization as unqualified successes. What was planned was guided somewhat by interpretations of what people were looking for in the city but the move to the city continued. Rural reforms cannot be envisaged as a transition from unsatisfactory static patterns to satisfactory static ones.<sup>56</sup> Such schemes need groupings of people into urban centres for their success. Rural life is indivisible and the more they are integrated with each other the better they will function.

### Summary

This chapter has summarized the role of rural-urban migration in the developing countries of Latin America. Here urbanization stand as visible monuments to the neglect of the rural areas. Cities have failed to relate themselves

---

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>56</sup> Marshal Wolfe, op. cit., p. 32.

to the countryside and have created a rigid and distinct line between "rural" on one hand and "urban" on the other. And from all evidences, cities 100,000 and over are continuing to grow more rapidly than the urban population as a whole.

The impoverished economic and social conditions of the countryside are real as evidenced by the ever-increasing flow of rural-urban migration. But the cities are unable to employ all its inhabitants and consequently various measures of raising the level of living in rural Latin America have been introduced. The principal focus has been on land tenure and colonization, but these together with any alternative programmes have always fallen short. The thesis has suggested that bolder attempts at coordination of measures at the national and local level are essential. In short, a proper approach is lacking.

In the foregoing analysis an effort has been made to identify the significance of rural-urban migration in Latin America. This chapter, then, has provided a general background to set the stage for the case study of a smaller unit within Latin America--Jamaica, West Indies. Chapter 3 therefore focuses on rural-urban migration in Jamaica discussing such pertinent factors as: the extent, selectivity, pattern and causes of migration and also the existing government measures aimed at controlling the flow of rural-urban migrants.

## CHAPTER 3

### RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN JAMAICA

#### Introduction

Jamaica, West Indies, became an independent country with Dominion status within the British Commonwealth in August 1962. This "island nation" lying between 17° 43' and 18° 32' north latitude is about 150 miles long and 50 miles wide across the widest part--the third largest island in the Caribbean Sea.

"The present polyglot character of the population which has as its motto 'out of many, one people', has its origins in Europe and Africa supplemented by indentured labour brought from Asia after the abolition of slavery in the 1830's and by small groups of miscellaneous migrants."<sup>1</sup>

The population of Jamaica was approximately 1.7 million in 1961<sup>2</sup> and the population density 377 persons per square mile<sup>3</sup> with the density per square mile of cultivable land nearly twice as high.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Current Economic Position and Prospects of Jamaica, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Most recent Census. The population of the island is now estimated at almost 2 million.

<sup>3</sup> Jamaica, Ministry of Development and Welfare, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, op. cit., p. 1.

This "population explosion" has been evidenced since the mid 1940's because of reduced mortality rates, brought about through advances in public health and a progressive rise in birth rates. The Jamaican Government has taken cognizance of the population problem and is making several attempts to cope with it. Consequently, the demographic aspects of economic development have been greatly discussed. However, most emphasis has been placed on the rate of population growth and on external migration which, especially in the 1950's and early 1960's, assumed high proportions.<sup>5</sup>

But an aspect of this to which less attention has been paid and no doubt of equal importance both quantitatively and qualitatively is that of internal migration and in particular, rural-urban migration. Over the years, there has been a pattern of internal migration involving a shift of rural population toward certain urban areas and, in particular, eastwards to the Kingston Metropolitan Area where development has been and is most conspicuous. This has resulted in an unbalanced situation because in the urban areas the rate of economic growth cannot cope with the abnormal growth in population.

Agriculture has been and still is the activity in which the greatest number of persons on the island--

---

<sup>5</sup> Nassau Adams, "Internal Migration in Jamaica: An Economic Analysis", Social and Economic Studies, XVIII (June 1969), p. 137.

37%<sup>6</sup>--depend for a livelihood. However, since the 1950's there has been a significant broadening of the base of the island's economy. The major industrial activities (mining, manufacture, construction and installation) have increased their contribution to the Gross Domestic Product to the point where they have exceeded that of agriculture and other primary enterprises (see Table 4). Thus agriculture has tended to lag not in absolute terms but in relative terms only.

Table 4<sup>7</sup>

JAMAICA: GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT AT FACTOR COST  
(Current Prices) for Selected Years (£ million)<sup>8</sup>

	1950	1961	1965	1968
Gross Domestic Product	£ 70.1	£244.3	£297.1	£371.1
Contribution by				
(a) Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	£ 21.3 (30.8%)	£ 31.0 (12.7%)	£ 34.5 (11.6%)	£ 38.0 (10.2%)
(b) Mining, Manufacture, Con- struction & Installation	£ 13.2 (18.9%)	£ 80.0 (33.1%)	£105.3 (35.4%)	£139.0 (37.4%)

<sup>6</sup> Jamaica, Ministry of Development and Welfare, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Compiled from: (a) Jamaica, Ministry of Development and Welfare, op. cit., pp. 12-13, and (b) Jamaica, Central Planning Unit, Economic Survey: Jamaica, 1968 (Kingston: The Government Printer, 1968), pp. 15-16.

<sup>8</sup> £ equals \$2.595 (Canadian).

All in all, this expansion in production has produced a marked improvement in the average standard of living: per capita income at current prices has increased from £47.4 in 1950 to £170 in 1968<sup>9</sup> in spite of population growth as high as 3.2% per annum.<sup>10</sup> However, there has been a marked disparity in the distribution of this prosperity between the main urban centres of the island and the rural areas. The data in Table 4 provides a factual basis for this observation since all the manufacturing operations apart from sugar milling, are located for the most part in the Kingston area.

There is the widely held opinion that industries should be located in other parts of the island so as to spread the benefits of industrialization and reduce the flow of migrants to the Kingston Area where the labour market is oversaturated and urban ills well displayed. However, as such a high percentage of the working population are on farms, it is not likely that this situation will change fundamentally in the near future, no matter how hard Jamaica tries to industrialize. The industrialization programme, remarkable though it is, has a long way to go before it can be regarded as an adequate absorbent for migration.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Jamaica, Central Planning Unit, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> This was the rate between 1950 and 1961. However, it has been declining since and registered 1.9% between 1967 and 1968. Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>11</sup> R. B. Davison, West Indian Migrants (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 64.

There is therefore a pressing need for the development of the rural sector to provide a higher standard of living for its people, and Shaw maintains that this indeed constitutes in part a pre-requisite for further progress.<sup>12</sup> A climate needs to be created in which economic and social goals can flourish together for it has been implied that there is a fundamental relationship between the two. True insights into the inability of the rural areas to hold its population can only be gained by examining the forces which have produced the existing condition of rural-urban migration.

#### Extent of Rural-Urban Migration

Traces of migration into Kingston were evidenced as early as 1881.<sup>13</sup> However, by 1921 it was better defined with a smaller movement to St. Andrew. Kingston gained 10,300<sup>14</sup> migrants between 1911 and 1921,<sup>15</sup> and the fact that the only parish which did not lose population to it was St. Andrew signified that at this early date the growth of the latter as a suburban area had already started.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Hugh Shaw, "Land Reform in Action", Kingston, 1964, p. 1 (Mimeographed).

<sup>13</sup> W. G. Roberts, The Population of Jamaica (London: Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 142.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., Table 37, p. 150.

<sup>15</sup> The extent of the movement will be discussed between Census years.

<sup>16</sup> W. G. Roberts, op. cit., p. 149.

All together, the movement signified a growing pull of an expanding urban area.

The most marked expansion enhancing Kingston's population to its present level began in the 1920's. Suburban parts of St. Andrew also grew at a phenomenal rate for whereas in the past Kingston was the main target area, after 1921 St. Andrew presented the greatest attraction. Thus between 1921 and 1943 in-migration into St. Andrew totalled 47,500 while the gain in Kingston was only 21,500, or less than one-half of that experienced by the former.<sup>17</sup> And the decline of Kingston as a residential area is evidenced by the fact that it provided the most migrants (11,300) to urban St. Andrew. Eisner maintains that

"while the island increase in population was 44.2%, Kingston gained 72.8% and St. Andrew 134.7%. This was due....entirely to migration. In fact, of the total resident population of the city in 1943, only 43.5% had been born there and in St. Andrew the proportion was not much higher with 49%".<sup>18</sup>

Be that as it may, the metropolitan area of Kingston and St. Andrew was well established in this period, and Fig. 1 gives the main currents of migration.

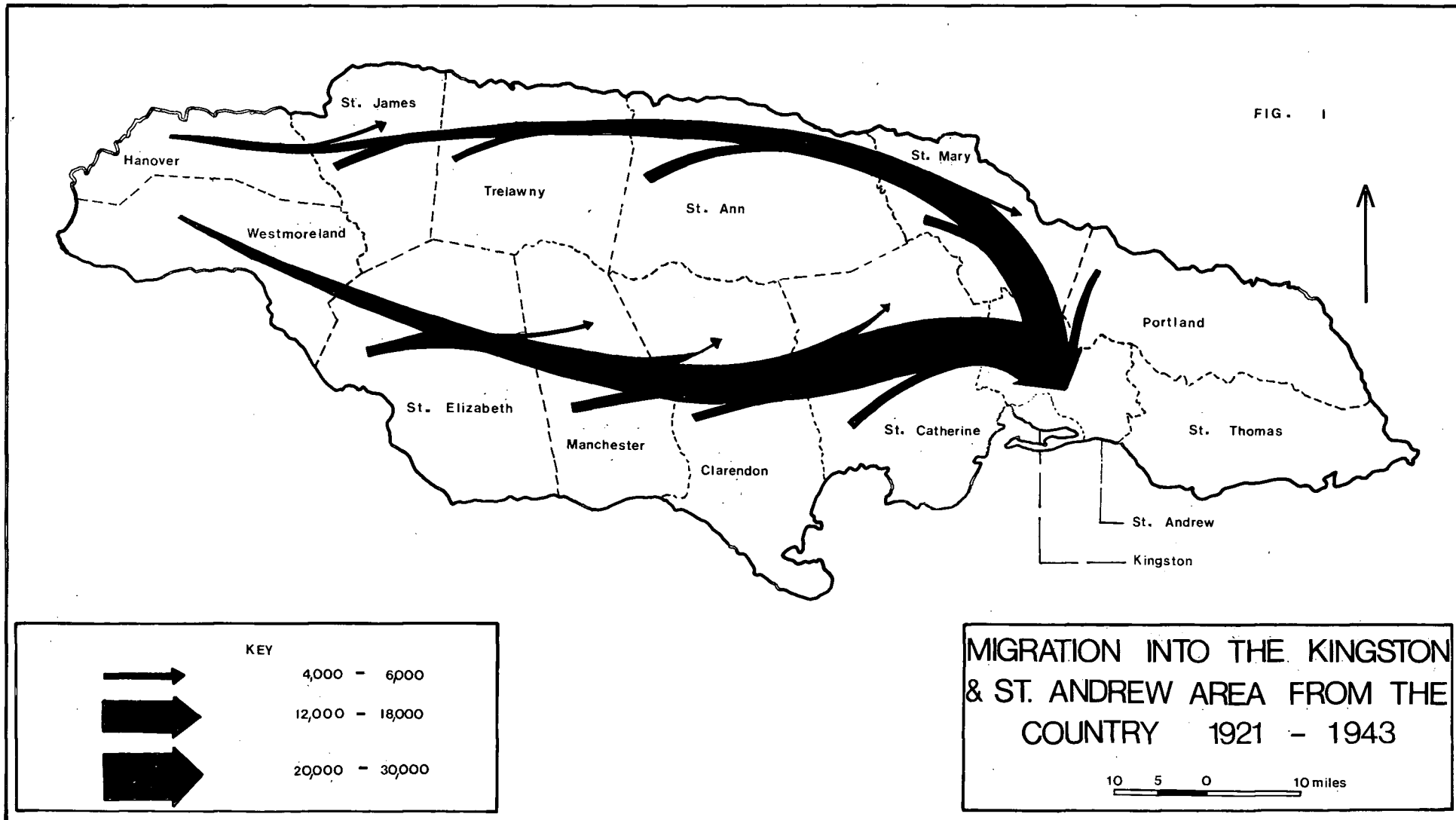
The city had not always been attractive to migrants. In the early years of the English settlement,<sup>19</sup> it was

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>18</sup> Gisela Eisner, Jamaica, 1830-1930: A Study in Economic Growth (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), p. 187.

<sup>19</sup> English settlement began in 1655.



merely the commercial capital. During slavery this function gave it no greater pre-eminence over the administrative capital, Spanish Town, probably because a large percentage of the exports (mainly agricultural) and the imports came through minor ports. In fact, the city was stagnant after emancipation as the plantation system declined and the needs of the peasantry were met mainly by subsistence as import duties were high.<sup>20</sup>

However, during the early years of the Crown Colony Government, Kingston became the administrative capital (1872)<sup>21</sup> and growth resulted with the expansion of the government services,<sup>22</sup> the focus of an improved road system, the terminus of the railroad, and the export point for important minor crops of the small farmer.<sup>23</sup> Kingston's attraction waned in the late nineteenth century with the expansion of banana cultivation in the north-east and the emergence of ports in that region and renewed opportunities abroad leading to emigration.

The 1920's witnessed a reversal of the trend with the advent of certain positive factors--further centralization

---

<sup>20</sup> G. E. Cumper, "Population Movements in Jamaica 1830-1950", Social and Economic Studies (September 1956), p. 272.

<sup>21</sup> Mary M. Carley, Jamaica, the Old and the New (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1963), p. 152.

<sup>22</sup> Gisela Eisner, op. cit., p. 187.

<sup>23</sup> G. E. Cumper, op. cit., p. 272.

of communication with the advent of motor transport, decline in trade of outports and the inability of the agrarian sector to keep its growing population. In addition, growth was fostered by re-emigrants in the depression years--28,000 between 1928-34--many of whom settled in Kingston.<sup>24</sup> The remarkable fact here is that until 1938 there was little manufacturing in Kingston and St. Andrew. Consequently, most of the migrants found openings in domestic services, petty trade or none at all.

Between 1943 and 1960 the magnitude of the movement was still directed primarily to the Kingston and St. Andrew Metropolitan Area. St. Andrew, however, still exerts a greater pull--18,800 as against 4,592 for Kingston in 1959<sup>25</sup>--and there is still a significant migration loss of Kingston's population to it--5,061 in 1959.<sup>26</sup> Figure 2 shows the migration into the Kingston and St. Andrew Metropolitan Area while Figure 3 gives the main target zones within that area, and Figure 4 illustrates the intensity of out-migration areas in Jamaica for the year 1959.<sup>27</sup>

---

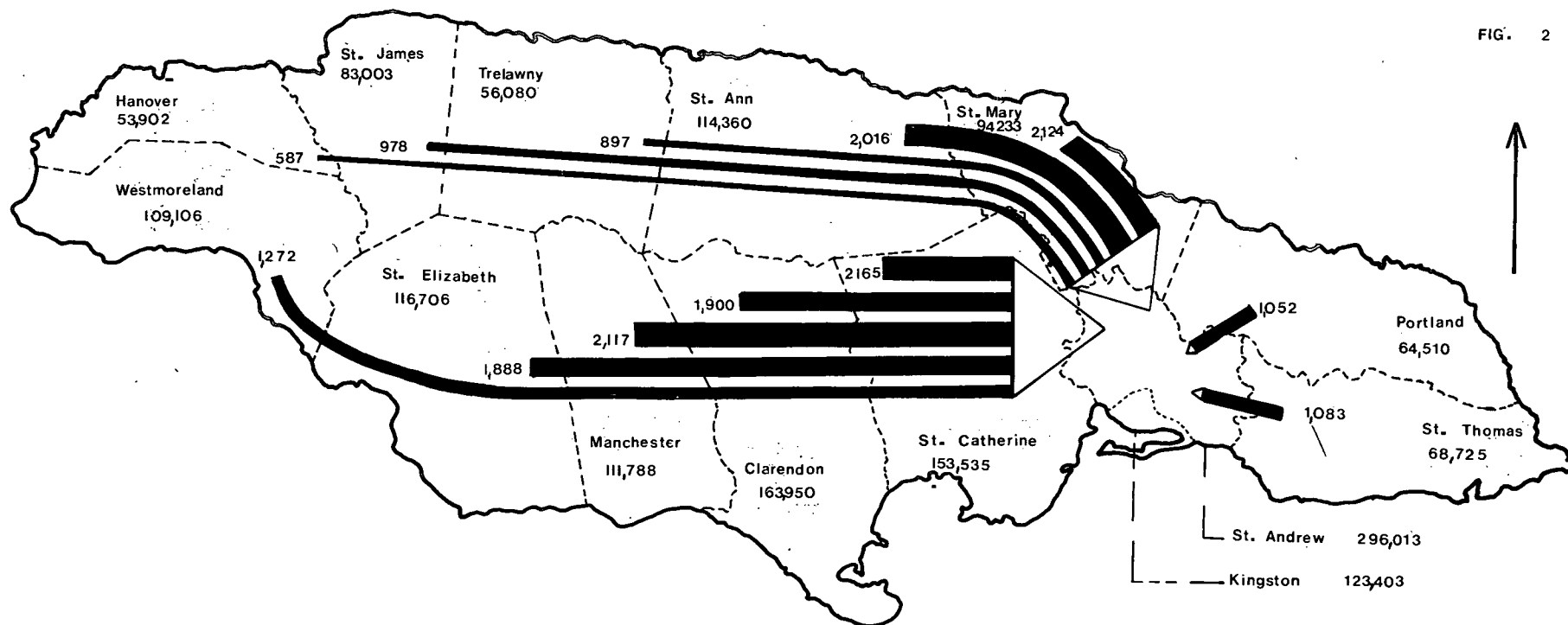
<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 272.

<sup>25</sup> Kalman Tekse, Internal Migration in Jamaica, Jamaica, Department of Statistics (Kingston: Jamaica Times Ltd. 1967), Table 6, p. 12.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., Table 6, p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> Figures are based on the period 7th April, 1959 to 7th April, 1960, and referred to as the calendar year 1959. This was estimated from the people enumerated at the last Population Census of 7th April, 1960.

FIG. 2



KEY

- 1,000 Migrants
- Number of Migrants
- St. Ann Population
- Parish Boundary

MIGRATION INTO THE KINGSTON & ST. ANDREW AREA FROM THE COUNTRY 1959

10 5 0 10 miles

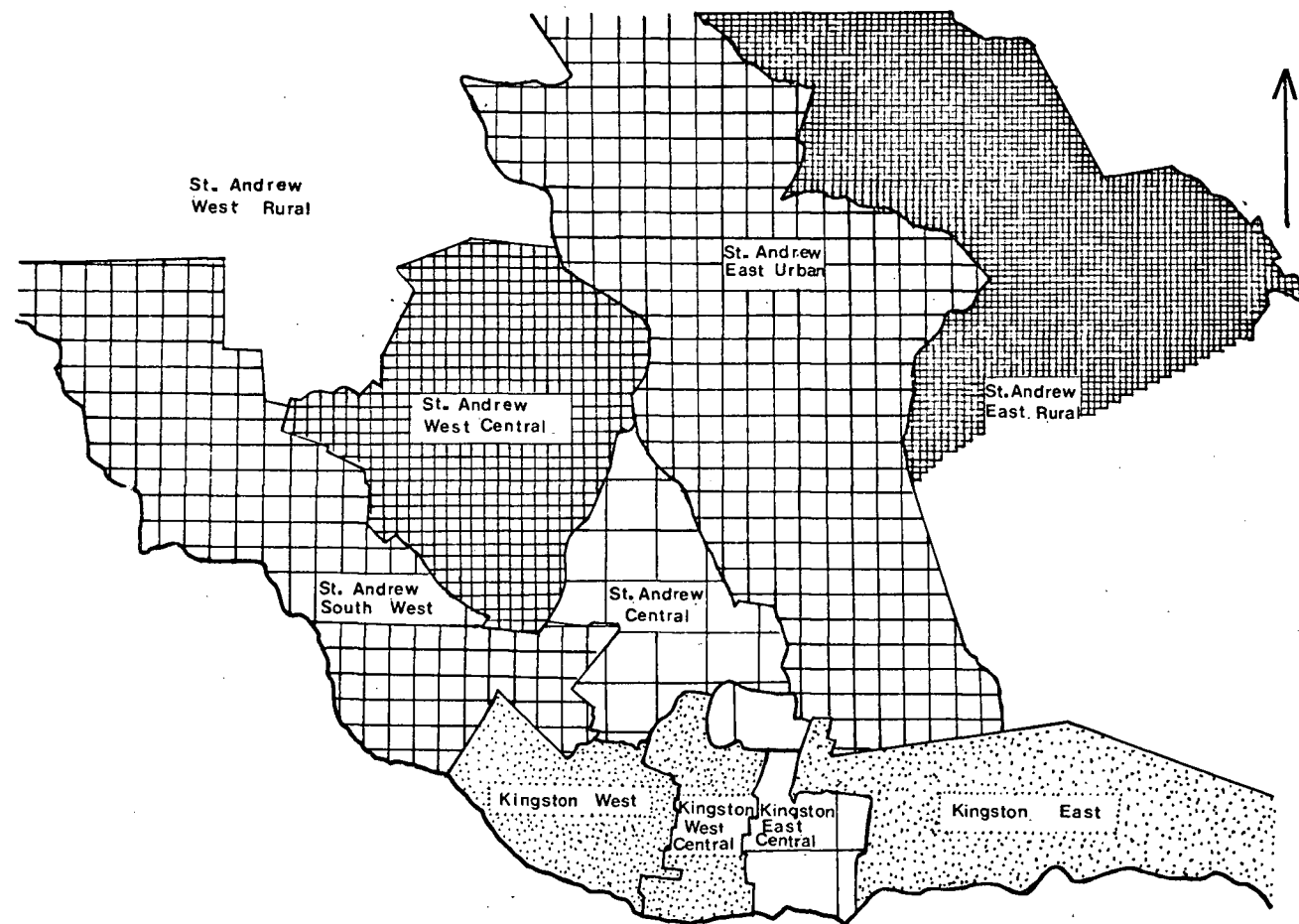
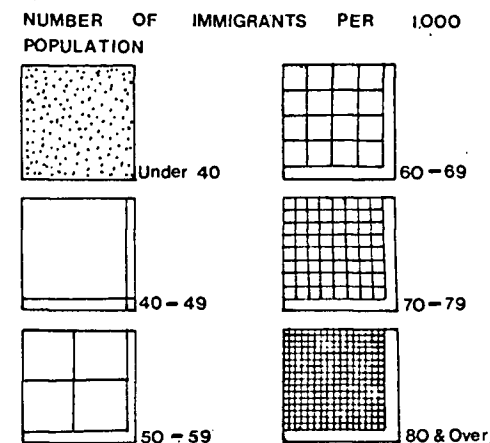


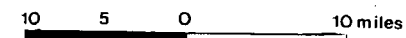
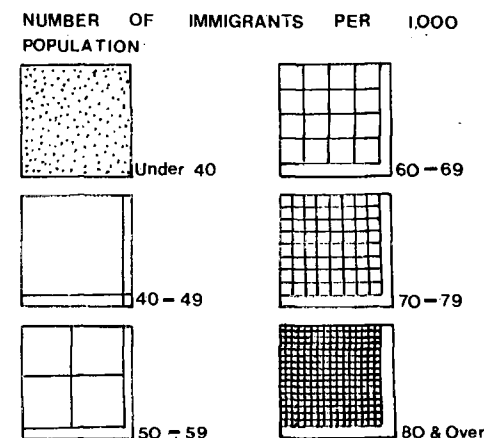
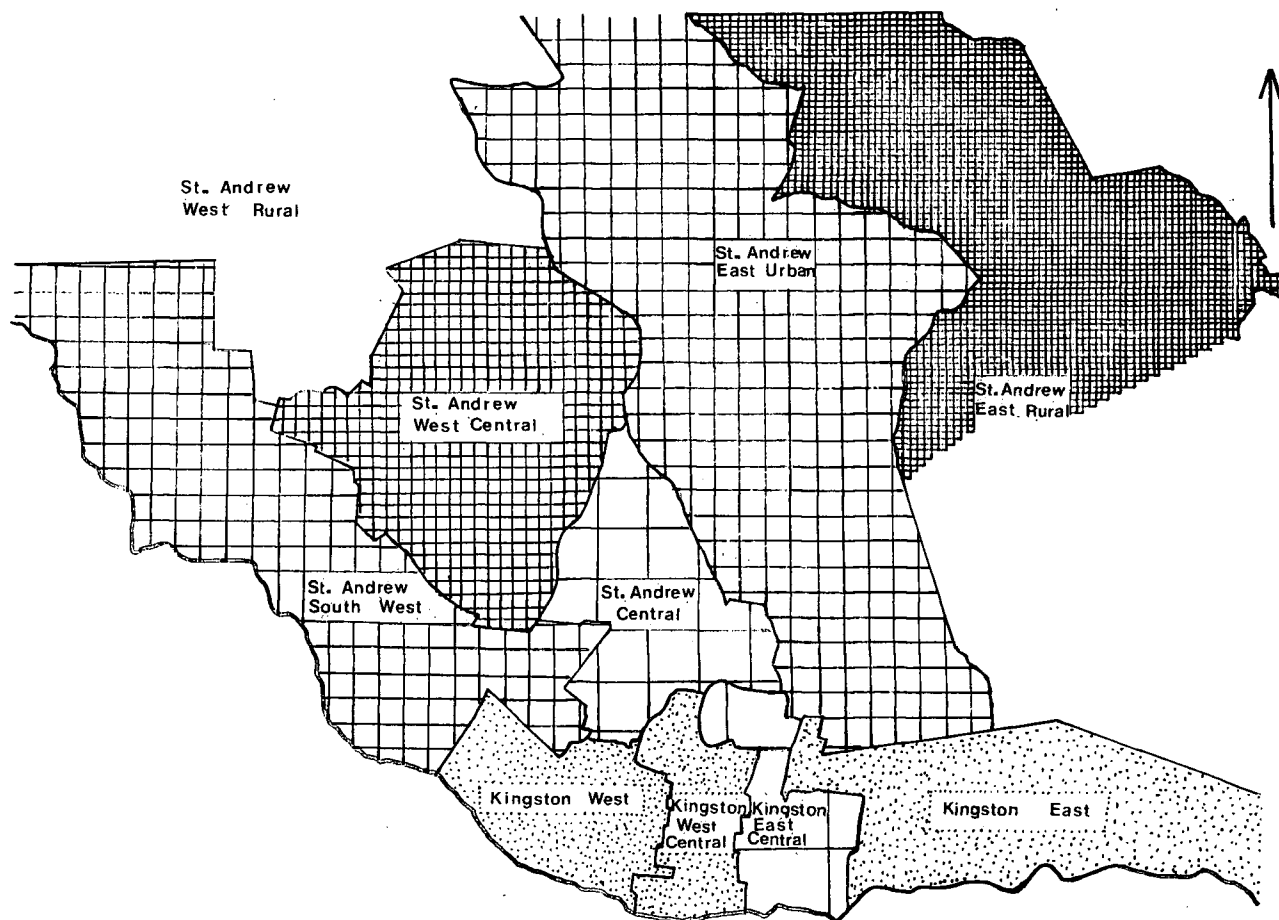
FIG. 3



10 5 0 10 miles

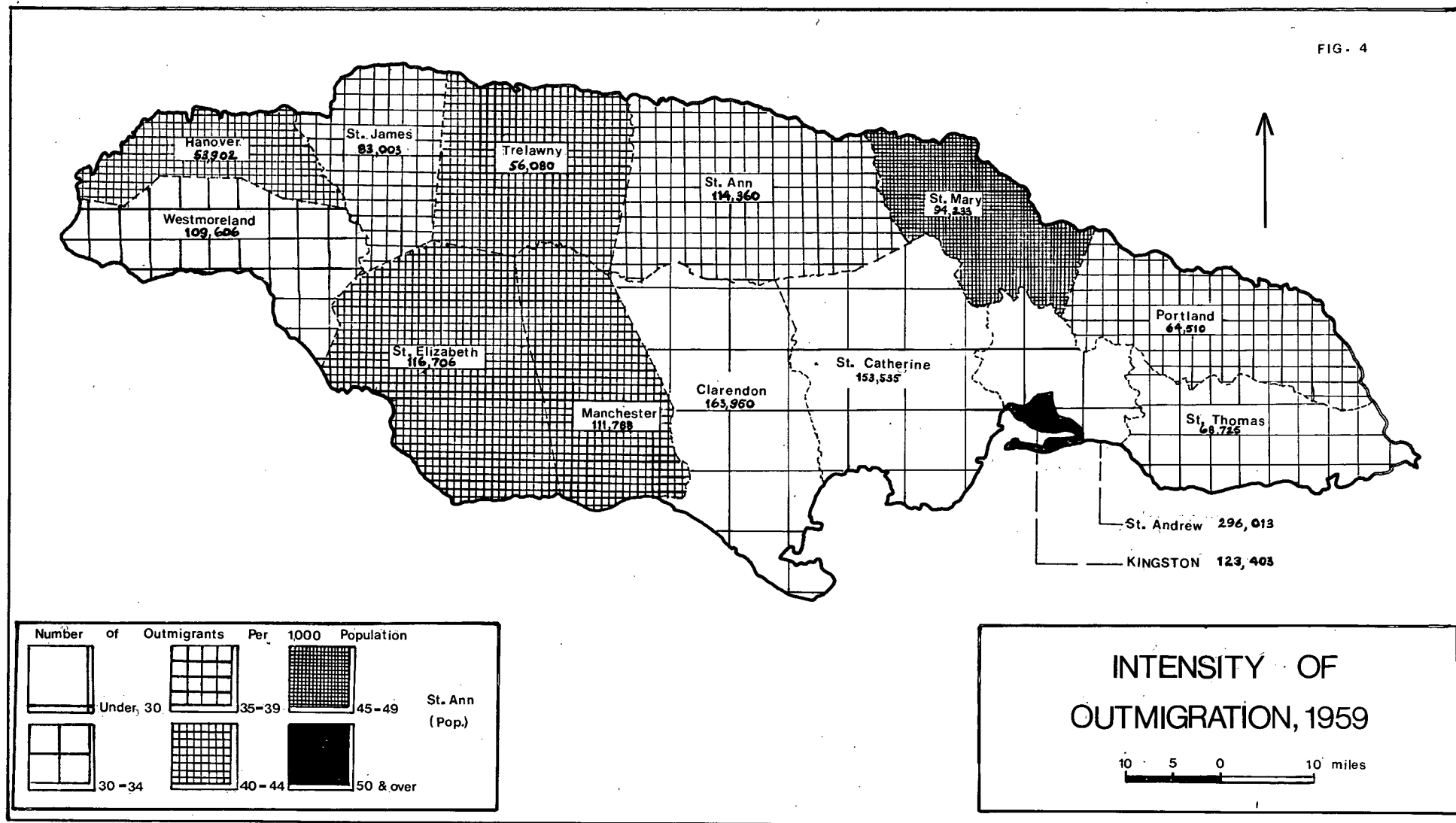
# KINGSTON - ST ANDREW AREA: INTENSITY OF IMMIGRATION BY CONSTITUENCIES, 1959

FIG. 3



# KINGSTON - ST ANDREW AREA: INTENSITY OF IMMIGRATION BY CONSTITUENCIES, 1959

FIG. 4



Source: Kalman Tekse, *op. cit.* after p. 12.

On an average, migration to urban areas is twice as intensive as that to rural areas but a striking outcome of this movement was that migration to the Kingston and St. Andrew Metropolitan Area was never matched by a similar growth of other urban areas. Today there remains a tremendous gap between the second largest town of the island, Montego Bay (23,610) and the major urban area (380,000).<sup>28</sup> Consequently urbanization has meant no more than the expansion of the Kingston and St. Andrew Metropolitan Area. "It was not part of a general trend towards greater urbanization but simply an isolated movement." Migration was not in response to the economic "pull" of the city as it was shown that before 1938 there were hardly any factories and since then economic growth has been insufficient to handle the influx.

### Selectivity of Migrants

In keeping with the trend in Latin America, rural-urban migration in Jamaica from the beginning has been predominantly a movement of females.(see Table 5). This is probably connected with the particular and peculiar social and family structure of the society. It is a matricentric one and consequently the high mobility of females is related to a strong desire to become economically active and self-sufficient which cannot be fulfilled in the face of

---

<sup>28</sup> 1960 Census of Jamaica.

relatively few local opportunities for employment.

Table 5<sup>29</sup>

NET MIGRATION BY SEX INTO THE  
KINGSTON & ST. ANDREW METROPOLITAN AREA

Year	Male	Female
1911-21	5,300	9,100
1921-43	25,600	38,800
1959	6,850	10,700

The most intensive migration takes place between the ages of 15 to 24 years, with the most mobile years being between 15 to 19<sup>30</sup> for both male and female. However, females over 30 years are more apt to migrate than males in that category. The urban area is the only one in the island with a net migration gain of females in age group 15 to 24 years.

The educational level of migrants is generally higher than that of those left behind and consequently the process of rural exodus draws away the "cream" from the countryside.

### Migration Patterns

Roberts suggests that prior to 1921, each parish suffering net losses of population lost most to the parishes

<sup>29</sup> Compiled from: Kalman Tekse, op. cit., Table 7, p. 14 and W. G. Roberts, op. cit., Table 37, p. 150 and Table 38, p. 153.

<sup>30</sup> Kalman Tekse, op. cit., Table 13, p. 19.

between itself and the urban area which suggest that most of the movement was not direct but took place in stages.<sup>31</sup> This trend, however, has been diverted somewhat since 1921 by the pull of Montego Bay (St. James) as surrounding parishes have lost more to it than the parish nearest the Kingston and St. Andrew Metropolitan Area.

All in all, distance plays an important role in rural-urban migration in Jamaica. The relatively small size of the island might have led one to ignore this factor, but Adams in his study found this an important variable "suggesting that even in a small country the costs of moving (psychic and financial) are not negligible and vary with distance".<sup>32</sup>

The migrants' intermediary "steps" are governed by their pockets and wage income differentials no doubt determine their paths. Statistics are hard to come by but there is a large number, especially from the eastern parishes who migrate directly to the urban area in question.

#### Causes of Rural-Urban Migration

Before a remedy can be sought to control this movement which is making for an unhealthy expansion of the Kingston and St. Andrew Metropolitan Area, it is necessary to know the reasons for migration. The author, realizing that many

---

<sup>31</sup> W. G. Roberts, op. cit., p. 152.

<sup>32</sup> Nassau A. Adams, op. cit., p. 150.

of these rest in the realm of unintegrated speculation, decided to go and talk to a sample of inhabitants in the countryside to ascertain if and why they were migrating. This was not done with any quantitative analysis in mind. It was merely to discover the repelling factors from those experiencing rural living.

The village selected was Top Albany (St. Mary), which is situated 35 miles from Kingston with a population of approximately 255<sup>33</sup> inhabitants. Choice of the village was governed by the fact that the author is known in the area and as such cooperation with the local folk would not be a problem; secondly, it is a typical rural village, and thirdly, the pull of the metropolitan area is fairly strong thus making for better defined motives for migration.<sup>34</sup> Of the 47 individuals interviewed by the author, 20 were between the ages 15 to 29 years, 10 between 30 and 39 years, and 17 over 40 years,<sup>35</sup> and except for three individuals (age 15-29), all were employed--2 were students, 1 unemployed.

From the total sample, 21 were definite that they were

---

<sup>33</sup> This figure is a very rough estimate as the village has no distinct boundaries nor fits into any one Census District.

<sup>34</sup> This was not a house-to-house survey. Instead it was conducted from its general store which caters to all and sundry in the village.

<sup>35</sup> As the primary school leaving age is 15 years, no one under 15 was questioned. The weighting was arbitrary but a greater concern was put on the 15-29 age group as migration is heaviest here.

leaving (13 from the group 15-29; 4 each from 30-39 and over 40 years). It is interesting to note that the majority of the movers support the statement on migration selectivity made earlier. Most gave more than one reason for migrating. Table 6 gives the reasons for migrating in order of their relative significance.

Table 6

## REASONS FOR MIGRATING FROM THE VILLAGE OF TOP ALBANY, ST. MARY

	Age Groups			Total
	15-29	30-39	over 40	
(a) lack of employment opportunities (especially lack of factories)	7	3	1	11
(b) lack of social facilities	3	2	2	7
(c) lack of public utilities (water, better roads, transportation facilities)	2	2	-	4
(d) lack of educational facilities (includes high schools, vocational centres)	3	1	-	4
(e) lack of land for farming	2	-	1	3
(f) need a change	1	-	-	1
(g) wants a man to marry	-	-	1	1

The interviewees were very positive in their replies. The rural area had very little to offer and to hold them. It was very "drab", and according to one informant, "life

really hard here". For these potential migrants, Kingston and St. Andrew<sup>36</sup> would at best allow them to live and not exist, and for the lady who wanted a spouse, a hunt farther afield was urgent.

The remaining 26 who wished to stay in the village suggested to the author that rural life must be satisfying to a certain extent. Why do some stay if the "push" is very strong? Table 7 summarizes the reasons for staying, and here again it was a combination of factors. It is important to note how these reasons exert their influence on specific age groups.

The "pull" of the rural area, then, is mainly for family reasons. Most of the 15-29 group were mothers and were forced to remain but in conversation the author got the idea that if they were not "tied" down, they too would be on the move. And of course the possession of farms by the over 40 group freezes their ability to migrate. The reasons for remaining are emotional for the most part and are quite different from those for migrating. The circumstances which contribute to the latter mean that the rural area does exert a "pushing" effect on some groups of inhabitants because these circumstances manifest themselves as being essential for modernization and advancement. And as people still migrate in the face of a shortage of jobs in the urban areas, the "push" becomes stronger than the "pull".

---

<sup>36</sup> Of the 21, 9 wanted to go there while 3 chose other urban areas.

Table 7

## REASONS FOR REMAINING IN THE VILLAGE OF TOP ALBANY, ST. MARY

	Age Groups			Total
	15-29	30-39	over 40	
(a) family reasons	4	3	1	8
(b) has farm	-	1	3	4
(c) settled	2	-	2	4
(d) home here (born here)	-	-	4	4
(e) too old	-	-	3	3
(f) job here	1	2	-	3
(g) likes farming	-	2	-	2
(h) owns business	-	-	2	2
(i) still at school	2	-	-	2
(j) likes the area	-	-	1	1

From the study it was shown that the main reason for migrating was lack of employment facilities, but here, as in the other farming villages, paradoxically the supply of labour offering itself for work is well below the demand.<sup>37</sup> The situation, then, is one in which employment on farms exists along with voluntary unemployment. This is probably due to the strong reluctance on the part of many individuals

<sup>37</sup> Jamaica, Ministry of Development and Welfare, op. cit., p. 36.

to undertake agricultural work at low levels with no continual employment and in conditions which are hardly an inducement. And these do not possess skills to enable them to do much more than farming, nor is there a lack of markets for food production as study after study show<sup>38</sup> that local out-put and even that of some export crops, notably cacao and coffee, have continued to lag with the result that prices have risen and imported foodstuffs with unnecessarily high prices become unavoidable.<sup>39</sup> There seems to be scope for a productive rural sector but at the same time there are factors which make life unattractive and give no incentive to workers to remain or work in the rural areas.

Basic to these fundamental difficulties are the existing agrarian conditions dictated by history. Early attempts at settlement in Jamaica in the seventeenth century proved unsuccessful as the settlers, mainly from England, found it difficult to adjust to tropical living.

The eighteenth century brought with it a new system-- large plantations growing sugar cane for export utilizing slave labour. The plantations occupied the best lands

---

<sup>38</sup> See for example: Ibid.,<sup>3</sup> p. 18; Rene Dumont, op. cit.; Hugh Shaw, "Some Basic Problems of Jamaican Agriculture with Implications for Changes in Development Policy", Kingston, February 13, 1968. (Mimeographed); and "Basic Defects of Jamaican Agriculture", Paper found in Jamaica Town Planning Department Files, n.d. (Mimeographed).

<sup>39</sup> Jamaica, Ministry of Development and Welfare, op. cit., p. 18.

which were found on the alluvial areas, particularly the inland valleys and basins and along the junction of the limestone hills with the plains.<sup>40</sup> Thus large parts of the island, especially the interior, were sparsely settled. The plantation, ranging in size from 800 to 2,000 or 3,000 acres,<sup>41</sup> contained the basic unit of settlement upon which the communication network was based.

This estate system contained two sectors, one devoted to sugar production and the other to the growing of ground provisions by which the slaves cultivated a large part of their food. The latter, a specific Jamaican characteristic, lacking in some of the other West Indian islands, consisted of "a piece of hill land, possibly separated from the body of the estate by several miles, where wood could be cut and slave allotments laid out".<sup>42</sup> This plot came to be known as the "mountain"<sup>43</sup> and more often than not there was a surplus available which gave rise to an internal marketing organization.<sup>44</sup> The proceeds of this sale belonged to the slave and this ground provision

---

<sup>40</sup> G. E. Cumper, op. cit., p. 265.

<sup>41</sup> Philip D. Curtin, Two Jamaicas (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> G. E. Cumper, op. cit., p. 267.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 267.

<sup>44</sup> Mary M. Carley, op. cit., p. 52.

system was the prototype of agriculture practiced by many Jamaican small farmers today.

This pattern persisted with the continued existence of slavery and the emancipation of slaves (1834-1838) brought considerable changes. There was a general exodus of slaves from the plantation to form an independent peasantry, and any restriction to keep the slave on the estate only served to hasten his departure. The magnitude of this exodus was considerable and its extent can be gleaned by examining the decline of labour on the estates. In 1832 the 138 estates in cultivation had 41,820 labourers but by 1947 this had declined to 13,970.<sup>45</sup>

The initial expansion was on: (a) the land cleared for estate cultivation but abandoned, (b) their "mountain" partly cultivated under the provision ground system, (c) land belonging to absentee owners, or (d) moved onto the more inaccessible lands never before occupied as the island at that time had a potential frontier in the North American sense.<sup>46</sup> The slaves acquired land in three ways.<sup>47</sup> First of all, there were direct purchases of small plots

---

<sup>45</sup> G. E. Cumper, "Labour Demand and Supply in the Jamaican Sugar Industry 1830-1950", Social and Economic Studies, II (March 1954), p. 49.

<sup>46</sup> Philip D. Curtin, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>47</sup> G. E. Cumper, (1954), op. cit., p. 50.

from the planters;<sup>48</sup> secondly by squatting; and thirdly through joint purchase made of a part or an entire estate for subdivision among a group of slaves. The church played a significant role in the latter as they were instrumental in organizing communities of small villages and were the only group interested in the lot of the rural dwellers. In a sense "the movement represented an expansion of the provision sector of the traditional economy on a new social base with a corresponding decline of the sugar sector and of the towns which had catered to the needs of the old system".<sup>49</sup>

However, about a decade after the development of the freehold system, the distribution of available land began to decline. Most of the estates were not sold as planters felt that there could be no alternative to plantation agriculture in the West Indies, so that by 1865 about two-fifths of the island, that is, approximately 1 million acres, had become "no man's land".<sup>50</sup> At the same time the rapidly increasing peasants created excessive fragmentation of land and tried to go further into hills, as plots became exhausted.

With the shift in population there was a need for

---

<sup>48</sup> Some slaves had acquired a substantial amount of money through the sale of their surplus.

<sup>49</sup> G. E. Cumper, (1956), op. cit., p. 268.

<sup>50</sup> Lord Olivier, Jamaica: The Blessed Isle (London: The Century Company, 1936), p. 138.

governmental action. Extension of communications were gravely required to serve the peasant villages and the old system of land titles geared toward plantation agriculture was not applicable to the process of fragmentation. These difficulties, together with cries of abject poverty in the rural sector went unheard and provides a partial explanation of the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865.<sup>51</sup>

However, in these troubled times, had there been an intelligent government, a progressive rural sector could have been laid. Paget, and he is not singular in this respect, maintains that

"it is little short of tragic that the Government at that period missed its opportunity of carrying out a definite policy of settlement of the many emancipated people upon good land near to the estates and other centres where regular employment might be obtained".<sup>52</sup>

This concept is not new and was proposed as early as 1840 when Robertson<sup>53</sup> pointed to the advantages of laying out

---

<sup>51</sup> These riots were not the result of general rebellion throughout the island. The district in which the disturbance broke out was Morant Bay (St. Thomas) and the rebellion was led by Paul Bogle, a peasant proprietor in that parish. The Custos of St. Thomas together with the magistrates and others were in the courthouse when it was surrounded by Bogle and his band of Negroes, most of whom were armed with sticks and machetes. The police used firearms on the mobs and this enraged the rebels. Murder and arson followed; and strong measures were taken by the Government. The final outcome was a change of Governor, the suspension of the elected Assembly and the establishment of Crown Colony Government.

<sup>52</sup> Hugh Paget, "The Free Village System in Jamaica", Caribbean Quarterly, 1 (March 1964), p. 13.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

towns or villages on regular plans within a spatial framework which would afford greater facility for education and other rural amenities. However, it is idle to complain of what was not done considering that there was an absence of any intelligent rural policy in England.<sup>54</sup>

Peasant expansion had to be actively encouraged after the Rebellion but not until 1897 was there an official pronouncement advocating the policy of small landowning settlement. At first land was recovered from squatters and subsequently rented on a seven year lease.<sup>55</sup> But the system failed as rent payments fell into arrears, discouraged good husbandry and led to widespread erosion which has persisted until today. As only few peasants could now buy lands it was left to government to initiate a measure for the disposal of Crown Lands. Here, under Governor Blake, a scheme was introduced in 1895 whereby peasants could buy plots in lots between 5 and 50 acres.<sup>56</sup> Blake also abandoned the former policy of providing communication to the estates only, in favour of one geared to the banana industry, then the major agricultural crop. The task was very formidable and the whole programme was left incomplete

---

<sup>54</sup> Lord Olivier, op. cit., p. 142.

<sup>55</sup> Gisela Eisner, op. cit., p. 222.

<sup>56</sup> One-fifth of the purchase price was paid at the outset, the remainder being paid over a 10-year period, interest free. Norma Walters, op. cit., p. 51.

when he left the island.

The heyday of the small farmer was roughly from 1900 to 1920, but after 1911 when expansion onto the Crown lands ended as most were marginal, the number of holdings still increased but only through excessive fragmentation of existing small and medium sized farms. Paralleling this fragmentation was a significant population increase-- 30% between 1871 and 1911. By the 1920's poverty was rife in the rural areas what with slumps in the banana and sugar industry and this started the movement into Kingston.

All in all, between 1838 and 1938 the peasants constituted at least 80% of the total population, and 87% of the farming sector. They were concentrated on only 25% of the cultivated land with farms no larger than five acres.<sup>57</sup> For most of the time the peasants were left to themselves to experiment with different crops and techniques and official attention was only spasmodic. Norris sums up the situation in the following manner:

"Whilst the upper and middle classes were building an often strained imitation of Britain, the great Jamaican proletariat lived in another world, a world with its roots in Africa and slavery and deprivation. Little had happened in the intervening century to change the economic and social stature or the psychological habits connected with such a past. Emancipation had made 320,000

---

<sup>57</sup> Katrin Norris, Jamaica, the Search for an Identity (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 12.

black slaves into citizens. Apart from this it left them to fend for themselves with no property, limited practical skills, no education and not even the institution of family life."<sup>58</sup>

The only striking change, then, was a numerical one and it is no wonder that there was widespread social unrest which culminated in the riots of 1938. These riots demonstrated to the government an urgent need for raising the level of rural living. However, over the years the gap between rural and urban levels of living has not been narrowed to any great extent. The agricultural sector is still beset with the problem of a sharp division between the preponderance of inefficient microfundia controlling a small proportion of farm land and the small group of large farmers (see Tables 8 and 9), making for social inequity.

Land use factors of economic value important in a distant past still persist in the agrarian sector. These include excessive priority given to export crops, particularly sugar cane on the best lands; under-utilization and over-utilization of land; lack of a rational crop zoning system, and the steering function of prices.<sup>59</sup> In addition, there are other weaknesses, the key factors of which are: limited research on local food crop production, infertility of most of the soils tilled by the peasants,

---

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.; p. 11.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-9.

Table 8<sup>60</sup>

NUMBER OF FARMS BY SIZE GROUPS AND PERCENTAGE OF  
TOTAL IN EACH GROUP - 1942, 1954 AND 1961

	1942		1954		1961	
Size Group of	No. Farms	%	No. Farms	%	No. Farms	%
0 - /5 acres	171,600 <sup>61</sup>	83.7	139,000	69.9	112,600	71.0
5 - /25 acres	28,000	13.7	53,000	26.6	41,000	25.7
25- /100 acres	4,000	2.0	5,600	2.8	3,800	2.4
100- /500 acres	900	0.4	900	0.5	800	0.5
500 plus acres	500	0.2	300	0.2	300	0.2
ALL FARMS	205,000	100.0	199,000	100.0	158,500	100.0

low capitalization on the small farms, lack of skills and know-how, lack of proper institutional arrangements, inadequacy of non-farm employment, and above all a lack of integration between agriculture and industry.<sup>62</sup> With such ills it is no small wonder that there is a general contempt for working in the rural sector with the resulting paradox of unemployment

<sup>60</sup> Rosley McFarlane, Nancy Singham, and I. Johnson, "Agricultural Planning in Jamaica" (Paper prepared for the Third Agricultural Economics Conference, University of West Indies, Mona, April 1-6, 1968), p. 34.

<sup>61</sup> Includes 139,000 plots of land under one acre. Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 9-10; and "The Need for Crop Zoning in Jamaica", Part I, Paper found in Ministry of Agriculture and Lands Files, n.d., p. 7 (Mimeographed).

Table 963

ACREAGE OF LANDS IN FARMS BY SIZE GROUPS AND PERCENTAGE OF  
TOTAL IN EACH GROUP - 1961

Size Group of Farm	1961	
	Acreage in Farms	Per cent
0 - / 5 acres	198,000	11.6
5 - / 25 acres	389,441	22.8
25 - / 100 acres	167,607	9.8
100 - / 500 acres	185,596	10.8
ALL FARMS	1,711,430	100.0

existing side by side with scarcity in the agricultural labour market.<sup>64</sup>

Nor has the social environment improved. In many areas peasants experience difficulty in getting water and even when available it is at times inadequate in volume or inconveniently located.<sup>65</sup> Electricity is distributed to only 20%<sup>66</sup> of the island and this is basically in Kingston and the smaller urban areas. In addition, there is usually no

---

<sup>63</sup> Cited in: Hugh Shaw, "Some Basic Problems of Jamaican Agriculture with Implications for Changes in Development Policy", op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>64</sup> "Basic Defects of Jamaican Agriculture", op. cit., p. 1, and pp. 8-9; Rene Dumont, op. cit., p. 38; Jamaica, Ministry of Development and Welfare, op. cit., p. 36; and "The Need for Crop Zoning in Jamaica", op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>65</sup> Jamaica, Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, Agricultural Development Programme, Series No. 1 (Kingston: City Printery Ltd., n.d.), p. 13.

<sup>66</sup> The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, March 25, 1970, p. 5.

telephone service, poor telegraphic communication, and lack of roads or bad roads. Kingston and St. Andrew urban areas have no rival in the cultural field. Eighteen of the forty-four secondary schools are located here and primary school conditions are better if measured by student/teacher ratio.<sup>67</sup> And while 84.4% and 30.6% of its households are equipped with radio and television respectively, in the country as a whole the respective figures are 42.3% and 9.8%.<sup>68</sup> The lack of other entertainment facilities such as movies, dance-halls, etc. are well known in the rural areas.

Norris sums up the situation most aptly.

"Much the greater part of capital expenditure in the budget is assigned for Kingston, Montego Bay and other tourist areas such as Negril to create what are luxury conditions in comparison with rural Jamaica which does not even have basic requirements such as water, adequate school facilities and hospitals. Nearly a million people live on the land, yet the 1961 budget set aside £30,000 for farm housing and £156,000 for government officers' housing; the sum of £37,000 alone was paid for the purchase of a house for the new Central Bank manager. One of the main economic problems Jamaica suffers is rural poverty....Many reasons--tradition, illiteracy, fear of social victimization...(lack of essential amenities)<sup>69</sup> are behind this problem."<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Kalman Tekse, op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>69</sup> mine

<sup>70</sup> Katrin Norris, op. cit., p. 65.

Consequently frustration builds up in rural Jamaica. Rural exodus takes place and this is not because of increased agricultural efficiency or the pull of industry. Inhabitants migrate from the country to escape the "drabness of their life in the 'bush'"<sup>71</sup> and enter the main urban areas to taste the better services and amenities located there. Those leaving are the ones needed to assist in rural development and any rural programme usually requires skilled personnel and experts to reside in the area. Often they are usually reluctant to live in these areas for the same reasons that rural people tend to leave.<sup>72</sup>

#### Measures to Control Rural-Urban Migration

Measures of halting the growing trek of rural population to the city started in 1938. The deplorable conditions in the rural sector, emphasized by "land hunger" and the lack of jobs in the city, led to the belief that people would remain in the rural areas to engage in farming if land were available. As a consequence, the administration decided on the distribution of small plots of land to the rural population. Thus in 1938 a Lands Department was set up to administer a Land Settlement scheme.

This scheme involved the Government buying up properties and sub-dividing them for re-sale to farmers on an easy payment plan. In the initial stages the period of payment

---

<sup>71</sup> Hugh Shaw, "Land Reform in Action", op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

was 10 years--the settlers being required to make a down payment of one-tenth the cost of the land.<sup>73</sup> However, as the programme developed the period was extended to 25 years and the down payment became one-twentieth of land costs. The average sum paid was £19 or £20, the basic cost being about £3 an acre.<sup>74</sup> Failure to keep up payments can mean forfeiture even if a house has been constructed. The farmer cannot sell, sub-let or transfer his property without the consent of the Commissioner of Lands, until he has finished payments on his plot.

While in 1938 the area acquired was 7,439<sup>75</sup> acres, that between the two years 1939 and 1940 was 62,921 acres<sup>76</sup> and in the latter period at least 11,000 families were placed on plots of an average size of 5 acres.<sup>77</sup> Since then the programme has expanded and by 1967 the area acquired was 218,325 acres, of which there were 33,426 allotments with 35,576 acres reserved for certain factors

---

<sup>73</sup> Jamaica, Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, Lands Department, 1938-1967 (n.p., August 1968), p. 2.

<sup>74</sup> Mona Macmillan, The Land of Look Behind (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), p. 63.

<sup>75</sup> Jamaica, Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, Division of Economics and Statistics, "Land Reform in Jamaica with Emphasis on Land Settlement" (Mimeographed), Hope, October 1962, p. 12.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

including roads and water supplies.<sup>78</sup> Table 10 gives the size distribution on farms in 1961.

Table 10<sup>79</sup>

SIZE DISTRIBUTION OF FARMS ON LAND SETTLEMENTS, 1961

Size of Farms (Acres)	Number of Farms
Under 1	2,743
1 and less than 2	3,143
2 " " 4	8,657
4 " " 6	7,815
6 " " 10	4,455
10 " " 25	1,843
25 " " 50	147
50 and over	7
Total	28,810

The major functions of the Lands Department are:<sup>80</sup>

1. Inspection, valuation and acquisition of properties for subdivision and allotment to farmers. Location is dictated where needs are greatest and heaviest concentration

<sup>78</sup> Jamaica, Lands Department, p. 3.

<sup>79</sup> Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, Division of Economics and Statistics, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-7.

is in the eastern parishes surrounding Kingston--St. Mary, Portland, St. Thomas and St. Andrew.

2. Processing of applications, selection of settlers and allotments. Applications are dealt with on a "first come, first served" basis and not on the farming ability of the potential settler.<sup>81</sup>

3. Sub-division surveys, location and construction of roads and water supply schemes. The latter are the main item of expenditure and while each holding is accessible by driving or bridle road, the availability of water is governed by water sources.

4. Planning and development of settlement amenities, for example, Community Centres and Marketing Depots.

5. Collection of instalments, and

6. Extension work.

However, the factor of community development merits special attention. The scheme is envisaged as "the welding of groups of farmers into communities. This entails not only development of individual holdings, but the building of new group loyalties and the creation in the settlers of the desire and ability to cope with the many problems involved."<sup>82</sup> To this end the farmers are encouraged to operate through associations and co-operatives of their

---

<sup>81</sup> Norma Walters, op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>82</sup> Jamaica, Lands Department 1938-1967, p. 5.

own making for the good of their settlement, especially in regard to disposal of crops.

Social and educational activities are carried on in Community Halls and take the form of learning a skill, for example, handicraft, and home economics which could supply additional income to the family. Recreation grounds are also provided. The programme, administered jointly by the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission and the Lands Department, attempts to integrate the various aspects of development to make life more attractive in the rural sector. Other agencies participating in this development include the Extension Division of the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, the Jamaica Agricultural Society and the 4-H Club.

Land settlements established as cooperatives involving the operation of a fairly large property as a single unit by leaseholders (99 year lease) have been very few in number. During the 1940's two such schemes, Lucky Hill (Stolary) and Grove Farm (St. Catherine) were started.<sup>83</sup> The main idea behind these was to secure the benefits of large scale farming to a number of small settlers. However, other aims, including viable communities and self-help guided by education and training were included in the programme. The land settlement scheme, therefore, had as

---

<sup>83</sup> Hugh Shaw and Nancy Singham, "Land Reform: Lessons from Other Countries as a Basis for Formulating a Policy for Jamaica" (Paper prepared for the Agricultural Planning Committee in the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, Jamaica, December, 1961), p. 8.

its priority security of tenure based on a system of freehold tenure. Its importance, however, has declined since the 1950's.

Since the 1940's, however, the main area of concentration switched to measures for rehabilitation of the hillsides and improvements with the land.<sup>84</sup> These were implemented through the Farm Improvement Scheme in 1947 and the Land Authorities in 1951. Under the Farm Improvement Scheme all farmers were entitled to assistance for land clearing, soil conservation and other land improvement works. In addition, minor irrigation projects were planned. However, immediately after the 1951 hurricane the Farms Recovery Scheme<sup>85</sup> was introduced for the rehabilitation of agriculture in the devastated rural areas.

The purpose of the Land Authorities was to make provision for "improvement and rehabilitation, and to prevent the erosion and deterioration of land in special areas".<sup>86</sup> To this end two authorities were set up for the Yallahs Valley and the Christiana Area in 1951 and 1952 respectively, where erosion and poverty had had long histories. The authorities collaborate with other Government agencies--

---

<sup>84</sup> "Basic Defects of Jamaican Agriculture", op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>85</sup> Jamaica, Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, Agricultural Development Since 1938 and the Programme for 1955-60 (Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1954), p. 14.

<sup>86</sup> Jamaica Agricultural Society, The Farmers Handbook (Kingston: Jamaica Agricultural Society, 1961), p. 157.

especially the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission--responsible for social, educational and technical development. 4-H clubs, geared to youth of the areas, try to stimulate farming with a view of keeping them on the land, no doubt to take over from the aging farmers. In fact, the programmes here are similar to those on the Land Settlement Scheme. Planning and execution of projects embody citizen participation.

In 1955 a new Farm Development Scheme was launched. It was a more comprehensive approach and was based on the fundamental principle of making the best use of Jamaica's limited resources while endeavouring to meet the basic needs of the rural population.<sup>87</sup> While geared towards production and land management, the scheme also assisted in the provision of rural water supplies and housing.

The Agricultural Development Programme succeeded the above in 1960 and was viewed as a comprehensive, balanced programme "with strong emphasis on education and self-help",<sup>88</sup> seeking to engage the full participation of the farmer in schemes for his development. Its aims were to assist farmers in more than agricultural improvement by providing general community improvements including water supplies.

The programme was, however, short lived, and ended with the change of Government in 1962. This was followed

---

<sup>87</sup> Jamaica, Ministry of Development, A National Plan for Jamaica 1957-1967 (Kingston: The Government Printer, 1957), p. 16.

<sup>88</sup> Jamaica, Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, The Agricultural Development Programme, 1960-1965, Ministry Paper No. 42 (Kingston: The Government Printer, 1960), p. 1.

by the Farmer's Production Programme in 1963 which is still in existence and aims at reassessing the needs in the agricultural sector. Its objectives are centred on production, efficient land use and on raising the standard of living of the rural population. Emphasis is placed on marketing, growth of local food crops which already have a market and assured prices, and farm machinery pool systems to aid in land preparation, no doubt to make farming attractive.

The preceding measures for raising rural living have centred on the agricultural sector, and of necessity the improvement of the social environment has to be discussed. The major pioneer in this respect is the Social Development Commission, an organization which has guided social development over the last thirty years. It began as an independent venture, Jamaica Welfare Limited in 1937 by the United Fruit Company for the welfare of the peasants in rural Jamaica. It is now under Government jurisdiction.

The Commission appears to be "of the people by the people"<sup>89</sup> and gets right into village life. It does this through four agencies. The Social Development Agency aims at coordinating project activities in craft, home economics, literacy, arts and cooperatives. It is thought that the teaching of such skills will enable the rural dwellers to supplement their income by the sale of their work--

---

<sup>89</sup> Mona Macmillan, op. cit., p. 57.

especially craft--and to provide them with articles not otherwise available to them. In addition, it seeks to effect a multiple service approach to village life and work in liaison with other agencies both within and outside of the Commission. The Craft Development Agency concentrates on the training of instructors, research, and the finding and testing of markets while the Youth Development Agency tries to promote among youths educational, agricultural, recreational and cultural patterns. The Sports Development Agency is concerned with the organization of sports.<sup>90</sup>

Development is carried on through self-help projects and when work is started in a village the Commission organizes a Village Committee to be replaced later by a Community Council, to study the needs of the community and assists in the formation of groups, for example Savings Union and Home Improvement Projects. Later the council will assist in carrying out projects like the building of tanks and community centres, completion of farm houses by groups and the beautification of village squares.<sup>91</sup>

Work is carried on in 90 villages<sup>92</sup> through established community centres and the villages come under the 100 Villages Development Project geared to foster community

---

<sup>90</sup> Jamaica, Social Development Commission, Annual Report of the Social Development Commission for the Financial Year Ending 31st March, 1966 (Kingston: The Government Printer, 1966), p. 10.

<sup>91</sup> Jamaica Agricultural Society, op. cit., p. 173.

<sup>92</sup> In the Sugar areas such activities are carried on by the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Board.

development "to make life in the country parts more attractive and to raise the standard of living there, thus stopping the 'human erosion' of the countryside".<sup>93</sup>

As the shift of population from the land poses a real problem both for the rural and urban sectors, it becomes vital that the youths of the country should be grounded in farming techniques. It is thought that only then will they acquire an understanding of agriculture as a way of life and not as a despicable profession. To this end the 4-H Club for rural youth was initiated in 1940,<sup>94</sup> and it aims at educating the rural youth in agriculture and sociological fields, especially homemaking.

The above represent the main activities geared to make the agrarian sector more attractive with the hope of stemming the "human erosion". They embody agrarian improvement and remedies for the ills of the countryside. The drift of the rural people, however, still continues and of necessity an evaluation of these measures must be given. This, then, is the major task of Chapter 4.

### Summary

Rural-urban migration in Jamaica, though evidenced as early as 1881, did not reach alarming proportions until the 1920's. The striking outcome of this movement was

---

<sup>93</sup> Norma Walters, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>94</sup> Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, Development Ministry Paper No. 42, 1960, op. cit., p. 3.

that rural-urban migration meant a movement to the Kingston and St. Andrew Metropolitan Area, which nowhere was matched by a similar expansion of towns. Urbanization has therefore come to mean no more than the expansion of that metropolitan area.

The most intensive migration takes place between the ages 15 to 24 years but the most mobile years are those between 15 to 19 years for both sexes. The migrants are primarily female but comprise the better educated members of both sexes. Migrants either move in steps, as distance plays an important role although the island is small, or directly to the metropolitan area.

The causes of rural migration revolve around the drabness of the "bush" with the lack of amenities in the rural area, particularly economic and social in nature, and not the "pull" of industry located in towns. The tie to the rural area is governed most strongly by emotional and family ties, a feeling of inertia coupled with the ownership of a piece of land.

Measures aimed at stemming the exodus had to be introduced in 1938 to quell the social unrest brought about by deplorable conditions in the rural sector. The Land Settlement Scheme previously initiated in the 1880's was vigorously pursued after 1938 and this involved the selling of small plots to peasants. Since then the main area of concentration of policy has shifted and has been implemented

through the Farm Improvement Scheme 1947, the Land Authorities Law 1951, the Farm Recovery Scheme 1951, the Farm Development Scheme 1955, the Agricultural Development Programme 1960 and the Farm Production Programme in 1963. Improvements to the social environment have been mainly through the Social Development Commission and the 4-H Clubs.

The author contends that these measures have failed to raise the level of living in rural Jamaica and discusses in the next chapter their inadequacy in controlling rural-urban migration as stated in the hypothesis of the study.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE FAILURE OF MEASURES TO MAKE RURAL LIVING MORE ATTRACTIVE

#### Introduction

It is by no means an easy task to evaluate the degree of success of these measures. Their major thrust was at improving rural welfare with the view of controlling rural-urban migration. However, the drift of rural people to urban areas, and in particular the Kingston and St. Andrew Metropolitan Areas, still continues and has in fact increased.<sup>1</sup> It would therefore appear that these programmes have fallen short of their aims. Thus it is vital to assess them in terms of their contribution to the attractiveness of the rural areas.

#### The Jamaica Land Settlement Programme

All the critics of the Jamaica Land Settlement Programme have agreed that the policy has made very little meaningful contribution to the rural sector. Consequently, the programme has now been virtually halted. Among the conspicuous

---

<sup>1</sup> "Basic Defects of Jamaican Agriculture", op. cit., p. 13.

deficiencies, the following are usually cited:<sup>2</sup>

1. The allotments on many schemes are too small to be economically viable. About 90% are less than 2 acres and two-thirds are between 2 and 6 acres.<sup>3</sup>

2. The sub-divided land was badly eroded, steep, and generally poor with shallow soils. It was sold to the government only because the owners had no use for it. At times as much as 40% of the land is not cultivable. Such land can be made fertile only at exorbitant costs.

3. Inadequate or no provisions have been made for basic facilities--water supply, housing, roads, electricity.

"Failure to provide assistance for housing was undoubtedly largely responsible for the fact that only about 3,600 purchasers out of 14,000 surveyed lived with their families on their holdings. On all of the 144 settlements there are only 50 entombed springs, 101 ponds, 40 catchment tanks, 13 wells and 15 pipelines."<sup>4</sup>

4. A substantial amount of farmers concentrate on the production of export crops and their holdings are usually too small to support the settlers in terms of sugar cultivation, for example. Crops for local market receive less attention.

---

<sup>2</sup> Norma Walters, op. cit., pp. 163-164; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The Economic Development of Jamaica (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1952), pp. 194-195; "Basic Defects of Jamaican Agriculture", op. cit., pp. 10-11; Rene Dumont, op. cit., pp. 9-11.

<sup>3</sup> International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1952, op. cit., p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 195.

5. These "mini" farmers lack sufficient capital to develop their holdings.

6. A number of settlements have no rationale for their location. They are often inaccessible or have "roads" which make for inadequate transportation of crops for the market. In short, the drabness of the rural area is perpetuated and the contempt of the "countryman" maintained.

7. The development of stable communities which become necessary adjuncts to economic farming units has been thwarted as a high percentage of owners are absent. These are mainly individuals who wanted the security of owning a piece of land.

8. The holdings have often been given to people with little or no farming experience (craftsmen, businessmen, civil servants). It has been voiced that politics has played some role in the selection of settlers. Consequently, lands are not tilled. "Altogether only 37,000 acres of a total cultivable area of 63,000 acres were actually cropped."<sup>5</sup>

9. The development of good agricultural practices has been lacking on these farms as the settlers were basically left to fend for themselves. The Lands Department does not have the staff or the funds to insist on conservation techniques, for example. Their main function appears to centre around collection of repayment money, organization of clubs

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 195.

and coöperatives and development of crafts.<sup>6</sup>

"Under this situation, much of the land has deteriorated. In all this, productive investments and professional training of the farmers, which are the two major means of increasing agricultural production, seem to have been far too neglected."<sup>7</sup>

10. There has been some amount of failure in enforcing terms of payment and the Government has proceeded against defaulters in only a few cases.

11. Marketing of crops is very poorly organized and hence farmers face a problem in trying to dispose of their produce.

12. Settlements which are located in close proximity to urban areas tend to be sold for residential and commercial purposes and consequently the owners prefer to sell. Such lands, then, are not put to the use for which they were intended.

The whole scheme was too hastily drawn up. At most this land-to-the-hungry policy, reflecting the theory that lack of ownership of a piece of land results in rural exodus, has increased

"the number of people who owned land on a freehold basis but not necessarily the number who in the final analysis would be capable of operating land successfully, given the existing level of skills,

---

<sup>6</sup> Rene Dumont, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

the acreage size of farm, the grade of land available and ultimately the income which could be generated therefrom".<sup>8</sup>

The effect of the scheme has been to keep in or bring into cultivation land for which the plantation system is not effectively competing. It therefore failed to integrate the various inter-dependent aspects of development--improved agriculture, better housing, health, nutrition, family living and social amenities which ought to be developed together. The programme was not connected to any real development policy and was conceived and implemented in a vacuum. The methods adopted were not appropriate to the fundamental problems and consequently has contributed to and aggravated the basic defects of Jamaican agriculture.

The programme has provided no incentives or satisfied any needs of the young people. The increased production envisaged to provide returns which would assist in closing the gap between urban and rural levels of living did not occur. Instead, production has decreased in nearly all of the settlement areas and

"so far from having improved, the small farmer's lot has so gone backward in relation to how the rest of the community has moved, that the second and third generations have left the land and only people of an average age of 45 years and upward are left on the holdings".<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> R. Mcfarlane, N. Singham and I. Johnson, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Farm Reporter, "Land Authorities--whence and whither?", The Sunday Gleaner, July 20, 1969, p. 11.

The programme aptly illustrates the fact that a lack of well-conceived and balanced projects hinders the overall national process of development.

### Post World War II Schemes

The numerous schemes designed and implemented since shortly after the end of World War II have to be designated as dismal failures where control of rural exodus is concerned. The 1959 figures for migration bears evidence of the intensity of this process. They were concerned with the rehabilitation and improvement of agriculture through restoring a crop or crops, correcting something that had gone wrong with the ecology or repairing the soil. The Farm Improvement and Farm Recovery Schemes have only "

"sought to give back to the owner what he had lost while it would have been better to take advantage of the destruction to establish new, more efficient, more productive land structures, such as the farmer of tomorrow will require, and not such as suited the peasant of yesterday. Here again, the dynamic concept of a constant lookout for modernization was lacking".<sup>10</sup>

The Farm Development Scheme failed because of lack of support by the farmers it was destined to serve. There was a lack of coordination with the various operations, and factors relating to plan evaluation and marketing were needed.<sup>11</sup> Dumont maintains that the scheme was "over-ambitious" as it "aimed at assisting all the farmers on the

---

<sup>10</sup> Rene Dumont, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>11</sup> "Basic Defects in Jamaican Agriculture", op. cit., p. 12.

island in a large variety of operations".<sup>12</sup>

The Agricultural Development Programme was too short-lived for any meaningful assessment to be made but certain aspects appeared to be perpetuating past defects. With the Farmers Production Programme, the Agricultural Marketing Corporation was established so as to ensure better markets for the farmer and to encourage production to overtake not only the demands of the good processors and the tourist trade but also to stop the very considerable amount of food imports each year. However, instead of importations having decreased, they have risen steeply and consequently food prices have reached unprecedented levels.

The Farm Machinery Pool set up during this time to help farmers improve their efficiency, since they could not afford the high cost of hiring the necessary tillage implements from private contractors,<sup>13</sup> is worsening.<sup>14</sup> Potentially this scheme seemed to offer a great attraction to farming as manual work on farm is despised, especially by the youth. However, payments by the farmers are currently in arrears and the implements supplied are now in poor condition and breakdowns are too frequent to enhance

---

<sup>12</sup> Rene Dumont, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> These were not interested in jobs under 10 acres.

<sup>14</sup> C. Roy Reynolds, "Farm Machinery Pool: worsening, not better", The Daily Gleaner, July 26, 1969, p. 7.

operation. In fact, in 1967-68 only 56% of those who benefitted in 1965-66 were using the scheme. The overall effect of the Farm Development Scheme has not been totally a failure but it has done little to make the rural areas attractive.

Associated with this development has been a large number of agencies which have been set up to service the agricultural sector. However, there has been a significant loss in the degree of coordination and integration, the chief of which were:<sup>15</sup>

1. conflict between the idea of coordination and the desire of the agencies to maintain their independent identification,
2. poor communication of decisions to the field staff of some agencies,
3. too much overlapping and duplication of work between agencies, and
4. the absence of a coordinator to integrate the activities of the agencies involved.

There are now some 29 units in the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands--consisting of Departments, Divisions, Statutory Boards and other agencies. And the present creation of a new

---

<sup>15</sup> The Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University of the West Indies and Jamaica, Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, Report on the Caribbean Conference on Agricultural Extension, July 18-22, 1966 (Kingston: Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, The Agricultural Information Service, 1966), p. 18.

Ministry of Agriculture, while correcting certain deficiencies will result in further duplication. A farmer can be attended to by one or more agencies all with the same aim in view. The author recalls the numerous government officers who came to look at a site chosen for a tank in a rural area.

The basic premises of past agricultural policies with their multitudinous services have fallen short of their mark. One of these erroneous premises has been the confusion of achieving a greater measure of social welfare while at the same time concern is for a productive agriculture as seen in the attempt to increase agricultural production by concentrating exclusively on the "mini-farmer".<sup>16</sup> This, it was hoped, would make the rural environment more attractive in the matter of creating more employment opportunities for the rural masses.

"Where such an omnibus policy embracing both efficiency and welfare is attempted, the danger is that the criteria of efficient production are often used to measure programmes which are essentially of a social character."<sup>17</sup>

Clearly, then, two streams of policy must be separately

---

<sup>16</sup> International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1968, op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>17</sup> Hugh Shaw, "Planning Land Use in Jamaica", Kingston, April 1968, p. 6 (Mimeographed).

recognized and realistically pursued.

In all of these agricultural schemes, little consideration was given to the human element. They were all related to land, production, credit facilities, finance, weather and to crops. But what about the people who occupied the land? Very little was known about them nor was there any attempt to find out about these individuals--their thoughts, their actions, their aspiration and their dissatisfaction in rural Jamaica. Some time in 1938 it was decided that if rural people had lands they would remain in that sector. And ever since then we have been caught in a psychological block on land "per se". As a consequence, there has been a lack of realization that something is wrong with the countryside of rural Jamaica as a whole and not merely with farming methods. How can a farmer reap his due share of improved living standards, provided that he does his job well, when their symbols are virtually non-existent in the rural areas?

#### Social Development Commission

The attempts made by the Social Development Commission have achieved little if any success in stemming rural flows. The programmes do not seem to satisfy the needs of the young people. The teaching of Home Economics is a case in point. It trains young girls for employment as domestics. However, many of them refrain from attending

and would rather remain idle because they refuse to work as domestics. Domestic employment has been increasingly regarded over the recent years as a continuation of slave practices and noone wants any part of it. In the village studied, the girls who attended were ridiculed by those not attending. The author believes that if some other skill, for example, dressmaking, were taught the young people would be more interested. And, some of the community centres where classes are taught are in a state of disrepair.

Girls trained in craft have little opportunity to practice their skills. Therefore, they find it advantageous to move to the Kingston and St. Andrew Metropolitan Area, Montego Bay or some other tourist area to tap the tourist market there. But to provide an alternative to agriculture with the aim of making the rural areas more attractive by trying to engage a substantial portion of the village labour force in handicraft production is very unrealistic because of organizational and market difficulties. If there are no orders forthcoming, these workers are forced to remain idle.

Their relative contribution to the rural sector is therefore subject to many criticisms. These criticisms are justified in that these programmes are village improvement programmes rather than real development ones. And as development implies growth, then it is clear that one

cannot develop an isolated village.

"Development always includes scale enlargement;... This means that in the process of community the concept and the 'reality' of community must be enlarged...Indeed one must start by reinforcing the self respect of existing communities (which may be villages or small areas) to be creative for implementing their needs and to promote leadership for changes. This approach is not yet development, but it promotes the pre-requisites. It cannot stop at this point. The process must continue; if not greater frustrations and discontentment are to be expected! 18

However, another serious misconception on which this approach is based is that the village is normally a true community. This is not so as in the rural areas of Jamaica villages are the organizational and distributional centres for the hinterlands they service.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, the selection of the village as locus of these development efforts tends to bypass the large number of persons who do not live in villages but are dispersed in the communities which border upon it.

The community council set up by the Social Development Commission therefore serves artificial units. The people in the hillside areas cannot be effectively reached by this method. Consequently, if the village is to be retained as the centre of activity, arrangements must be made to reach

---

18 J. A. Ponsioen, op. cit., p. 521.

19 M. G. Smith, "Community Organization in Rural Jamaica", *Social and Economic Studies* (Sept. 1956), p. 310.

out beyond them into the dispersed units where so many people live. It becomes urgent, then, to stop thinking in terms of these organizations or associations focused on specific interest which go through a continuous succession of death and re-birth without any increase of effectiveness.

### Genuine Needs of Rural Jamaica

It is also wrong to assume that the village as it is, is a viable unit in the process of modernization. In the author's view, this skepticism is based on some knowledge that traditional peasant areas generally are quite resistant to the change required in that process. But this is not so, as mass media has shown rural Jamaica higher living standards in the urban areas and they have reacted by migrating to these areas. Insofar as a programme of agricultural development seeks to improve the economic and social conditions of the peasants, it becomes vital to know their aspirations. They are the ones experiencing rural living and consequently are best able to know of its shortcomings. The author, motivated by this conviction, also asked the villagers in the course of the interview about developments they would like to see in the village of Top Albany<sup>20</sup> Table 11 summarizes the response; most individuals gave multiple answers.

---

<sup>20</sup> Chapter 2, p. 10.

Table 11

## DEVELOPMENTS VILLAGERS WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN TOP ALBANY

	Age Groups			Total
	15-29	30-39	over 40	
(a) More social amenities <sup>21</sup>	6	9	6	21
(b) Wider employment facilities <sup>22</sup> (excludes farming)	8	1	6	15
(c) Factory development	5	4	6	15
(d) Presence of public utilities (includes water, housing, better roads and better trans- portation facilities)	4	-	11	15
(e) Better educational facilities (includes need for high schools, vocational training for youth)	8	2	2	12
(f) More agriculture incentives (includes aid, marketing facilities)	-	2	3	5
(g) Police station	5	-	-	5
(h) Availability of land for farming	2	1	-	3
(i) Services (gas station)	-	1	-	1

<sup>21</sup> This includes amenities like theatres, the fact that the community centre was most inadequate, and the drabness of the village.

<sup>22</sup> Respondents never mentioned factory development "per se" and hence the latter was singled out.

The author was impressed by the fact that these people knew what was lacking and they were not asking for much. Those who thought in terms of factory development never visualized heavy or complex industry. One informant stated that it had to deal with agriculture and even went so far as to state where it could be located. Everyone was gravely worried about the youth and in thinking of better educational activities need centred around the acquiring of skills--mechanics and dressmaking, for example. The priorities given to social amenities is understandable because there is virtually none in the district. The local general store from which the interviewing was done was the hub of "night-life" as it had a juke-box,<sup>23</sup> the only one for miles. The low priority given to agricultural development strongly suggests that needs are non-agricultural in nature.

But would these developments control rural-urban migration? It would appear so as 13<sup>24</sup> of 21 leaving stated that they would remain if the village was developed as they wanted it. The facts presented demonstrate a formidable gap between what the government has done and what rural Jamaica requires. This study is not singular in its findings but is substantiated by the results of a study on education

---

<sup>23</sup> Luckily this village had electricity.

<sup>24</sup> Eight from age group 15-29 years; three from 29-39 years; and four from the over 40 group.

and occupational choice in rural Jamaica.<sup>25</sup> Data<sup>26</sup> for this analysis was drawn from representative rural samples.

It was found that throughout the entire age span under study,<sup>27</sup> own-account farming was seldom chosen as an occupation; yet the overwhelming majority of the rural folk derived their livelihood from it. The occupational choices--clerical, professional, factory, distributive trade for example--reflect a desire to escape from the depressing conditions of rural life as it now exists.<sup>28</sup> But programmes so far have been mainly agricultural in nature. These not only have presupposed the farmers' interest, but also that the farmer wishes to remain a farmer and in addition that his children will do likewise.

"Our data have shown an impressive preference for urban-type occupations among rural folk, together with an underlying desire to escape from the peasant system. It seems self-contradictory to foster an educational system which permits or encourages such pronounced urban orientations among rural folk at the same time that one subsidizes only farm programmes which presupposes that 'the peasants' heart is in his land'."<sup>29</sup>

The facts reveal a serious imbalance between desire and reality. The needs of rural Jamaica are non-agricultural

<sup>25</sup> M. G. Smith, "Educational and Occupational Choice in Jamaica", Social and Economic Studies, 9 (September 1960), pp. 332-354.

<sup>26</sup> Occupational choice was investigated from a sample of 41 schools and 8 rural districts representative of peasant areas and scattered throughout the island.

<sup>27</sup> 10-16 years for elementary schools and 15-39 years in the villages.

<sup>28</sup> M. G. Smith, op. cit., p. 350.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 352.

in nature. Its social system which fosters and then frustrates the aspirations of its people is correspondingly ill-integrated. Provisions of farm programmes have ignored the countryside. There is now an urgent need to focus current attention on the improvement of facilities for health, housing, and education and provision in some measure of those amenities--water, electricity--which have become a normal feature of urban life. And if this is ignored, in the race between development and discontent in Jamaica, the latter will undoubtedly prevail. Mere exhortation to the people to stay on the land and not crowd the towns is likely to be quite futile in the absence of policies to correct the imbalance between the rural and urban sectors. Chapter 5 attempts to outline a solution to this problem.

### Summary

The Land Settlement Programme, though instrumental in increasing the total area under cultivation, has been far from successful in controlling rural-urban migration. Among its deficiencies the following are cited: poor land, inadequate size of allotments, poor selection of settlers, failure to enforce terms of payment, insufficient amenities, poor agricultural practices, concentration on export crops, insufficient capital to develop holdings, inaccessibility and absentee ownership.

The schemes implemented after World War II have also fallen short of their aim in improving agriculture with the view of raising rural levels of living. They were only concerned with the rehabilitation and improvement of agriculture through restoring a crop or crops, correcting something that had gone wrong with the ecology or repairing the soil. Associated with this development was a large number of agencies set up to service the agricultural sector--agencies which were not successfully coordinated.

In these schemes little consideration has been given to the human element. All have been related to the land with insufficient concern for the people who occupied that land. The attempts made by the Social Development Commission have achieved little if any success in stemming rural flows. Its programmes are village improvement programmes and the village as it now exists is not a viable unit in the process of modernization.

The studies cited demonstrate a formidable gap between what the Government has done and what rural Jamaica requires. The needs of rural Jamaica are non-agricultural in nature and stability may be achieved without extra assistance given to farming. Chapter 5 attempts to propose a method to resolve the underlying problems of rural Jamaica.

## CHAPTER 5

### A PROPOSED SOLUTION FOR STABILIZING RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN JAMAICA

#### Introduction

Agricultural programmes and policies up to the present in Jamaica have been motivated by a need to make the countryside more attractive. Unfortunately, these have not resulted in any rural reconstruction and consequently a plan of rural development has yet to be created to yield a viable and stable rural society. The continuance of traditional policy will only prolong stagnation in the rural areas with the consequent dangers of social and political disturbances--forces destructive of the entire society.

There is a definite need for radically new approaches to bridge the gap between the modern and the "traditional", thereby permitting the wholesale transformation of the countryside. Such radical or revolutionary approaches become paramount and realistic because of certain factors, chiefly: the speed with which developments are taking place in other parts of the world demands that Jamaica cannot lag behind or else she will increasingly be at an economic disadvantage, especially in world trade; the development in

communication, especially the advent of television and the spread of transistorized radios, assist in creating in the rural people a yearning for the higher standards of living enjoyed by those living in the urban areas and in more advanced societies; and the urgent need to erase the gap between urban and rural levels of living.

Planning, therefore, becomes vital as revolutions often prove abortive and usually result in economic setbacks. And, although the countryside is beset with many and varied problems, the situation is by no means a dreary one. Not only does it offer unusual challenges for improvement, but the prospect of modernization is eminently possible, and made easier by the fact that the peasant is cooperative and receptive to new ideas.<sup>1</sup> Planning must of necessity, then, be very ambitious as only an ambitious programme will be capable of arresting the flow of population to the urban areas and lifting the standard of living of the farming classes. It can only be done through a vigorous pursuit of new ideas which can result in the abandonment of policies and practices which stand in the way of progress.

The planning problem, then, is to close the gap between urban and rural living standards by creating a viable and stable rural sector which will counteract the attractions

---

<sup>1</sup> Mona Macmillan, op. cit., p. 175.

of the city and as a consequence control rural-urban migration. So far, arguments for solutions have centred mainly around two schools of thought: narrowing the disparity between rural and urban national incomes and the location of agro-industries in the rural areas. The author contends that these remedies have several drawbacks.

### Adoption of Incomes Policy

This has been suggested as it was considered that the principal obstacle in transforming the agrarian sector was the general disregard and contempt for the peasant and agricultural worker, arising from the wide income and status gaps which exist between agricultural and urban-industrial pursuits. This disturbing disparity between rural and urban incomes<sup>2</sup> was said to be so important that the conscious aim of policy should be towards implementing measures which would be designed specifically to close

---

<sup>2</sup> The available data cover for the agricultural sector only, farms of 500 acres and over, while those for the non-agricultural sector are confined to selected industry.

	<u>Agriculture</u> <u>Non-Agricultural</u>	
Unskilled Manual and	Male-12n7n6-3n11n3	13n18n4-6n5n4
Service Worker	Female- 1n19n6-2n4n9	3n9n0-4n8n2
Overseer	9n15n3-10n0n10	18n15n8-22n4n8
Bookkeeper		8n12n4-15n0n8
Carpenter	5n0n5-5n4n2	8n11n6-9n9n0

Source: Jamaica, Department of Statistics, Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1967, No. 26 (Kingston: The Government Printer, 1967), p. 78.

those gaps, thus bringing agricultural work, both of management and labour, on par or nearer in income to other occupations.

To this end it was thought that there should be exercised some control over the rapid increases in urban income in relation to agricultural income, which has been occurring within recent times.

on "It may be necessary for Government to apply a brake on the rise of salaries and higher wages in the urban sector to relieve the hopelessness of the rural and depressed urban areas. At the same time, it is recommended that the proportion of public capital expenditure going to rural development be increased....such a measure would help to remove the not unjustified view, among the agricultural population, that the rural areas are neglected in preference for urban development."<sup>3</sup>

Shaw proposes a different strategy for closing the gap between rural and urban incomes. For him the chief requirement is

"the more equitable distribution of opportunities for earning income from the land and the rapid raising of the overall per capita income in agriculture".<sup>4</sup>

To this end his solution lies in giving as many people as possible control of an adequate amount of land with which they could increase their income and in addition be afforded a more equitable share of the rewards of production.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> "Basic Defects of Jamaican Agriculture", op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Hugh Shaw, "Land Reform in Action", op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

A redistribution of the lands held in large estates and plantations (see Table 6, Chapter 3) would consequently result in a redistribution of income. Shaw maintains, in addition, that if all the lands in Jamaica were put into full production with no change in the present pattern of distribution (Table 6, Chapter 3), maldistribution of income and income opportunities would remain.

He saw the approved land reform programme which then envisaged by 1968, 4,280 farms between 5 and 14 acres and 320 farms of an average size of 25 acres, representing a significant improvement over previous land settlement policy. He felt, too, that the programme would have fallen short of closing the gap between rural and urban incomes as the farm sizes were subject to arbitrary determination. Size of a farm forms only a limited indication of its income capacity. Physical factors--quality of soil, topography, water--enterprise combination and markets are very important determinants of the level of income. Shaw therefore argues that if the aim is to provide "equal opportunity for generating a certain basic income, then it can be readily seen that the land area would necessarily have to vary considerably between certain parts of Jamaica".<sup>6</sup>

Consequently, he associates with his concept of

---

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

redistribution of income through redistribution of lands the requirement of an "income standard"<sup>7</sup> for the farmer to be based on the average income of his urban counterpart. This standard would therefore determine the size of farms and though the size of farms within a settlement area would vary, the income potential of each parcel of land would be approximately equal. This, then, represents greater preciseness in determining farm size and at the same time assures that rural and urban incomes can be closer.

However, success would greatly depend on the ability of the farmers to so assert themselves. Such proposals cannot be implemented without first providing the much needed "infra-structural" amenities and conditions within rural areas which will attract people rather than cause them to migrate to the urban areas where there are no jobs. And though one of the primary objects of economic development in Jamaica, as in Latin America, is that of increasing per capita real income of the rural population, it must be realized that the general aims of development embrace other things besides increases in income. They embody a desire for positive reconstruction and improvement of all phases of the rural people as well. Income policies cannot therefore stand alone or be the primary vehicle of rural rehabilitation.

---

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

### Location of Industry in Rural Areas

In recent times, it has been argued that the improvement of living standards in the rural sector will come about only through employment created outside of agriculture. For this reason it was thought that as far as possible, industries should be located in the rural areas.

"In fact, the long-term improvement of the whole agricultural sector in terms of higher incomes and efficiency is clearly dependent on greater industrialization and the increase of non-agricultural employment and the resultant greater purchasing power."<sup>8</sup>

Shaw, in another article, gives three ways in which industry can contribute to rural development and welfare. These are:<sup>9</sup>

1. Industries within the rural areas provide new on-the-spot employment opportunities for surplus labour released from agriculture. People do not need to leave the village to find work; and in particular, the more skilled elements are retained. By reducing one of the main causes of rural exodus, industrial development within rural communities helps to preserve the stability of the rural society.

2. The industrial workers remaining in the rural areas create a profitable nearby market for agricultural produce. This is particularly significant in the case of perishable

---

<sup>8</sup> Hugh Shaw, "Planning Land Use in Jamaica", op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Hugh Shaw, "Land Reform in Action", op. cit., p. 6.

products until marketing and transportation facilities are fully developed.

3. The added value of industry both in terms of income and amenities is not concentrated in the urban area but is spread over a wide area, thus reducing the discrepancy between the standards of living in the town and the "country".

It is further argued that these advantages can outweigh "many of the so-called "economic" advantages which are usually taken into consideration in locating and setting up new plants"<sup>10</sup>--for example, the calculation of the profit of an industrial plant merely on the basis of the industrial process only.<sup>11</sup> While realizing that big plants seem destined for the urban area, it seemed feasible to suggest that relatively small plants could be properly dispersed over the rural areas. The type of industry is not regarded as being important as long as it fitted into the general framework of rural life. Three categories of enterprises are usually cited:<sup>12</sup>

1. Processing industries tied in with the growth and diversification of agriculture. Location and size of such an industry would be determined by economic criteria.

---

<sup>10</sup> Hugh Shaw, "Some Basic Problems of Jamaican Agriculture with Implications for Changes in Development Policy", op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> Hugh Shaw, "Land Reform in Action", op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Compiled mainly from (1) Hugh Shaw, "Land Reform in Action", op. cit., p. 7, and (2) Hugh Shaw, "Some Basic Problems of Jamaican Agriculture with Implications for Changes in Development Policy", op. cit., pp. 15-16.

2. Link industries which involve the assembly of articles or the manufacturing of parts of an article for later assembly in one central factory. The advantage of link industries are that the work can be done by the farmer or his family in the slack season--especially in areas of seasonal crops, for example, sugar cane--or as a spare-time activity unlike other industrial enterprises requiring rigid work schedules. Industry then is used as a balance.

3. Auxiliary industries - These are industries which are located in rural areas for the purpose of absorbing surplus manpower and do not necessarily have any connection with local conditions. A variety of industries of this nature can be developed in Jamaica, for example: fancy goods, ceramics, garments, jewellery, etc., taking advantage of the natural ability of Jamaicans to develop skills of this sort.<sup>13</sup> What distinguishes an auxiliary plant from the ordinary factory in the urban centre is that its labour requirements are adjusted to the surplus labour supply in the particular rural area.

The creation of agro-industries to be undertaken as part of the overall planning process for the development of rural areas is therefore considered as achieving to a great extent rural stability and agricultural inability. The

---

<sup>13</sup> Beginnings of such industries are those promoted by the Jamaican Social Welfare Commission to which reference has already been made.

rural communities must be improved in this way because the peasants are still a very high proportion of the total population and agriculture will long be their mainstay. These arguments concerning rural industrial location sound very feasible and logical in theory but the author cannot foresee such an happening in view of the present condition of rural Jamaica. The local environment places manifold obstacles in the way of incorporating the rural areas into a dynamic process of industrial growth. And if these obstacles remain unchanged they are likely to frustrate plan formulated at the national level for integrating industry into the rural sector.

Thus, before industrial and income policies geared to close the gap between rural and urban living standards can be implemented, there is a genuine and urgent need for the underlying determinants of social life and social institutions--education, public, health services and cinemas, for example--and the general provision of adequate amenities and services to be supplied in the rural areas. This, then, is the major gap to be filled. For too long a period there has been a grave error in thinking that rural people are only concerned with the land and that they do not really want a "better" life because their aspirations seem modest. The thesis has shown the inadequacy of the existing government measures in making rural life more attractive.

It has also suggested what measures are necessary to counteract the attractions of the city.

### Solution

What type of practical programme of rural reconstruction seem politically, economically and socially feasible to control rural-urban migration? As was shown, only by the provision of adequate services and a suitable social environment can development activity be encouraged and inhabitants be induced to stay. Planning in rural Jamaica towards creation of towns would seem to provide ~~the~~ answer, but Jamaica has not got the resources to build complete urban areas to be dispersed all over the island. The author believes that a possible solution at this time is to devise a system leading to the "rurbanization"<sup>14</sup> of rural Jamaica-- a process that would create an urban environment but at the same time would not be truly urban.

The point is that all these basic services and amenities-- electricity, water supplies, social "overheads" such as roads, secondary education, vocational training and the like--would be provided and concentrated in the existing villages. These planned "rurban" centres would then act as

---

<sup>14</sup> The author, believing that she had coined the word, subsequently discovered that it had been used by J. A. Ponsioen, op. cit., p. 521.

centres of development on a low level as no doubt they would be the central place for other small industries so often proposed, crafts, recreation, sport events, and agrobusiness. It is only by planning through "rurbanization" that rural areas will begin to have advantages that would serve to facilitate their transformation into stable, viable and attractive societies able to hold their inhabitants. And to ignore this point in formulating any policy for rural reconstruction is to jeopardize the whole process of modernization or westernization which Jamaica is now undergoing.

The concept of "rurbanization" cannot be applied to all rural settlement areas in Jamaica. They must of necessity be confined to gathered or nucleated villages or else the development costs of the long network of roads, electricity and water lines would be prohibitive. In a like manner other amenities, for example schools and social institutions, need concentration of people, nor would it be economically feasible or practical to locate these anywhere and everywhere.

The next question arising is the definition of a village. The term has no functional, legal or administrative significance and thus it seems unnecessary to attempt to define it. However, a definition becomes relevant for future planning if these are to become "rurban" centres. Residential densities cannot be used as a criteria as certain rural areas in Jamaica

have urban densities.<sup>15</sup> A combination of criteria seems logical for Jamaica and relying on a recent study of classification of urban settlements in Jamaica,<sup>16</sup> the writer came to the conclusion that villages could be defined as centres containing 3,000 and less inhabitants.

However, all these villages cannot become "rurban" centres and consequently it becomes essential to establish some criteria for their selection so as to ensure that the needs of the more important can be adequately met. While the physical planning of the village must be dictated by the peculiar conditions occurring each case, positive decision guiding the selection of these villages must be based on factual information relating to: size, topography, accessibility, water resources, existing agriculture in the area, marketing possibilities, and existing economic and social services. Villages rating high in these aspects would be the ones most likely to be selected but there must be, in addition, a conscious aim to disperse them in a meaningful manner over the island.

The rural settlement pattern of Jamaica, then, most of necessity be studied in its entirety with a view to demarcating those villages eligible to become "rurban"

---

<sup>15</sup> For example, northern Clarendon.

<sup>16</sup> P. O. Lefvert, "An Inventory and Classification of Urban Settlement in Jamaica", Vol. I-IV, Jamaica: Town Planning Department, United Nations Special Fund Project, October 31, 1968 (Mimeographed).

centres. The next step must be concerned with selection based on spatial criteria, in order that certain areas would not be neglected and integration could be maintained. The writer is not proposing here any regular pattern of settlement like that of Christaller, but rather a rational distribution of "rurban" centres so that inhabitants of villages not eligible for selection will be in easy reach of these. All rural Jamaicans would benefit.

Of course, there will be a point at which it would not be economically feasible to "rurbanize" certain rural concentrations. The determination of this level is outside the scope of this thesis as it would rely on detailed feasibility studies. Villages below this cut-off point might have to be considered, especially in those areas lacking eligible villages. This could very well provide the catalyst for rural rehabilitation in these areas.

Rural development at the scale described above cannot be effective if the whole island is regarded as a single area of operation. To try to locate every amenity into every "rurban" centre would make the task unmanageable, even useless, and financially prohibitive. For best results, then, the island should be divided into regions based not so much on the existing geographical boundaries as on functional areas dictated by the scope of whatever project is to be undertaken. Boundaries then would be determined after the selection of "rurban" centres so as to achieve an evenly distributed and integrated pattern.

Heavy financial undertakings, for example, vocational schools, must serve wider areas than the "rurban" centres. Consequently, the regional approach is potentially a sound and feasible proposition for rural reconstruction in Jamaica.

Such a framework within which rural rehabilitation should be planned would better embrace the integration of industries with the agricultural sector as the chosen centres would provide the basic pre-requisites--electricity, water supplies and accessibility. The approach, too, would greatly facilitate the decentralization of industrial policy being advocated in Jamaica at present. In addition, it would fulfill requirements necessary to produce effective community development stated in the Five Year Independence Plan of Jamaica. The latter stresses the need for the multiple-service<sup>17</sup> approach in which the same village would be the recipient of all activities and services. This, it further stated, would generate a "community charged with activity and the desire to succeed".<sup>18</sup> Such a framework provides the basis for the allocation of social services and facilities in direct relationship to defined population clusters and needs on a common basis, upon which the many authorities concerned with development planning programmes may coordinate their activities.

---

<sup>17</sup> Jamaica, Ministry of Development and Welfare, op. cit., p. 187.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 187.

The execution of this "rurbanization" programme requires an effective administrative framework. The selection of "rurban" centres aimed toward a meaningful integrated pattern cannot be left to the free interplay of economic and social forces. The process envisages such a dramatic change of the rural sector that the Government must play the dominant role. Steps in the planning described above implies that the objective of the Jamaican government should be:

To improve living standards of the existing rural population, to guarantee a secure future to succeeding generations engaged in agriculture by establishing a level of services in rural areas comparable to the level of amenities in urban areas, thereby ensuring greater social and economic opportunities for rural people.

Such an objective demands an adequate body to guide the physical planning of these settlements in order to avoid any substantial difficulties in coordination. The writer suggests that the Town Planning Department could be responsible for such a task as the two main aspects of planning it pursues are:<sup>19</sup>

1. the coordination of Government controlled development, and
  2. advice on private development in the public interest.
- The Department, too, is charged with the power of both town

---

<sup>19</sup> Jamaica, Town Planning Department, Annual Report of the Town Planning Department for the Year Ended 31st March, 1963-4 (Kingston: The Government Printer, 1964).

and country planning. The "Town and Country Planning Authority" is the Government Town Planner, the head of the Town Planning Department of the Ministry of Finance and Planning. It is in the power of the authority after consultation with the Local Authority concerned to prepare a

"Provisional Development Order...in relation to any land in any urban or rural area...with the general object of controlling the development of the land comprised in the area to which the respective order applies and with a view to securing proper sanitary conditions...and the coordination of roads and public services, protecting and extending amenities and conserving and developing the resources of such an area".<sup>20</sup>

Such an order has to be confirmed by the Minister.

So far only all the coastal areas, Kingston, Spanish Town, and the Bog Walk, Linstead, Ewarton Area have been covered by Provisional Development Orders.<sup>21</sup> In none of these has any reference been made to the respective hinterlands or neighbouring areas. They contain no proposals for the substantial extension of coastal towns or for the location of new towns,<sup>22</sup> although the Department has the power to so act.

The preparation of the framework for the island within which development proposals can be more successfully worked

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Sir Robert Kirkwood, A Farm Production Policy for Jamaica (Kingston: Sugar Manufacturers Association of Jamaica, 1968), p. 36.

<sup>22</sup> Second Schedule, Part VII, Section 3(a) and (b) of the Town and Country Planning Law, 1957.

out should provide a new challenge for the Town Planning Department. Their terms of reference to this end would of necessity be:

1. To interpret the overall lines of Government policy as it relates to rural development and accordingly to assist and advise the Government in the modification of existing policy and the creation of new ones.

2. To establish effective liaison with other departments of Government and public agencies concerned with rural development--especially the Ministries of Agriculture, Rural Development and Housing and Public Utilities, the Survey Department and the Social Development Commission--and to coordinate their work in the matter of establishing the criteria for and the selection of "rurban" centres.

3. To prepare maps--both at the local and regional levels--showing the relationship of the "rurban" centres to each other with emphasis on roads, water distribution network and other infrastructure developments.

4. To consider plans of development for each centre and to collaborate with other ministries or agencies (public or private) in the promotion and establishment of rural industries complementary to agriculture in the selected centres.

5. To conduct any necessary studies into the various aspects of rural development so as to yield factual information as the basis for planning and plan evaluation,

and

6. To implement the plans made and to ensure proper coordination of the programme from the inter-ministerial and functional point of view and having full responsibilities for the execution and evaluation of the programme throughout all its stages.

The writer suggests that the programme be carried out in two stages:

1. the investigation and pilot stage, and
2. the expansion stage.

During the first stage, the various initial studies, surveys and testing of methods on a limited scale would be conducted as a means of guiding the Town Planning Department in laying the foundation for the expansive stage of the programme. This stage, then, would be that "at which sound and attractive plans are prepared for presentation to international and other sources for the obtaining of money to finance the wider Programme".<sup>23</sup> Plans based on factual information incur minor difficulty in obtaining the necessary funds. The writer is not in a position to determine the appropriate time limit for this stage and will only suggest that one be adopted.

The speed at which the second stage will develop will be governed by the amount of financial resources made available

---

<sup>23</sup> Hugh Shaw, "Land Reform in Action", op. cit., p. 20.

and the results of the objective evaluation of accomplishments made during the first stage.<sup>24</sup> Primary efforts at expansion should be concentrated in a few selected areas, probably the more "prosperous" ones as implementation would be easier and results better advertised. Planners must also realize that they are not only planning for the present generation and must think in terms of generations in the future. For this reason the programme must be dynamic and continuously evaluated to measure progress and to determine what changes--especially those brought about by economic, social and cultural conditions--if any should be made. It must therefore make allowances for these issues.

The writer is convinced that plans for rural reconstruction aimed at curbing rural-urban migration need to give a more prominent place to basic urban factors than has been customary in the past--a past geared only to "land" improvement. An urban environment is not only inevitable but essential for, and helps to ensure, the continuation of the process of modernization being pursued by Jamaica as a developing country. There is little evidence to suggest that urbanization can be controlled, especially by searching for alternatives to urban growth

---

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

in rural areas. Consequently, it seems more strategic to accept the existence of long-run trends of urbanization and to work effectively within them.

Jamaica, however, has not got the resources to build "Brasiliias" but a balance can be made and maintained between rural and urban development through the "rurbanization" process. Consequently the most suitable villages from the locational standpoint and other criteria should be made the focus of attention and investment. These, the writer believes, would provide the built-in stimulus needed in rural Jamaica to lift the status of the peasant and to control rural-urban migration.

Planning through these "rurban" centres is ambitious and new but in the words of Shaw and Singham,<sup>25</sup> "Government and people must be willing to make unprecedented changes and adjustments in all phases of our national and economic life--changes designed to facilitate and stimulate production and ensure social harmony. If, on the other hand, the demands of nationalism and self-sustained development are ignored or insufficiently met, under the conditions of the rising expectations of the majority of the population for a better life, forces of an unplanned and undesirable

---

<sup>25</sup> Hugh Shaw and Nancy Singham, "Land Reform: Lessons from Other Countries as a Basis for Formulating a Policy for Jamaica, Division of Economics and Statistics" (Paper prepared for the Agricultural Planning Committee in the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, Jamaica, December, 1961), pp. 5-6.

character are likely to build up in the society, which, in their unconscious movement towards a solution of their problem, might create such havoc as will be difficult to repair. Often with regard to changes necessary in the agrarian organization, the choice lies between effecting these changes while the situation is still under control through peaceful democratic processes, and allowing the changes to be attempted ultimately via the distasteful method of violent physical revolution and anarchy."

### Summary

To date, agricultural programmes in Jamaica have not resulted in any rural reconstruction which would assist in stabilizing rural-urban migration. There is, therefore, a need for radically new approaches to bridge the gap between the modern urban areas and the traditional rural areas. Planning therefore becomes vital and ambitious as only an ambitious programme will be capable of arresting the flow of population to the urban areas.

So far, solutions have centred around narrowing the disparity in the national income structure and the location of agro-industries in the rural areas. These remedies have serious drawbacks as the local environment as it now exists places manifold obstacles in the way of incorporating the rural areas into a process of industrial growth. Thus, before these schemes can be implemented, there is an urgent need for the underlying determinants of social life and

social institution and the general provision of adequate amenities and services to be supplied in the rural areas.

The author believes that a possible solution at this time is to devise a system leading to the "rurbanization" of rural Jamaica. The point is that the basic services and amenities which have become a normal feature of everyday urban living would be provided and concentrated in the existing villages. The concept of "rurbanization" cannot be applied to all rural settlement areas in Jamaica as the programme demands concentrations of people.

Decision guiding the selection of villages must be based on specific information relating to: size, topography, accessibility, water resources, existing agriculture in the area, marketing possibilities and existing economic and social services. Villages rating high in these aspects would be the ones most likely to be selected but there must also be a conscious aim to disperse them in a meaningful and integrated manner over the island. For best results, the island should be divided into regions based not on geographic boundaries but on functional areas dictated by the scope of whatever project is to be undertaken.

Planning for these "rurban" centres through this integrated framework should be done by the Town Planning Department. It is already charged with the power of both town and country planning. However, of necessity the department must be given certain terms of reference. It is

suggested that the programme be carried out in two stages:

1. the investigation and pilot stage, and
2. the expansion stage.

The writer is convinced that plans for rural reconstruction aimed at curbing rural-urban migration need to give a more prominent place to basic urban factors than has been customary in the past. Planning through an integrated framework of "rurban" centres provides a solution for Jamaica.

## CHAPTER 6

### IMPLICATIONS OF THE HYPOTHESIS FOR DEVELOPING REGIONS

Although the study pertained to rural-urban migration in Jamaica, it is by no means an atypical case; in fact the movement is characteristic of other rural-urban migrations taking place in other developing regions as stated in the hypothesis of the study. And because of its number and importance, it is unquestionably among the most striking demographic features of the urban areas of these regions.

The development process is the main factor in rural-urban migration. Economic and social developments are unequally distributed in developing regions, more so than in developed ones<sup>1</sup> and this creates a more critical problem in the former. Normally the role of migration is the achievement of a better distribution of population in relation to resources, and economic and social opportunities. However, in developing regions the rate and volume of rural-urban migration far exceed the current absorptive capacities of its principal cities, thus creating widespread under-employment and serious housing, education and other social

---

<sup>1</sup> Glen Beyer, op. cit., p. 75.

problems.<sup>2</sup>

Urban concentration in the developing regions such as in Jamaica is less the result of economic development "pulling" rural population into cities and more the result of the "push" of the "troubled" rural areas.<sup>3</sup> There are only a few primitive areas which have remained completely apart from the impact of modernization. Most have had a taste of modern life without any attempts being made towards rural reconstruction. And once this impact has been felt, no one can really be astonished that people leave their rural dwellings.

The rapid rate of urbanization created by this exodus in the developing regions leads to suggestions to the effect that it should be slowed down substantially. But as was previously stated, there is little past or present evidence indicating that any society has been effective in regulating or controlling its rate of urbanization. In a like manner, with the exception of some crude measures on a racial basis, no Government, of whatever political structure has succeeded in controlling "spontaneous" rural-urban migration by direct measures.

The answer to the problem in developing regions is to accept the existence of long-run trends in urbanization and to try to work within them rather than against them.

---

<sup>2</sup> Louis J. Ducoff, op. cit., p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Philip M. Hauser, "Population and Labour Force Resources as Factors in Economic Development", United Nations Conference on Population, p. 1 (Mimeographed).

Consequently, instead of viewing the process from a negative point of view, it should be seen as a built-in stimulus or challenge to social change.<sup>4</sup> The basic shift to urban life is the core process of modernization--a state all developing regions are trying to achieve.

Resettlement schemes often thought of as a solution to migration have now demonstrated that they need some sort of urban area for their success.<sup>5</sup> In fact these schemes have fallen short of their aim.

"The settlement of new areas appears to have been pushed almost to the limit that is practicable with present technology and only in certain countries (for example, Brazil, Soviet Union, Chinese Mainland, Sub-Saharan Africa) is the frontier phase of population redistribution still extant. Even in these areas, urbanization has gained ascendancy over land settlement."<sup>6</sup>

This substantiates the fact that rural plans in developing regions should emphasize urban factors no matter how modest they may be. And, as was stated earlier in this chapter, urbanization is essential for the successful modernization or westernization of the developing regions.

Thus an inter-relation between rural and urban development has to be taken into account so that the urbanization process will assist in bridging the gap between the "backward"

---

<sup>4</sup> Glen Beyer, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> Glen Beyer, op. cit., p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> United Nations, Proceedings of the World Population Conference (E/CONF.41/1-3), 1966, p. 24.

rural areas and the modern urban localities. If such a gap is not filled, it could create serious repercussions on the urban sector. For example, the undeveloped rural areas will not be able to provide a market for urban goods and consequently will not stimulate greater productivity in the industrial sector that would attract more investment and create more jobs.<sup>7</sup> In short, steps taken to improve rural living conditions will benefit urban areas<sup>8</sup> and consequently qualities of urban living have to be viewed as part of a national problem and not merely from the "urban" point of view.

Governments in these developing regions must of necessity frame policies for rural reconstruction similar to that proposed for Jamaica which give prominence to urban factors. The writer does not envisage full scale new towns as resources in these regions are very limited, but rather a "rurbanization" of the rural areas whereby urban facilities and functions are introduced which are accepted as normal features of daily living. An integrated provision of many kinds of services in "rurban" centres would definitely assist in raising levels of living of rural people. However, as in Jamaica, the fact that these functions require a minimum of people in one conglomeration

---

<sup>7</sup> Glen Beyer, op. cit., p. 110.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 110.

cannot be ignored. The author cannot state the size of these "rurban" centres or the facilities to be included. Rural needs for different countries cannot be met by any universal policy and this can be stated with confidence. The widely differing types of rural settlement, stages of development of regions and availability of capital, for example, demand differing and flexible strategies that will depend on an intimate acquaintance with local ~~situations~~.<sup>9</sup> For example, the kinds of facilities to be built should ideally be adjusted to the conditions that prompt migration from the area in question. But in view of the overall scarcity of resources, like Jamaica, it is not realistic to plan for a significant expansion of services and amenities in all rural areas during the same period.<sup>10</sup> General principles for distributional strategy must be developed and established.

The major rural problems cannot be solved by localized planning nor is it only a matter of urban planning.

"It is also a matter of national planning in which social policies should be joined with economic and physical policies in a geographical strategy of development."<sup>11</sup>

As the "primitive" rural areas are the "pushing" zones, the

---

<sup>9</sup> Marshal Wolfe, op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>10</sup> United Nations, 1968, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

towns attracting ones and the shanty-towns the danger signs of over-migration, developing regions and other areas with similar situations must deepen their analysis of these areas. Studies should begin to take notice of environmental and human factors in the process of rural-urban migration and not merely stop at movement "per se" of the people. These studies will provide the background needed for planning, for if the regions want development it is doubtful whether they can afford to maintain agrarian workers in their present state of poverty and economic and social non-participation. A progressively more vocal agrarian class makes it unlikely that the regions can stave off rural reconstruction much longer.

### Summary

The concept suggested in this thesis can be applied to other developing regions as the movement is characteristic of rural-urban migration in those areas. But there is no universally detailed policy that can be transplanted from one region to another. The widely differing types of rural settlement, the stage of development of regions and availability of capital, for example, demand differing and flexible strategies that will depend on an intimate acquaintance with local situations.

An urban environment is not only inevitable but essential

for and helps to ensure the process of modernization being pursued by developing regions. There is little evidence to suggest that urbanization can be controlled and consequently it seems more strategic to accept its long-run trends and to work effectively within them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## LATIN AMERICA

### Books

Beyer, Glen H., ed., The Urban Explosion in Latin America.  
Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967.

Breese, Gerald W. Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries.  
Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966.

Cole, J. P. Latin America, an Economic and Social Geography.  
Washington: Butterworths, 1965.

Dorselaer, Jaime and Gregory, Alfonso. La Urbanizacion en America Latina.  
Fiburgoy Bogota: Centro Internacional de Investigaciones Sociales de Feres, 1962.

Hauser, Philip. Urbanization in Latin America. Paris:  
UNESCO, 1961.

Herrick, Bruce H. Urban Migration and Economic Development in Chile.  
Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1965.

Hirschman, Albert O. Journey toward Progress. New York:  
Twentieth Century Fund, 1963.

Mar, Jose Matos. Urbanizacion y Barriadas en America del Sur.  
Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1968.

Morse, R. M. "Latin American Cities: Aspects of Function and Structure". Regional Development and Planning.  
Edited by J. Friedman and W. Alonso. Cambridge, Mass., 1964.

Smith, Thomas Lynn. Latin American Population Studies.  
Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960.

Thiesenhusen, William C. Chile's Experiments in Agrarian Reform. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966.

Veliz, Claudio. Obstacles to Change in Latin America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.

### Articles and Reports

Bradfield, S. "Some Occupational Aspects of Migration". Economic Development and Cultural Change, XIV (October, 1965), 61-70.

Browning, Harley L. "Recent Trends in Latin American Urbanization". Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCXVI (March, 1958), 111-120.

Charlesworth, James C., ed. "Latin America Tomorrow". Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLX (July, 1965).

Davis, Kingsley and Casis, Ana. "Urbanization in Latin America". Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXIV (April and July, 1946), pp. 186-207; 292-313.

Ducoff, Louis J., ed. "The Role of Migration in the Demographic Development of Latin America". Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XLIII, Part 2 (October, 1965).

Fischlowitz, Estanislao. "Driving Forces in Internal Migration in Brazil". Migration News, XIV (November/December, 1965), 1-9; XV (January/February, 1966), 10-13.

Horowitz, Irving L. "Electoral Politics, Urbanization and Social Development in Latin America". Urban Affairs Quarterly, II (March, 1967), 3-35.

MacDonald, L. D., and MacDonald, J. S. "Motives and Objectives of Migration". Social and Economic Studies, XVII (December, 1968), 417-434.

Morse, Richard. "Recent Research in Latin American Urbanization". Latin America Research Review, I (Fall, 1965), 35-74.

Powelson, John F. and Solow, A. A. "Urban and Rural Development in Latin America". Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLX (July, 1965), 48-61.

Smith, T. Lynn. "Un analisis, comparativo de la migracion rural-urbana en Latinoamerica". Estadistica, XVI (December, 1958), 436-453.

United Nations. Conference on Population. Proceedings of the World Population Conference (E/CONF.41/4); (E/CONF.41/5), 1965.

United Nations. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 1957 Report on the World Social Situation (E/CN.5/324/Rev.1), 1957.

United Nations. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 1963 Report on the World Social Situation (E/CN.5/375/Rev.1), 1963.

United Nations. Economic Commission for Latin America, 9th Session, Santiago, Chile. Preliminary Study of the Demographic Situation in Latin America (E/CN.12/604), May, 1961.

United Nations. Economic Commission for Latin America. Rural Settlement Patterns and Social Change in Latin America. Economic Bulletin for Latin America, X (March, 1965), 1-21.

United Nations. International Social Development Review, No. 1. Urbanization: development policies and planning (ST/SOA/Ser X/1), 1968.

Wolfe, Marshal. "Rural Settlement Pattern and Social Change in Latin America: Notes for a Strategy of Rural Development". Latin American Research Review, I (Spring, 1966), 17-43.

Wolfe, Marshal. "Some Implications of Recent Changes in Urban and Rural Settlement Patterns in Latin America". Ekistics, XXI (January, 1966), 28-31.

## JAMAICA

### Books

Abrahams, Peter. Jamaica, an island mosaic. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957.

Bent, R. M. and Bent-Golding, Enid L. A Complete Geography of Jamaica. London and Glasgow: Collins, 1966.

Carley, Mary Manning. Jamaica: The Old and the New. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1963.

Curtin, Philip D. Two Jamaicas. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955.

Eisner, Gisela. Jamaica, 1830-1930: a study in economic growth. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The Economic Development of Jamaica. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1952.

Macmillan, Mona. The Land of Look Behind. London: Faber and Faber, 1957.

Norris, Katrin. Jamaica, the Search for an Identity. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Olivier, Lord. Jamaica; the blessed Island. London: Faber, 1936.

Roberts, W. G. The Population of Jamaica. London: Cambridge University Press, 1957.

## Articles and Reports

Abt, \_\_\_\_\_ and Shaw, Hugh. "Proposed Procedure in the Planning of Land Settlement under the Land Reform Programme", Kingston, n.d. (Mimeographed).

Adams, Nassau A. "Internal Migration in Jamaica: An Economic Analysis". Social and Economic Studies, 18 (June, 1969), 137-151.

Agricultural Policy Committee of Jamaica 1945. Special Report. Land Settlement. Kingston; Jamaica: Government Printer, 1945.

"Agriculture", paper found in Jamaica Town Planning Department Files, n.d. (mimeographed).

"Basic Defects of Jamaican Agriculture", paper found in Jamaica Town Planning Department Files, n.d. (mimeographed).

Chief Technical Officer, Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. "Background to Jamaican Agriculture". Address delivered at the Mona Campus of the University of the West Indies to Visiting Students from the University of West Indies, College of Agriculture, St. Augustine, Trinidad, n.d. (mimeographed).

Cumper, G. E. "Labour Demand and Supply in the Jamaican Sugar Industry 1830-1950". Social and Economic Studies, II (March 1954).

Cumper, G. E. "Population Movements in Jamaica, 1830-1950". Social and Economic Studies, 5 (September, 1956), 261-280.

The Daily Gleaner. The Doxey Report, October 18, 1969.

Dumont, Rene. Planning Agricultural Development. Report to the Government of Jamaica, Rome: FAO of the United Nations, 1963.

Farm Reporter. "Land Authorities - whence and whither?".  
The Sunday Gleaner. (Kingston, July 20, 1969), p. 11.

Harris, R. N. and Steer, E. S. "Demographic-Resource Push  
in Rural Migration". Social and Economic Studies, 17  
(December, 1968), 398-406.

Jamaica Agricultural Society. Agriculture in the new  
Jamaican Economy. Kingston: Herald Ltd., 1964.

Jamaica Agricultural Society. The Farmer's Handbook with  
Directory. Kingston: Jamaica Agricultural Society,  
1961.

Jamaica. Central Planning Unit. Economic Survey: Jamaica,  
1964. Kingston: The Government Printer, 1964.

Jamaica. Central Planning Unit. Economic Survey: Jamaica,  
1968. Kingston: The Government Printer, 1968.

Jamaica. Department of Statistics. Annual Abstract of  
Statistics, 1967. Kingston: The Government Printer,  
1967.

Jamaica. Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. Agricultural  
Development Programme. Series No. 1. Kingston: City  
Printery Ltd., n.d.

Jamaica. Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. The Agricultural  
Development Programme, 1960-1965. Ministry Paper No.  
42. Kingston: The Government Printer, 1960.

Jamaica. Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. Agricultural  
Development Since 1938 and the Programme for 1955-1960.  
Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1954.

Jamaica. Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. Lands Depart-  
ment, 1938-1967. n.p., August, 1968.

Jamaica. Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. "Priorities in Agricultural Research for Jamaica", Hope, June 19, 1965. (Mimeographed).

Jamaica. Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, Division of Economics and Statistics. "Land Reform in Jamaica with Emphasis on Land Settlement", Hope, October, 1962, (mimeographed).

Jamaica. Ministry of Development and Welfare. Five-year Independence Plan, 1963-1968: a long term development programme for Jamaica. Kingston: Ministry of Development and Welfare, 1963.

Jamaica Industrial Development Corporation. Annual Report, 1962-1963. Kingston: Jamaica Industrial Development Corporation, 1963.

Jamaica Industrial Development Corporation. Annual Report, 1966-1967. Kingston: Jamaica Industrial Development Corporation, 1967.

Jamaica, Social Development Commission. Annual Report of the Social Development Commission for the Financial Year ending 31st March, 1966. Kingston: The Government Printer, 1966.

Kirkwood, Robert. A Farm Production Policy for Jamaica. Kingston: Sugar Manufacturers of Jamaica, 1968.

Kruijer, G. J. Sociological Report on the Christiana Area. Kingston: The Agricultural Information Service, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1969.

Lefvert, P. O. "An Inventory and Classification of Urban Settlement in Jamaica". Vol. I-IV. Jamaica: Town Planning Dept., United Nations Special Fund Project, October 3, 1968 (Mimeographed).

Lewis, W. A. "Issues in Land Settlement Policy". Caribbean Economic Review, III (October, 1951).

McFarlane, Rosley; Singham, Nancy; and Johnson, Irving.  
 "Agricultural Planning in Jamaica". Paper prepared  
 for the Third Agricultural Economics Conference,  
 University of the West Indies, Mona, April 1-6, 1968.

Mullings, F. A. R. "Administrative Aspects of Planning in  
 Jamaica", Paper presented at the United Nations Economic  
 and Social Council Seminar on Administrative Aspects  
 of Plan Implementation, Santiago, Chile, 19-28 Feb-  
 ruary, 1968.

"The Need for Crop Zoning in Jamaican Agriculture", Part I,  
 Paper found in Ministry of Agriculture and Lands Files,  
 n.d. (Mimeographed).

Paget, Hugh. "The Free Village System in Jamaica". Caribbean  
 Quarterly, 1 (March, 1964), 7-19.

Public Administration Division of the United Nations. "Some  
 Aspects of Administration of Projects within the Context  
 of Development Planning", Paper presented at the  
 United Nations Economic and Social Council Seminar on  
 Administrative Aspects of Plan Implementation, Santiago,  
 Chile, 19-28, February, 1968,

Report of the Agricultural Policy Committee of Jamaica 1945.  
 Kingston: The Government Printer, 1945.

Shaw, Hugh. "Basic Considerations in Planning the Devel-  
 - opment of the Jamaican Agriculture", Kingston, May 25,  
 1969 (Mimeographed).

Shaw, Hugh. "Land Reform in Action", Kingston, 1964.  
 (Mimeographed).

Shaw, Hugh. "Planning Land Use in Jamaica". Kingston,  
 April, 1968. (Mimeographed).

Shaw, Hugh. "Some Basic Problems of Jamaican Agriculture  
 with Implications for Changes in Development Policy".  
 Kingston, February 13, 1968. (Mimeographed).

Shaw, Hugh and Singham, Nancy. "Land Reform: Lessons from other Countries as a Basis for Formulating a Policy for Jamaica". Paper prepared for the Agricultural Planning Committee in the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, Jamaica, December, 1961.

Smith, M. G. "Community Organization in Rural Jamaica". Social and Economic Studies, 5 (September, 1956), 295-314.

Smith, M. G. "Educational and Occupational Choice in Jamaica". Social and Economic Studies, 9 (September, 1960), 332-354.

Smith, M. G. A Report on Labour Supply in Rural Jamaica. Kingston: Government Printer, 1956.

Technical Committee on Land Reform. First Interim Report of the Technical Committee on Land Reform, Jamaica: Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, 12th August, 1964.

Tekse, Kalman. Internal Migration in Jamaica. Kingston: Department of Statistics, April, 1967.

Walters, Norma. "Land Settlement Schemes in Jamaica". Unpublished M.A. dissertation, McGill University, 1966.