MIGRATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW STATE CAPITALS OF NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF MAKURDI, BENUE STATE

BY

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This Thesis is presented for the award, of Masters of Arts (Geography)

of

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Thesis has been prepared by myself and that it is a record of my own research work. It has not been accepted in any previous application for Higher Degree. All quotations are distinguished by quotation marks and the sources of information are specifically acknowledged by means of references.

PAUL UHIENE IYAJI

24 February, 1984.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

This work has dragged for years primarily because of the problem of data and the abrupt resignation of my first Supervisor, Dr. A.K. Nedugbon from the services of Ahmadu Bello University.

During the period I have received encouragement and help from numerous sources that it is difficult to mention all. I am particularly grateful to my wife Florence without whose encouragement I might have given up. To Godwin Oguche and Dr. Jonah Aba who kept urging me on.

I would like to specially acknowledge the contribution of my two Supervisors, Dr. J.M. Baba and Dr. D.O. Ogbonna for their patience and suggestions.

I have no regrets for the delay, for the delay has taught me so many things about patience.

A B S T R A C T

The study is an attempt to look at the effect of creation of states both on the changing spatial patterns of population movements, and the development of the new state capitals and the entire country. Prior to the creation of states in 1967 and 1976, migration was towards the Federal Capital teritory, Regional Capitals ana the few industrial and commercial centres around them.

The creation of states in 1967 and 1976, has created other attractive urban areas for migrants both from the rural areas and other urban areas. Apart from being the administrative centres, the new state capitals are emerging as the industrial and commercial centres within the states. Due to the opportunities created in the administrative, industrial and commercial establishments, the new states capitals have become attractive destinations for migrants.

The influx of migrants and the enormous private and public investments in the new state capitals have increased the rate of socio-economic development. Apart from the effect of the expenditure patterns of the migrants on the economic activity in the urban areas, their movement also involves movement of capital to these urban areas. The capital has been invested in various socio-economic ventures in the urban areas.

Thus, the general level of socio-economic activity has increased.

In addition to the effect of creation of states on the changing spatial patterns of population movement it is a step foward towards equitable spatial development of the country.

C O N T E N T S

Declaration I

Acknowledgement II

Abstract III

List of Content V

List of Tables VIII

List of Figures X

CHAPTER:

1 - Introduction 1

1 - 1 Historical background 1

1 - 2 Location of the study 3

1 - 3 The Growth of Makurdi 5

1 - 4 Statement of the problem 12

1 - 5 Research Objective 14

1 - 6 Methodology 14

1 - 7 Sampling 15

2 - Review of Literature 22

2 - 1 Characteristics of Migrants 23

2 - 2 Migration and Motivation 26

2 - 3 Migration and Development 31

2 - 4 Theoretical Model of Migration 35

2 - 4 - 1 Migration and Distance 35

2 - 4 - 2 Decision to Migrate 38

2 - 4 - 3 Cost - Benefit Model 43

2 - 5 Theoretical Consideration 45

C O N T E N T Contd.

CHAPTER:

3 - The Changing Spatial Patterns of Population Movement 58

3 - 1 Population Movement Associated with Pre-Colonial Era 59

3 - 2 Population Movements Associated with Colonial Era 61

3 - 3 Population Movements Associated with Post Colonial Era 67

3 - 4 Population Movements Associated with Creation of New States 72

3 - 5 Migration into the New State Capital 77

3 - 5 - 1 Volume of Migration 77

3 - 5 - 2 Origin and Direction of Migration 82

3 - 5 - 3 The Distance Factor 89

4 - Reasons for Migration Decision 101

4 - 1 Economic Factors 102

4 - 2 Non-Economic Factors 104

4 - 2 - 1 Education 104

4 - 2 - 2 Nearness to Natal Home 106

4 - 2 - 3 Friends and Relatives 108

4 - 2 - 4 Changes within the Migrant's Environment 111

5 - Characteristics of Migrants 119

5 - 1 Age 119

5 - 2 Sex 126

5 - 3 Education 128

C O N T E N T Contd.

CHAPTER:

5 - 4	Occupation	132
6 -	Migration and Development	138
6 - 1	Definition of Development	138
6 - 2	Industrialization	140
6 - 3	Housing	149
6 - 4	Electricity	151
6 - 5	Water Supply	152
6 - 6	Migration as a Catalyst in the Process of Socio-Economic Development	153
7 -	Summary and Conclusions	162
	Bibliography	175
	Appendix	193

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES:

1.	Population composition of Makurdi 1952 and 1982	66
2.	The Ten Northern States	76
3.	Migration into Makurdi	78
4.	Migration into Maiduguri	80
5.	Migration into Ilorin	80
6.	Migration into Maiduguri from then East-Central, Rivers and South-Eastern States	82
7.	Migration into Makurdi by States	83
8.	Origin of Migrants	88
9.	Migration and Distance to Last Residence	91
10.	Migration and Distance to parents Residence	92
11.	Distance travelled and level of Education	94
12.	Reasons for leaving former place	103
13.	Benefits from Migration	105
14.	Frequency of visit home per year	107
15.	Knowledge of job prior to migration	109
16.	Source of information	109
17.	Accommodation on first arrival	110
18.	Length of stay in place where first accommodated	112
19.	Age Distribution of sample Household Heads	121
20.	Age Distribution of sample Household members	122
21.	Sex Distribution of sample Household members	127
22.	Educational Characteristics of sample Household Heads	131
23.	Educational Characteristics	131
24.	Occupational status of sample household Heads	134
25.	Small-Scale Industrial loan scheme	143
26.	Small-Scale Industrial loan scheme	144

LIST OF TABLES (Contd)

TABLES

27.	Year Business was established	145
28.	Small-Scale Industrial establishments in Makurdi	146
29.	Electricity Consumption	152
30.	Percentage of annual income sent home	156

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE:		PAGE
1.	Development of railways in Nigeria	7
2.	Makurdi and the hinterland	9
3.	The state Capital	13
4.	Makurdi - Distribution of sample	18
5.	Origin and Destination Factors and Intervening Obstacles in Migration	40
6.	Migration Routes to Makurdi during colonial period	64
7.	Nigeria: Industrial and Commercial zones	70
8.	Migration into Kaduna	71
9.	Migration into Zaria	73
10.	Migration into Makurdi	84
11.	Age Distribution of sample Household Heads	120
12.	Educational Characteristics of sample Household Heads	129
13.	Occupational Status of sample Household Heads	133

CHAPTER ONE

I N T R O D U C T I O N

1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The evoluation of Nigeria as a country with its external boundries and internal administrative structure has been a product of complex inter-action between political, historical, and ethnic factors over the years.

The history of the internal administrative structure of the country can be traced to 1900 when the British colonial government took control of the territories of the Royal Niger Company. By 1906, there were two groups of provinces under the British control namely: the provinces comprising the protectorate of Northern Nigeria; and the provinces comprising the colony and the protectorate of Southern Nigeria.

When Nigeria was amalgamated in 1914, the old administrative units of the then Northern Nigeria protectorate and the colony and the protectorate of Southern Nigeria was maintained. The provincial system of administration was based on the groups of provinces formerly comprising the protectorate of Northern Nigeria and the colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria.

In 1951, the provinces were grouped into Regions namely: the Northern, Eastern and Western Regions. The minorities within each of these regions started demanding for regions of their own as early as 1954. These demands led to setting up of Willinks Commission in 1957 to look

into the fears of the minorities. The Commission did not recommend the creation of regions but due to the persistent demands of the minority, a provision was made in the constitution of Nigeria, setting out conditions for creating new regions. Under these provisions the Mid-Western Region was created in 1963, thus bringing to four, the number of regions in the Federation of Nigeria.[1]

In May 1967, during the National Crisis that resulted in the civil war, Nigeria was divided into twelve administrative units, called states. There was a further re-division in 1976 bringing to nineteen the number of such administrative units - States-in the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The demand for the creation of more administrative units from the existing ones has continued and it is expected that more would be created in the future.

One of the factors which has encouraged the demand for more administrative units is the spatial pattern of development. The spatial pattern of colonial economy which was continued after independence was such that the capital cities were favoured in the provision of socio-economic infrastructural facilities like roads, electricity and water supply. As the administrative, commercial and industrial centres, the capital cities usually emerge as centres of development favoured in the provision of socio-economic facilities and centres where exist employment opportunities in the administrative, industrial and commercial establishments.

In contrast to these developing centres, were the rural areas and medium-sized urban centres[2] which were either stagnating or declining[3]. Consquently there was influx of migrants from rural areas and the medium-sized urban areas into the developing areas. The migrants were usually the school leavers and the semi-skilled workers.

There is evidence that the creation of states in 1967 and 1976 has affected this pattern of migration and development. The decentralization of power means creating several administrative capitals for the new states. The new state capitals seem to be emerging not only as centres of administration but also as areas of concentration of socio-economic activities within the states. The phenomenal growth of the medium-sized urban centres that became the state capitals within the last two decades is gradually modifying the spatial patterns of migration and development in Nigeria.

1.2 LOCATION OF THE STUDY.

Makurdi, capital of Benue State, lies roughly on Latitude 7^0 North and Longitude $8\frac{1}{2}^0$ East and is sited on the banks of the Benue River on cretaceous sediments of marine to fluviodeltatic origin. The coastal sediments are predominatly shales, limestone and well-bedded sandstone while inland are coarse grained feldspathic sandstones[4].

Located in a fertile land in the Guinea Savanna region, Makurdi experiences tropical climate characterised by the rain bearing Westerly winds from the coast of the Gulf of Guinea between April and October, and by the North-Easterly harmattan winds during the dry season between November and March. Makurdi experiences monthly average Temperature Maxima of 95° - 100°F and minima of 65° - 70°F. Makurdi is located within the 'frontier' region[5] where grain economy is the dominant farming activity.

Makurdi, located on the banks of River Benue, on the main road and rail link between the Northern and Eastern parts of Nigeria, and forming the node of feeder roads linking the hinterland with the major road and rail line, controls the gate way between the Northern and Eastern parts of Nigeria.

1.3 THE GROWTH OF MAKURDI.

Makurdi's growth and structure owe much to factors associated with its location. Prior to the construction of the road and rail lines, Makurdi functioned as an important inland port for Hausa traders from the North, the Jukuns from the headwaters of Benue River; the Nupe from the Southern water of Benue and the Tiv in the hinterland. As early as 1934 various European trading companies like United Africa Company (U.A.C.) and John Holt Established Trading Stations on the Banks of River Benue at Makurdi

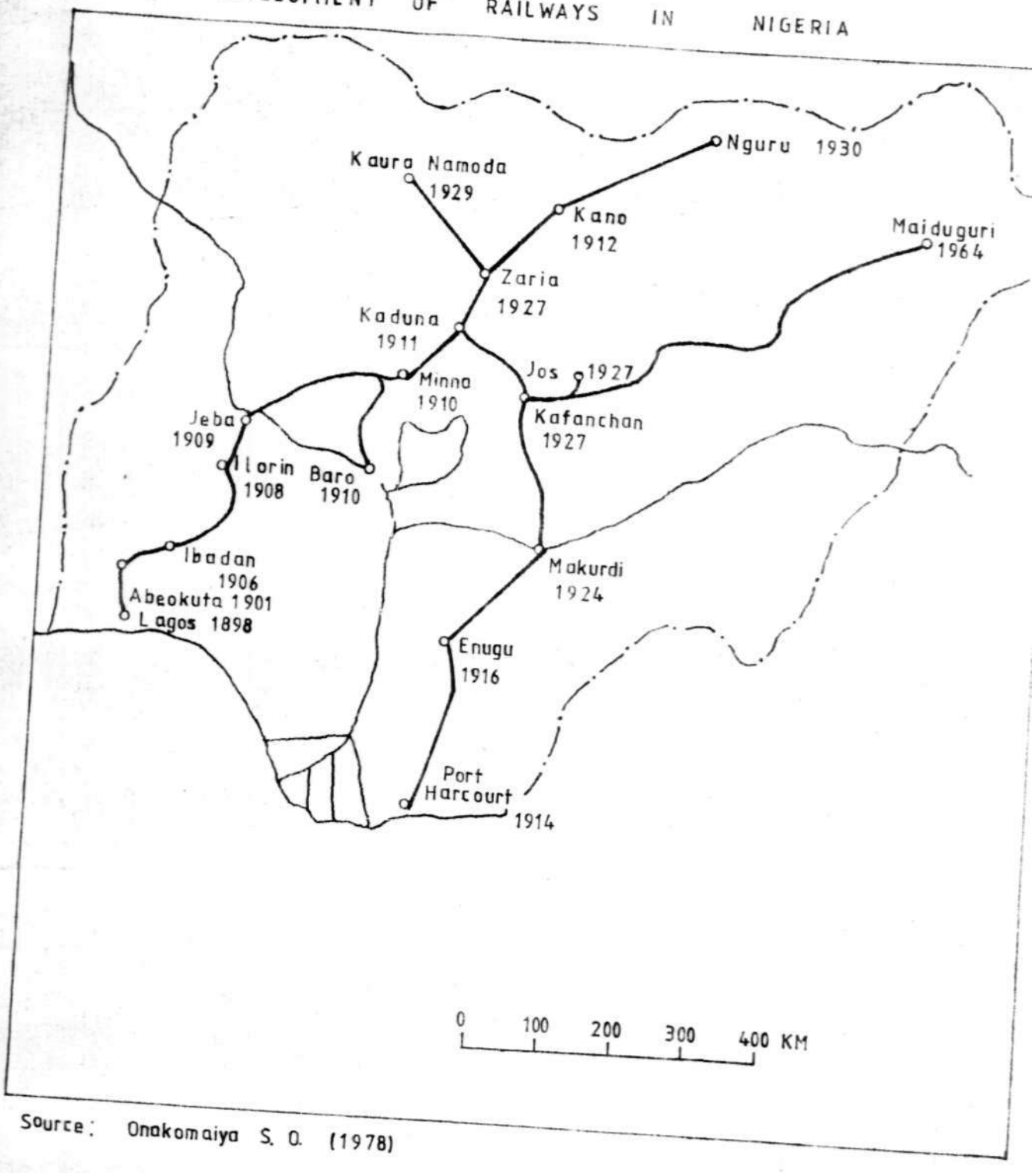
which became an important collection and distribution centre.[6]

Makurdi was a trading settlement established on the Bank of River Benue probably in the later part of the 19th century by Hausa traders. Makurdi probably got its name from the Hausa word "Makurdi", which means channel, and describes a narrow crossing point on the Banks of River Benue where the present site of Makurdi is located.[7] It is believed that the earliest settlement established in the area was a Hausa settlement on the bank of River Benue which was used as a trading post. Here Hausa traders from the North, the Jukuns from the headwaters of the Benue, the Nupes from the Southern waters of the Benue and Tivs from the Southern Tivland met and traded in cattle, fish, textile materials and other commodities.

With the expanding economic activity and flourishing trade, some of the traders decided to settle around the trading posts. The migrant population consisted mainly the Hausas, Nupes, and Jukuns. A small Tiv settlement was reported within the vicinity of the trading settlement, but until the Tiv riot in 1964, Makurdi was ruled by a "Sarki", the Hausa ruler.

The extension of the Port Harcourt - Enugu rail line to Makurdi in 1924 and to Kaduna and Jos in 1927 (see fig 1) and the subsequent building of railway station and railway staff quarters greatly accelerated the immigration and population growth rate of Makurdi. The initial

FIG. 1 DEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAYS IN NIGERIA



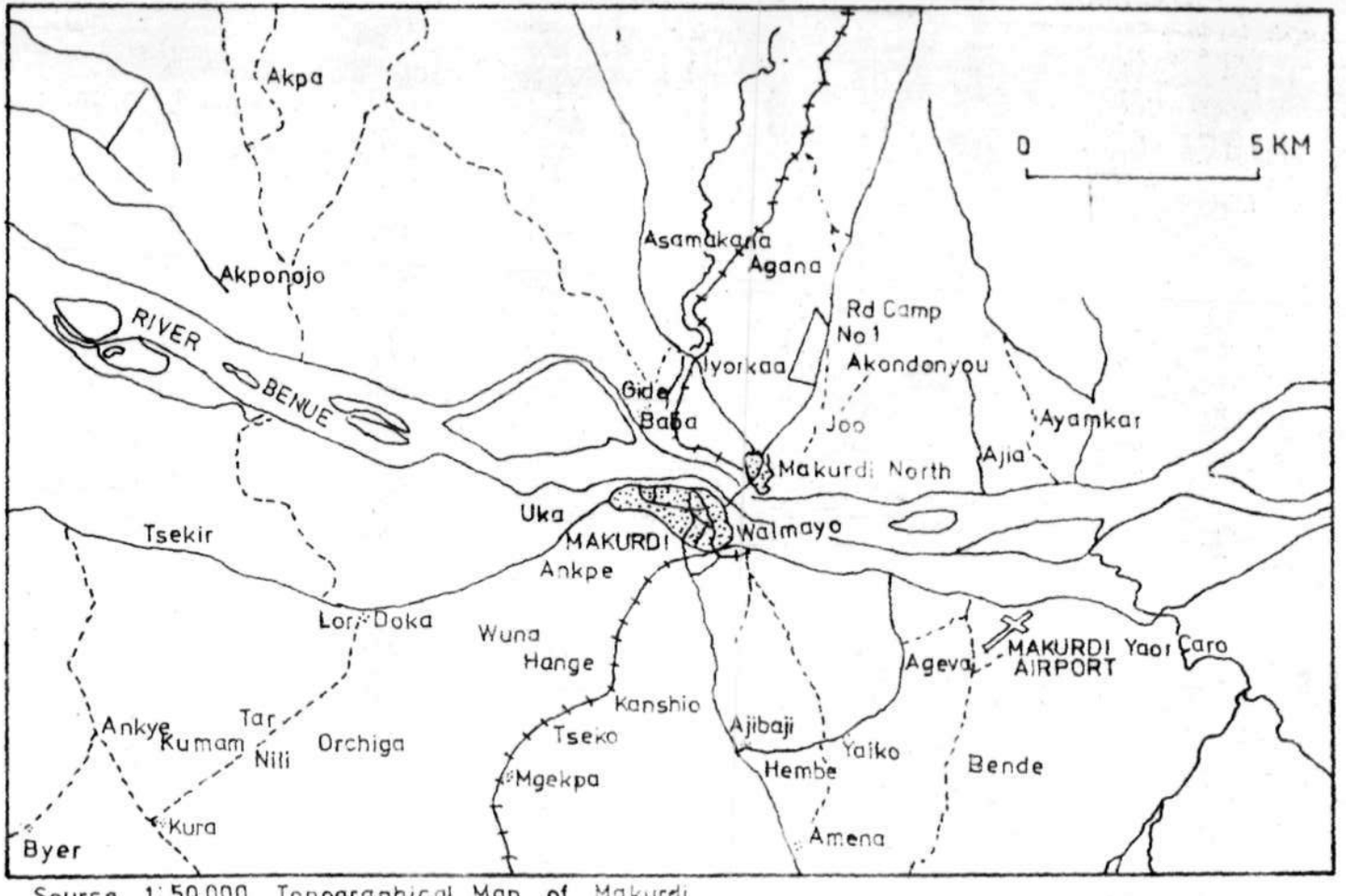
Source: Onakomaiya S. O. (1978)

immigrants were people connected with the rail construction or the operation of the railway and their dependants. The ethnic composition was mainly Ibo. The job opportunities created by rail construction and the expanding trade led to the immigration of traders, semi-skilled labourers and other jobs seekers who came in search of employment either in the railway construction industry or to trade in the emerging commercial centre.

The structural impact of the immigration on the growth of the town was the establishment of railway staff quarters and railway station which prompted the establishment of new settlements around the railway staff quarters and railway station. The present day Wulamayo East owes its origin to the establishment of a railway station and railway staff quarters in this area.

By 1926 Makurdi had developed to become the largest settlement within the Benue valley, and an important trading post due largely to its locational advantage of being linked with the hinterland by numerous roads and footpaths (see fig. 2). It is therefore not surprising that in 1926, the colonial administration which was looking for a strategic and centrally located capital for administrative convenience and ease of communication chose Makurdi as the administrative centre of the then newly created Benue Province. As pointed out by Ajaegbu[8] the establishment of new administrative centres in the colonial days was based on consideration of accessibility to the interior and suitable bases for

FIG. 2 MAKURDI AND ITS HINTERLANDS



Source 1:50,000 Topographical Map of Makurdi

the maintainance of law and order in the interior. Makurdi, located on the major road and rail line, and the bank of River Benue and being linked with the interior with numerous roads and footpaths provided such an ideal location.

As a provincial capital, Makurdi needs certain services and institutions. This led to provision of health facilities, prison, post-office, educational institutions and Nigeria Police Unit in addition to Native Authority Police Force. The institutions did stimulate migration and accelerated population growth rate.

Some of the impacts of provincial administration on the internal structure and growth of Makurdi was the building of clerks quarters and Government Residential Area (GRA) in Makurdi. When the junior workers quarters was established, other settlements quickly developed around it and the area was named clerks ward. In 1927 a large piece of land was marked out for the building of Government Residential Area to house the senior provincial officers. Government Residential Areas are typical of the post 1900 towns founded by colonial administration. As pointed out by Max Lock;[9] and Ajaegbu[10] the internal structure of these towns was "characterised by grid pattern street planning, some segregation in lay-out between European, Government high quality residential reservation and the largely low quality, African Residential Areas, an open or green belts... set between the reservation and the native areas...."[11]

Like many towns whose economic base was built on the colonial administration, Makurdi declined when the provincial administration was abolished.

Similarly the coup of January, 1966 and the counter coup of July, 1966 and the resultant exodus of Ibos from the Northern part of Nigeria had a severe impact of Makurdi like any other major town in Northern Nigeria. Prior to the exodus of the Ibos from Northern Nigeria in 1966, they were the largest ethnic group in Makurdi numbering about 5,370 out of a total population of 16,713 in the 1952 census. In addition, the Ibos dominated the social and economic life of Makurdi as they were the owners of major shops and service centres, owners of most of the residential houses and fleet of vehicles that plied the roads. They also constituted the bulk of the employees in most of the social service establishments like hospitals, the railway and the post office. Their sudden departure had severe impact on the socio-economic activity of Makurdi.

When the Nigerian civil war broke out in 1967, Makurdi with its strategic and locational advantages became the headquarters of the Second Division of the Nigerian Army. Despite the strain of the civil war and the stringent security measures enforced in Makurdi and other parts of the country during the civil war, the economic and social life of Makurdi continued to boom because of the concentration of soldiers in the town and the spending spree characteristic of the Nigerian Soldiers during the civil war.

Makurdi became the capital of the newly created Benue State in February, 1976, and since then it has been the administrative centre and area of concentration of social, infractructural and economic development. These have resulted in increased rate of immigration and population growth.

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

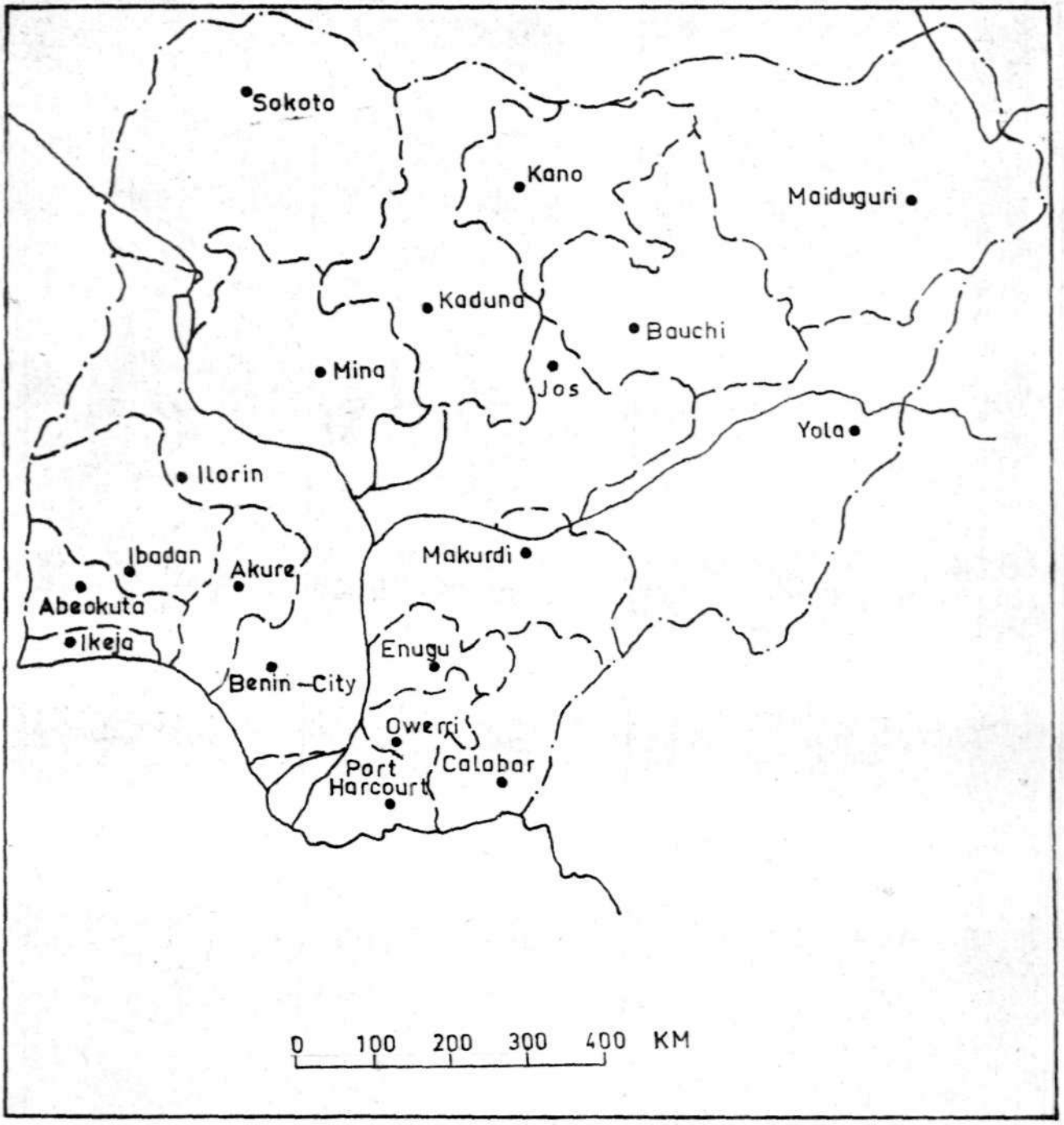
Studies of migration in Nigeria so far have tended to focus on the rural-rural migration[12] and migration into large urban centres[13], for instance, Lagos and Ibadan. Migration into the medium-sized urban areas has been given scanty attention. Previously this attitude could be justified on the ground that migration into the medium-sized urban centres was insignificant.

However, the administrative re-organization of the country in 1967 and 1976, has affected the spatial patterns of population movement within Nigeria. Particulary, the medium-sized urban centres that became the state capitals have since become important destination areas.

These medium-sized urban centres are Ilorin, Minna, Sokoto, Makurdi, Maiduguri, Yola, and Bauchi in the North; Ondo and Abeokuta, in the West; Owerri and Calabar in the East (see fig. 3).

With the decentralisation of administrative functions in 1967 and 1976, the new state capitals did not only become the administrative centres but also centres of expanding industrial and commercial activity

FIG. 3 STATE CAPITALS



with the concomitant expansion of employment opportunities. The changing spatial patterns of population movement has implications for the growth and development of the individual medium-sized urban centres that became the state capitals and for the emerging pattern of urban spatial system.

1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE.

To the best of the knowledge of the researcher no attempt has been made to study the current migration patterns resulting from the administrative re-organizations of the country since 1967 with all its implications for socio-economic development and the urban spatial system in the country.

The purpose of this research is to study the factors that are responsible for the changes in the recent spatial patterns of population movement especially population movement into the rapidly expanding medium-sized urban centres using one of the state capitals, Makurdi, as a case study.

1.6 M E T H O D O L O G Y.

The primary source of data was the survey carried out between April and July 1979. Data were collected on broad aspects of the city population using House-hold head as sampling unit. In case of the survey of retail and service establishments each retail and service establishments were

considered as a unit.

The first set of data was collected on a sample of House-holds as regards the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the household, involving questions relating to time when the household settled in Makurdi, reasons for migration, previcus residence, residence of parents frequency of visits home, and income.

Data were also collected from the retail and service establishments. Data was collected on time when the business was established,, type of business and reasons why the owner moved into Makurdi.

The purpose of the surveys and the data collected was to provide information on the migratory pattern into the new state capitals and the consequences of the influx of migrants on the new state capitals, examining particularly their impact in stimulating economic activity and development.

The secondary sources of data were the various governmen publications that have appeared between 1979 and 1982. The most important of these publications are: Benue State Industrial Directory (1980),[14] Benue State Industrial Development Plan 1981 - 85 (1981)[15] and the Benue State Urban Development Report (1982).[16]

1.7 SAMPLING.

One of the greatest impediments to research in Nigeria is not only the cost of organising large scale research surveys but also the lack of vital materials and relevant data.

Two census data were vailable for Makurdi, that is the 1952 census and the 1963 census. The 1952 population census put the population of Makurdi at 16,713 while the 1963 census put the population of Makurdi at 53,967, a growth of 223 per cent in eleven years, that is an annual growth rate of more than 11 per cent between 1952 and 1963. It is difficult to take the population figure on its face value as a basis for research analysis in the absence of any historical or other factors to explain such phenomenal growth in the towns population between 1952 and 1963. Infact the lack of employment opportunities and the drift into the central urban areas of Kaduna - Zaria - Kano from the peripheral areas of former Northern Region[17] is enough evidence to suggest a slower rate of immigration and a high rate of out-migration.

Moreover it is no longer possible to determine the census districts used in both 1952 and 1963 census because of the physical changes that have taken place in the growth of Makurdi since the end of the civil war and particularly since Makurdi became the capital of Benue State in 1976. The question of reliability of census data and delimitation of the census districts militate against the use of census data and census districts.

The researcher decided against the use of cluster sampling because of the fact that socio-economic groups

tend to agglomerate in their settlement patterns, for example high income earners tend to live in a different section of the town from low income earners. Secondly, migrants tend to reside where they have friends and relatives or where there is an established migrant community from their home or ethnic group.

On the other hand, multi-stage sampling was too expensive for the researcher while materials like large scale maps of the town and air photographs were not available.

Due to the constraints imposed by the available resources, data and materials, the researcher decided to choose single-stage random sampling. The housing units were chosen as sampling units and the plan was to interview all household heads in every tenth house in all the built-up areas throughout Makurdi, leaving out institutional living quarters such as hostels, boarding houses, prisons, Military and Police Barracks and the smaller settlements within the fringe of Makurdi that are gradually being absorbed into Makurdi town due to expansion. However Ankpa Quarters, Kwararafa, Government Reservation Areas (G.R.A.) and Lobi Quarters were included in the survey because they are not only government housing estates mainly for government employees, but there were also private housing units existing there before the government housing estates were located there. The geographic coverage of the sample survey included the whole of the

built-up area in both new and old parts of Makurdi, that is, Ankpa Ward, Central Ward, Clerks Wards, North Bank, North Mission, Wadata, Wulamayo, Government Reservation Area (GRA), Lobi Quarters, Kwararafa and High Level.

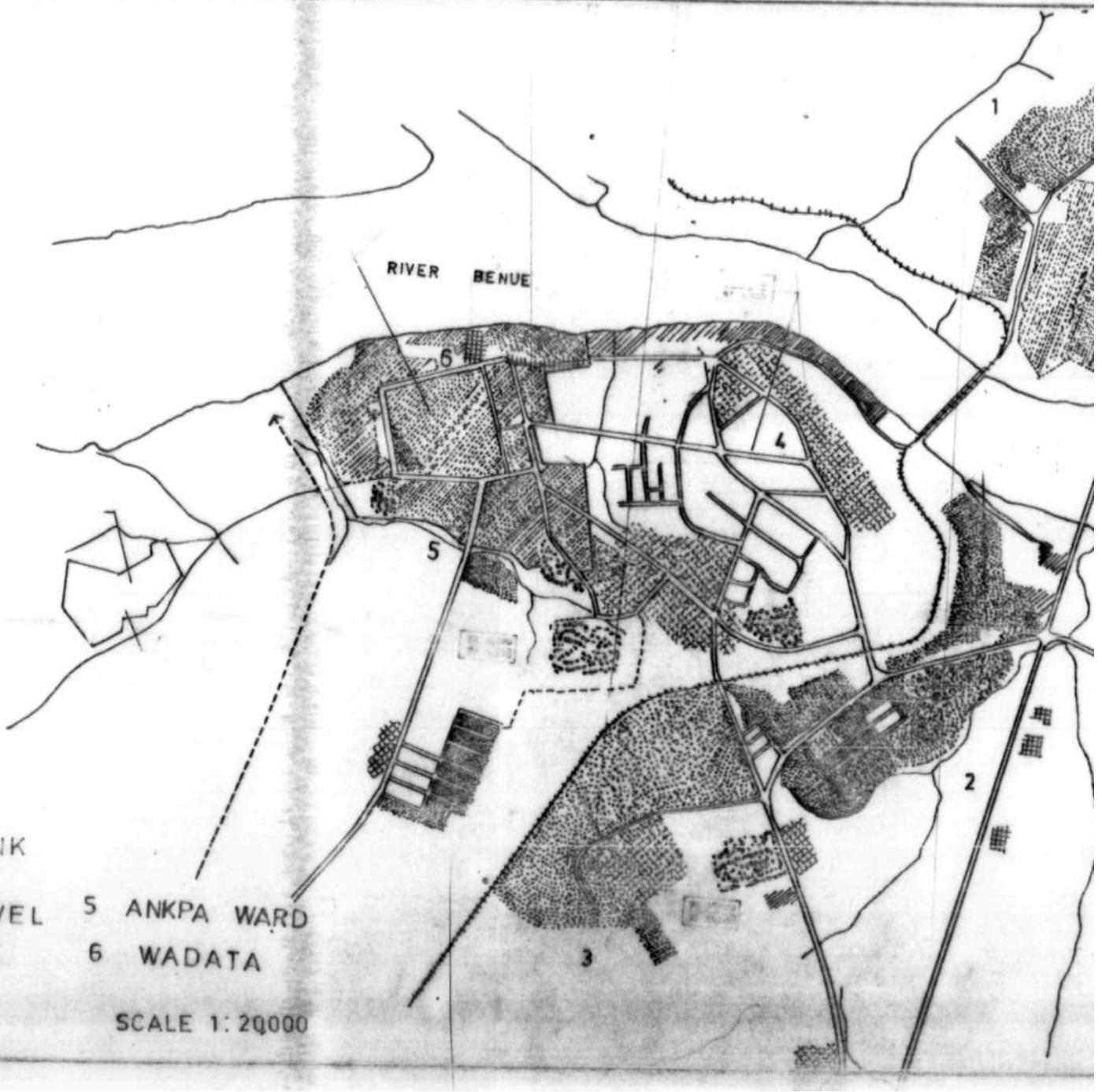
The distribution of the sample is as follows:-

1. North Bank 205,
2. Wurukum 168,
3. High Level 192,
4. G.R.A. 56,
5. Ankpa Ward 191 and
6. Wadata 193 (see fig 4).

In all 1005 household heads were enumerated in the survey. The population of these households was 5,829 persons, approximately 5.8 persons per household. It is estimated that the 1005 household heads represent about 10 per cent of the household heads living in the built-up areas.

FIG 4

MAKURDI



LEGEND

- HIGH DENSITY RESIDENTIAL
- MEDIUM DENSITY RESIDENTIAL
- LOW DENSITY RESIDENTIAL
- OPEN SPACE
- EDUCATIONAL
- COMMERCIAL
- INTITUTIONAL
- INDUSTRIAL

SZ143800
27,179200 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
Population
Year

1 NORTH BANK
2 WURUKUM
3 HIGH LEVEL
4 G.R.A.
5 ANKPA WARD
6 WADATA

SCALE 1: 20000

NOTES

1. Federal Republic of Nigeria (1976), Government views on the Report of the Panel on the creation of states.
2. The medium-sized urban centres in the then Northern region were the towns in the peripheral areas of the central urban centres of the North, Kano, Kaduna, Zaria and the Jos Mining area. They were generally provincial or divisional headquarters during the Northern Regional Administration. Generally they have a population of less than 30,000 by 1952 population census with exception of Maiduguri (Yerwa) Sokoto and Ilorin.
3. The stagnating or declining medium-sized urban centres are medium sized urban centres located in the peripheral areas of the central urban centres of the North. They were located in the areas exporting migrants to the central urban centres of the North and immigration into them was insignificant up to 1967. (See Green,L. (1969), Northern Nigeria: Population Models for National and Regional Planning 1952 - 1966. N.I.S.E.R. pp - 31 - 35.
4. Kogbe, C.A. and Co. (1978), Geology of Makurdi. Occassional publication No. 5/1978, Department of Geology, A.B.U., Zaria.
5. U.N.C., F.A.C. (1965), Agricultural Development in Nigeria United Nations, New York.
6. Abeliegah, (1973), The evolution of Makurdi.

Unpublished B.A. dissertation, Department of Geography, A.B.U. Zaria.

7. Abeliegah: Ibid.

8. Ajaegbu, H.I. (1976[a]), Urban and rural development in Nigeria. Heineman, London.

9. Max Lock, (1965), Kaduna: A Survey and Plan of Capital Territory for the Government of Northern Nigeria.

10. Ajaegbu, H.I. (1976[a]), Op cit.

11. Max Lock Op cit. p. 84.

12. Many migration studies focused on rural-rural migration for instance Prothero, R.M. (1957), Migratory labour from North-Western in Nigeria. Africa Vol. 37 pp. 251 - 261.
Mabogunje, A.L. (1970[b]), Migration Policy and Regional Development in Nigeria. Nigeria Journal of Social and Economic Studies Vol. 12 pp 242 - 262. Ajaegbu, H.I. (1976[b]), Migrants and the rural economy in Nigeria in Adepoju, J.A. (Ed) Internal Migration in Nigeria. Uni. Ife, Memeographed.

13. Some of the ones that fosed on the rural urban migration - Ejiogu, C.N. (1968), "African rural-urban migrants in the migrant areas of Lagos, Federal Territory", in J.C. Caldwell and C. Okonjo, Population of Tropical Africa. Longmans, London. pp. 320 - 330.

14. Ministry of Trade and Industry (1980), Benue State Industrial Directory. Government Printers, Makurdi.

15. Bells Management of Finance, (1981), Benue State Industrial Development Plan 1981 - 85. Government of Benue State. Mimeographed.

16. Project Group International, (1982), Benue State Urban Development Report. Government of Benue State. Mimeographed.

17. Green, L. (1969), Northern Nigeria: Population Models for National and Regional Planning 1952 - 1966. N.I.S.E.R. Reprints.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There seems to be no agreed definition of what constitutes migration despite the terminology suggested by the United Nations and the United Nations publication of dictionary of terms'. The practice so far has been for various authors to use a variety of concepts and operational definitions, depending on the requirements of individual authors and the data at their disposal.

For the purpose of this study migration would be defined as permanent change of residence from one geographical location to another usually between two administrative units. 'Permanent' here means that the mover does not know either the time or the direction of the future movements or both. This definition excludes the holiday makers and visitors in the town, persons on transit and on business trips. On the basis of origin/ destination relationship the following type of migration may be identified.

Rural - Rural
Rural - Urban
Urban - Rural
Urban - Urban

Adepoju[2] was of the opinion that "Rural - Rural migration usually takes the form of migration from one savanah peasant agricultural area to another,

from a subsistence to a cash cropping zone of vice versa. Rural - Urban migration involves movement from an agricultural locality to a medium-sized town or to an urban industrial area. Mabogunje[3] defined Rural - Urban migration as "basic transformation of the nodal structures of a society in which people move from generally smaller, mainly agricultural communities to larger, mainly non-agricultural communities".

Movement from one town to another, or from one bigger Industrial town to another falls within the Urban - Urban typology, while movement from one industrial or medium-sized towns to a peasant agricultural locality falls within the Urban - Rural typology.

2.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS.

Migration is a selective process with peculiar traits, characteristics and attitudes. It is believed that the demographic, educational, social and economic characteristics of migrants distinguish them from non-migrants.

One demographic characteristic of Rural - Urban migration in Africa is the high proportion of men in the migration streams and the dominance of the people in the 15 - 34 years of age in the migration stream. In Ghana, Caldwell[4] noted that the highest propensity to migrate occurs in the 15 - 29 years age category; Rempel[5] noted a peak for the 20 - 25 years age group in Kenya, while

Callaway[6] estimated that three-quarters of the migrants to Ibadan are school leavers between 15 - 25 years of age. From a study of migration into the Federal Capital of Lagos, Ejiogu[7] reported that 71.9 per cent of the adult population of the migrants were under 35 years of age. All indications are that the age composition of the migrants has not changed. Sada and Adegbola[8] noted that the great majority of the new migrants into Lagos "are young, most of them being in their early twenties".

Most studies noticed the dominance of men in the migration streams. Ejiogu[9] reported sex-ratio of 117 males to 100 females. Caldwell[10] pointed out the sex-ratio was a reflection of the sex differential in rural education. He argued since the sex differentials in rural education are growing smaller, girls of the same educational standing as boys are almost as likely to migrate to the towns as boys. Harris and Todaro[11] found that "the proportion of migrating women also seems to be on the increase as educational opportunities expand."

Studies of rural-urban migration consistently show a positive association between education and the propensity to migrate. The Ghananian survey revealed that 65 per cent of the respondents with no formal education had never migrated or did not intend to migrate, compared with 17 per cent of those respondents with some secondary schooling[12]. The propensity to migrate increases with the length of schooling, thus people with limited primary schooling

have shown a lesser tendency to migrate compared with people with secondary education. As Caldwell[13] puts it, "there is a statistically significant association between the incidence and extent of education and migration to urban areas." In Nigeria there seem to be a tendency for the young men and women to reject the the traditional occupation of their parents and migrate to the cities in search of wage-paid jobs. The main reason for this attitude could be the wage differential between traditional occupation in the villages, compared with the white collar jobs in the urban centres. The tendency is for both people who attended schools or not to migrate to the urban centres in search of wage-paid jobs.

The selective nature of migration could have a lot of implications for development both in the source areas of migration and the destinations.

The dominance of people in the 15 - 35 years age category, and especially those who have some form of schooling has a lot of implications for development. In the first place, this age group is usually the most productive age in the population. The area loosing them would be loosing the most productive and enterprising portion of its population. This would tend to retard the progress of the source areas. On the other hand, the opportunities existing in the destination areas would determine whether or not their coming could be beneficial

to the destination areas. In a situation where migrants move from labour surplus to labour shortage areas migration could be beneficial as a means of efficent allocation of labour with regards to pattans of distribution of resources and opportunities. But in a situation where movement is to already congested labour surplus areas migration could aggravate the unemployment and social vice in such destination areas.

2.2 MIGRATION AND MOTIVATION

The consensus of opinion in most parts of Africa is that economic motives are the primary determinant of the quantity and direction of migration flows.[14] Similar conclusions were reached by Thomas[15] in a review of Latin American migration studies and by MacDonald and Co.[16] in the study of migration in the United States of America. In a study of Rural - Rural migration in Nigeria similar conclusions were reached by most researchers. As Udo[17] observed "the desire for economic betterment was the most important reason for migration from one rural area to another". In a study of mobility in North-Western Nigeria, Prothero[18] found that 52 per cent were seeking food, 16 per cent were seeking money, 21 per cent were going to trade while 8 per cent migrated for some other reasons. In a study of migration into the Federal Capital of Lagos, Sada and Adegbola[19] reported that the dominant reasons for migrating to Lagos were related to economic opportunity. The analysis showed that employment related reasons account for over half of all the reasons

given, 43.85 per cent of the respondents came to Lagos first and foremost to look for jobs which they perceived were available in the Capital than in other urban centres in the country, while 9.53 per cent came to Lagos primarily to enter professional life by learning trade.

In a study of migration into South-West Nigeria, Adepoju[20] reported that "some of the migrants were attracted by..... the opportunities in commerce, trade and service industries." He concluded that "migration to this towns can be viewed as a response to real or imagined opportunities".

In most of these cases the researchers have based their conclusions on responses to such questions as "Why did you migrate? Why did you leave that place? The approach attempts to learn from the migrant himself the motives for migrating. This is a subjective approach.[21] The respondents always emphasize the economic motive for their movement such as higher income, better employment opportunity, trade, food, to earn cash, business and moderate cost of living.

Although this method is useful in establishing economic factors as central to decisions to migrate, the approach is limited in explaining the direction, and the rate of migration flows. Further, the critics of the approach argue that the battery of questions which the migrant is often asked to respond to, do not reveal the

real cause for migration decision. It is only platitudes[22] and that individual motivations usually reported are infact rationalisations of the behaviour within the system[23] Bouge[24] has argued that in most cases the migrant is not fully aware of all the forces at work that prompted the decision to move. The migrant usually reports the "last straw motives" while the real causes may be overshadowed or ommitted completely.

Taylor[25] suggested three approches in the study of motives for migration, viz:

1. Accept the migrants' own statement of motives. (Subjective approach).
2. Infer motives from a study of objective structural determinants and impute these motives to the migrant. (Objective approach).
3. Combine the migrants subjective account of motives with our own inferences.

Mabogunje[26] has suggested a system's approach. The system's approach sees migration as a response to changes in the social, economic, political and technological environment. These changes are transmitted to the potential migrant as stimuli or impulses to which he responds.

In the study of migration, one would be on the safer side to use both objective and the subjective approaches. While the migrants may be reporting his motive for

migrating, the changes in the social, economic, political and technological environment may have created the need and influenced the attractiveness or non-attractiveness of certain origin/destination areas. Although economic factors are the important motive in the decision to migrate, it is by no means the only factor.

In Africa where migrants maintain a close link with the community of origin through visits home, remmitances of money home, the non-economic motive for migrating to a town may be the towns nearness to the migrants community of origin. In a study of migration into Ife and Oshogbo, Adepoju[27] reported that 4.7 per cent of the respondents in Ife and 9.2 per cent of the respondents in Oshogbo said they migrated to this towns because of nearness to home place. Proximity to the migrants community of origin has the "effect of reducing the cultural gap, and the problems of adjustment to the new environment. It also facilitates contacts with home and the supervision of migrant farms and other projects at their home places."

Another non-economic factor may be the availability of educational facilities and opportunities for training in the urban informal sectors in the urban areas. In Nigeria many youths would migrate into the urban areas where exist most institutions of higher learning and where opportunities exist in modern crafts and skilled trade for apprenticeship.

In Lagaos, Sada and Adegbola[29] reported that 13.92 per cent of their respondents gave availability of educational facilities in Lagos as the reason for migrating into Lagos.

There is a consensus of opinion that there is a strong influence of friends and relatives resident in towns on the decision to migrate.[30] The major influence of friends and relatives resident in town is to provide information on the urban jobs, provide food, housing and support for the new migrant. "The role played by relatives and friends in the initial process of adjusting to town life is a very crucial one. The host, not only feeds and in some cases clothes the new migrant, but also helps in getting him a job. He may stay for a period ranging for months to years before and even after securing urban employment".[31] Jansen has urgued that in the migration process in which people are turned from their traditional cultural framework, and thrown as strangers into an unfamiliar cultural framework, the immigrant community of the friends and relatives provide the "Beachhead from which they move with strength. This probably explains why migrants tend to go to the same place as earlier migrants i.e. chain migration and why, on arriving at place of destination, they tend to settle in similar areas".[32]

Audu[33] has shown that an intending migrant from rural Sokoto can have more information about distant places to which his friends and relatives have been to than a close

destination and is prepared to follow such regular paths rather than looking for alternative destination. Such decision for him is a strategy to maximise security in case of failure and a means to guarantee him protection from exploitation.

2.3 MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

The consequences of migration and development have been an attractive area for many researchers.[34] Migration is generally seen, essentially, as human response to perceived differences in opportunities[35] and acts as a catalyst in the process of development.[36] Since the factors of production, labour, capital and resources and unequally distributed in space, labour moves in the direction where it gets the highest remuneration. Migration stimulates economic development by facilitating mobility and efficient allocation of labour over regions with regard to patterns of distribution of resources and opportunities.[37]

The migrant is described as a person characterized by realistic appreciation of felt needs, of high economic expectations and actions who moves in search of profitable economic opportunities and felt needs at destination where exist resources and opportunities to satisfy the needs and expectations.[38]

At the destinations migrants help in the utilization of resources which would have remained unutilized. For instance it has been argued that migrants have helped in

converting food deficient areas into food surplus and food exporting areas.[39]

Since migrants are characterised by high level of economic actions and innovativeness they help in the diffusion of new skills, ideas and attitudes and may in their decision and activities contribute to general development of the economy of the destination areas.[40]

On their return to the rural villages, migrants may have brought back various characteristics useful to the socio-economic development of the rural areas.

Because they are men of high economic expectations, action and innovativeness they constitute reference points for the non-movers and they may initiate or stimulate socio-economic development projects, and new crops or new farming methods in the rural areas.[41]

They also provide leadership to rural community in socio-economic and political activities. e.g. accepting innovations and new ideas.

On the other hand, it has been argued that a sizeable per centage of urban income is remitted to the rural areas, 20 - 25 per cent in case of Kenya and Tanzania by the migrants.[42] The remittance is not only a means of redistributing income from urban to rural areas but it could have significant repercussions for rural development if the money is used in short-term as working capital to hire labour at peak seasons or invested in long-term basis in agriculture.

Migrants also form urban based village on town unions which embark on development projects based on rural infrastructure like roads, water supply, hospitals, health centres, churches, postal agencies, markets and cultural centres. They may form co-operative societies which may embark on economic ventures like industrial and commercial ventures.[43]

It appears that many researchers in migration in Nigeria accept the view that migration is and effective means of allocating labour with regard to patterns of distribution of resources and opportunities and that economic developments could be achieved through effective migration policy. As a result they have advocated various migration policies as strategies in rural development.[44]

For instance Mabogunje[45] advocated a national migration policy which will "concern itself with creating conditions which encourage movements of people into different parts of the country and stimulate an awareness that in the long run, this is the only way of creating a viable and prosperous nation". He argues that a development-oriented migration policy at the levels of the nation (or state) must encourage easy access of migrants to land and guarantee long tenure of usage.

Ajaegbu advocated a migration policy for rural regional development which should "aim at supporting, encouraging and enhancing further, more purposeful voluntary migrations away from the still pressure

areas and into the relatively empty regions". Udo[47] advocated a migration policy which would encourage easy access of migrants to land and guarantee long tenure of usage. To this end he advocated the creation of state rural planning boards in the destinations to replace the person-to person deals between migrants and landlords. In addition he advocated long-term lease of land to migrants and provision of aids to migrants from Ministry of Africulture and other agencies.

As much as this conclusion can be said to be correct, the long-tern consquences of selective out-migration may have undesirable effects on the source areas. Migration tends to "cream off" the young, the skilled and the educated in the source areas leaving behind the old poorly educated population who are less receptive to change.

As Richardson[48] has pointed out, "Although labour tends to move from low-wage to high-wage areas, and from labour surplus to shortage areas, it would be wrong to conclude this necessarilly implies a clear-cut move towards equilibrium". Infact, the consequences of migration for areas supplying large labour force is such that the disequilibrating forces will persist and unequal development may not only be produced but perpetuated.

In the long-run it would be in the interest of balanced development to stimulate capital investment and development of the socio-economic infrastructures in the

source areas as in the destination areas. This will enable the source areas to mobilise and absorb their labour force in a self-sufficient sustained development.

2.4 THEORETICAL MODEL.

Theoretical analysis of migration date back to 1885 when Ravenstine[49] in his 'Laws of migration' set forth a number of empirical laws relating migration to distance. He observed that migration tends to be towards cities of large population and that the volume of movement decreases with distance between the source of migration and the centre of absorption.

2.4.1 MIGRATION AND DISTANCE.

Since Ravenstine,[50] a volume of literature have appeared in an effort to provide an adequate understanding of the relationship between distance and migration.[51] prominent among these works are those of Zipf and Stoufer.

Zipf[52] formulated laws relating to population size and distance, using gravity models. He argued that the demographic laws of spatial interaction is similar to Newton laws of gravitation in which the attraction of two masses varies directly with their mass and inversely proportional to the distance between them. Similarly the volume of migration between two areas is the function of the population size of the two areas and inversely related to the distance since, the effort required to

cover greater distance would increase with the distance.

The model is in the form of

$$M_{ij} = \frac{P_i P_j}{D_{ijB}}$$

Where M_{ij} = Number of migrants between centre i and j.

P_iP_j = Population of centre i and j.

D_{ij} = Distance between i and j.

One of the weaknesses of this model is that it tends to over-estimate short distance migration, for when distance approaches zero, migration approaches infinity.

Distance itself is not a hindrance to migration but it is a function of other factors like information flow, and expenses and difficulty of travelling over long distance. For example, ter Heide[53] found that in Scandinavia, out-migration was more susceptible to the influence of geographical distance in communities without railway stations, than in communities with railway stations.

Stoufer[54] denied any direct relationship between volume of migration and physical distance. He argued that physical distance is not an important factor as compared with the number opportunities available to the migrant. He was of the opinion that migration over a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities.

In a similar way Lee[55] argued that the volume of migration between two locations is the reflection of the intervening obstacles and opportunities between the origin and destination and the social, economic and environmental characteristics of both the origin and destination.

Olsson[56] was of the opinion that physical distance should be replaced by concepts like "real", "functional", "economic" and "emotional" distance. He argued that, not only the volume but the characteristics and motivation of migrants could be a function of distance.

Brown, Odland and Golledge[57] see distance in terms of functions between two places (nodes). They argued that it is possible to compute a measure of distance separating any two nodes, termed functional distance, such that it reflects the effect of nodal properties upon their propensity to interact. Lesser functional distance between two places indicates greater level of inter-action and greater differential in the place utilities. Place utility is defined as "a measure of attractiveness or unattractiveness of an area, relative to alternative locations as perceived by the individual decision maker" Simons[58].

Despite the volume that have appeared since Revenstine our knowledge of the relationship between migration and

distance is far from complete.

However, a review of literature on migration and distance shows that distance may have a restrictive effect upon the rate of movement and frequency and intensity of interaction between two points in space. The difficulty arises when an attempt is made to quantify or qualify the nature of the relationship that exist between migration and distance. This is not surprising since the influence of physical distance on migration is a function of other factors like information flow, cost and ease of transportation, frequency and intensity of interaction, and migrant characteristics.

2.42 DECISION TO MIGRATE.

Within the 'push and pull' framework, it is believed that the individual has a permanent residence. This is the state of affairs. But when an individual believes that his needs can no longer be satisfied at this place of residence a move somewhere may have to be considered, this is the push factor. An individual may be satisfied with the present site, but new information may persuade him that a move elsewhere will offer new and attractive opportunities. This is the pull factor. It has been argued that each person is constantly exposed to factors at a place of residence some of which inhibit movement and others which encourage it. By the same token, there are numerous positive and negative impulses coming from

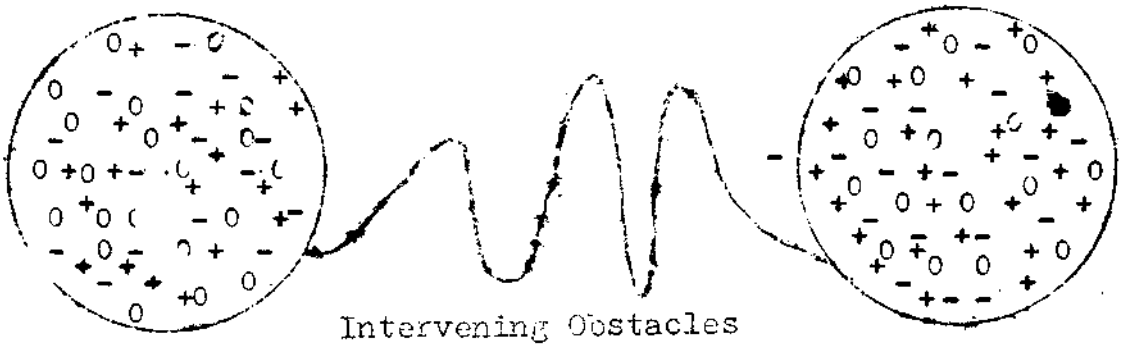
different potential destinations. The decision to move or not to move results from evaluation of all these factors.[60] Lee[61] has classified factors that enter into individual decision making process as:

1. Factors associated with area of destination.
2. Factors associated with area of origin.
3. Intervening obstacles.
4. Personal factors.

Intervening obstacles may be the physical or legal barriers to migration, costs and fatigue of movement, personal anxiety that may result from change in familiar social and physical environment.

Personal factors like state in life, cultural and environmental conditioning, personal contacts and sources of information and individual sensitivities, all enter into individual perception and assessment of the environment. (See fig.5)

Fig. 5. ORIGIN AND DESTINATION FACTORS AND INTERVENING OBSTACLES IN MIGRATION.



Key: + Attracting

O Neutral

\- Repulsing

Source: Lee (1966)

Wolpert viewed migration from the individual decision making process. He was of the opinion that migration is "a form of individual or group adaptation to perceived changes in the environment, a recognition of marginality with respect to a stationary position, and a flow reflecting an appraisal by the potential migrant of his present site as opposed to a number of other potential sites".[62]

The individual is an intendedly rational man,[63] who with his limited ability to perceive, calculate and predict and with otherwise imperfect knowledge of the environment, still differentiates between alternative courses of action according to their relative utility or expected utility. Place utility is defined as the 'net composite of utilities which are derived from the individual's integration at some point in space.[64]

The decision to migrate involves an attempt by individuals or groups to locate at a place whose characteristics possess or promise a relatively higher levels of utility than in other places which are conspicuous to him. Perceived utility of a new place has to be greater than the utility in the old place

for migration to take place. If a better alternative is not available then a person would likely remain in the same place, postponing the decision to migrate for periods of time extending up to an entire life time.

In his "system approach to the study of rural-urban migration" Mabogunje[65] conceptualised the problem of migration within the framework of the system theory. Within the system framework, complex variables can be recognised as a system possessing certain properties which are common to many other systems. The system operates within certain economic, social, political and technological environment. The system with its environment constitute the universe of the phenomena.

The system is dynamic and it is constantly changing. These changes are transmitted to the potential migrant from the economic, social, political and technological environment. The potential migrant is being encouraged to move by the stimuli or impulses from the environment.

The explanation as to why people migrate is a function of differential individual responses to stimuli both from the environment and from the system.

Mabogunje[66] argued that the attraction of the systems approach are that in addition to emphasising the individual decision making process, it enables migration to be considered as "a circular, interdependent, progressively complex and self-modifying systems in which the effect of changes in

one part can be traced through the whole of the system".

2.4.3 COST-BENEFIT MODEL

Cost-benefit approach has been used extensively by economists in evaluating education and manpower training programes, and other economic investments. The use of cost-benefit approach as an analylitical tool in the study of nigration was developed by Sjaastad[67] and modified by Speare[68] in the study of migration in Taiwan. The model treat migration as an investment by an individual from which returns are expected sufficient to offset the costs of moving.

In the cost-benefit model, a move will take place if the present value of all monetary benefits from moving is greater than the monetary costs involved in the movement. In this model, it is assumed that, the only costs are those of transporting the migrant, his family and belongins between origin and destination and the benefits are the difference in income between origin and destination.

The cost-benefit model is expressed by the following equation.

$$\sum_{j=I}^{N} \frac{(Y_{dj} - Y_{oj})}{(I + r)_j} - T \leq 0$$

where

Y_{dj} = Earning in the jth year at the destination

Y_{oj} = Earning in the jth year at the origin

T = Cost of moving

N = Total Number of years in which future returns are expected.

r = Rate of interest used to discount future earnining.

Spear[69] modified the model to take care of non-monetary factors like extent of information on job opportunities, uncertainity of employment and cost of living. He postulated that a "person will move if the sum of the various monetary and non-monetary benefits of migration is greater than the sum of the monetary and non-monetary costs of migration." The model was modified so that it had the form of a multiple regression equation. The resultant model was expressed in the following equation.

$$IPCh(Yd - YO) - T + h \lessgtr V_i \gtrless O$$

where

I = Extent of information about job opportunities where = 1 implies complete information.

P = Probability of obtaining employment at the destination.

C = Ratio of cost of living at origin to that at destination.

h = Number of years or fraction of years a person is to wait to recoup the cost of moving.

V_i = Difference in the annual monetary value of the ith non-monetary factor between the destination and the origin.

It was claimed that the weight for the various costs and benefits could be determined empirically by putting monetary value on non-monetary factor.

One of the weaknesses of this model is how to put monetary value on the non-monetary factors. No matter the mathematical sophistication any attempt to put monetary value on non-monetary factor would be rather subjective.

The above review of theories of migration showed some of the attempts to provide theoretical framework for the study of migration. However, it can be seen from the above review that it seems that no general theory of migration exists. With the exception of Madogunje's system's approach,[70] each of the theories seems to focus on a limited aspect of the problem. Even Mabogunje's system approach has not been applied to rigorous empirical research to show its applicability to migration process. The net result of each of the theories, as Willis has argued, seem to provide segmented view of a complex phenomenon and a rather limited perspective of its various dimensions.[71]

2.5 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION.

In this study migration is seen as human response to the stimuli from the changing socio-economic, political and technological environment. The changes do not only affect the needs and aspiration of the potential migrant but also the net utility of the present location and various possible destinations. Net utility is defined as the sum total of all that give an individual satisfaction by locating at some point in space.

The individual lives in a certain social, economic, political and technological environment. The environment is dynamic and is continously changing. . The change in one aspect of the environment may result in changes in other aspects of the environment. For instance a change in the political environment may result in changes in the social and economic environment.

There is a spatial component of this change. The change in the socio-economic, technology and political environment may result in changes in the net utility of the various possible locations as perceived by the potential migrant. For instance, the location of an industry, relocation of an administrative centre, prospecting for certain minerals, development of a transport network are some of the changes in the socio-economic and political environment that can influence the net utility of various possible locations for which the migrant has contact. The net utility of a particular location is not only influenced by the changes taking place in that location but is influenced by changes taking place in other locations. For instance opportunities may be created in other locations which may affect the migrants perception of relative utility of the present location, vis-a-vis other locations.

The net utility derived from a certain location is a function of time. The net utility of a particular location may decrease or increase with time depending on the changes taking place within the socio-economic,

technological and political environment. For instance an important inland port, or a settlement on the main route may decrease in the opportunities it offered with the development of new routes while unimportant location may be favoured by such development.

The potential migrant's response to the stimuli from the environment is influenced by the socio-economic, technological and political environment and the characteristics of the migrants.

Simmons[72] described the potential migrant as an intendedly rational man who with his limited ability to percieve, calculate and predict and with his other-wise imperfect knowledge of the environment, still differentiates between alternative courses of action according to their relative utility or expected utility.

The potential migrant moves to a certain location after cost-benefit analysis of the net utility of present location vis-a-vis the possible locations and the economic and non-economic costs of relocation.

Despite the cost benefit analysis of the net utility of the various destinations and the economic and non-economic costs of relocation, migrants decision is still influenced by migrants characteristics and the environment.

The potential migrants response is influenced by personal factors like age, sex, family size, education and training. He is also influenced by the socio-economic and political environment. Some aspects of the environment may inhibit movement while others may encourage it. The environment would generally determine the nature of the movement. For instance in conditions of political instability, a potential migrant may require a movement from the present location to satisfy certain needs and aspirations, but the political environment would influence the potential migrants response.

It is in this light that the various types of population movement within the different time period should be seen. For instance during the pre-colonial period with its incessant ethnic wars and slave raiding, an individual may desire a change of location, for instance, to acquire more farmland. The social and political environment would influence the distance and choice of location. He is likely to move a short distance and locate within his ethnic enclave. There is evidence that the change in the political environment which accompained the establishment of British colonial administration in Nigeria, for instance influenced the patterns of population movement in Nigeria.

As pointed out by Prothero the advent of widespread colonial administration in the late 19th century and early in the recent century brought to an end some long-established types of population movement associated with conditions of political and social instability."[73]

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CHAPTER THREE

THE CHANGING SPATIAL PATTERNS OF POPULATION MOVEMENTS

Migration takes place within certain political, social and economic environments and the environment influences the volume, direction and characteristics of migration.[1] The changing spatial patterns of population movement in terms of directions, characteristics and types of movement may be related to the changing political, social and economic environment. As Adepoju[2] also argued, "The different waves, patterns, mode, as well as, the cause of contemporary migration can be traced to the different stages of political and socio-economic development in the region."

The analysis of cityward migration into Makurdi would well be appreciated, if viewed from its historical context. For the recent phenomenal growth of cities in Nigeria today, as a result of increasing rural to urban migration, has its genesis in the historical past. The detailed analysis of each of the historical periods would however depend to the extent that the period is considered significant to the present day cityward migration into Makurdi. For the purpose of analysis those periods are divided into the pre-colonial era, the colonial era, the post colonial era and the era of new states. The time periods do not provide a water-tight division of the patterns, processes and causes of migration, rather the time periods provide a basic framework for analysis.

Infact there is evidence that certain patterns of population movement do overlap the time periods.

3.1 POPULATION MOVEMENT ASSOCIATED WITH PRE-COLONIAL ERA.

History and legends of most of the ethnic groups in Nigeria show evidence of migration centuries ago into the areas they are presently occupying. It may not be easy to date the time periods in which the various ethnic groups migrated to the various areas but there is enough evidence to believe that migration has been an important factor in population distribution of West Africa, prior to the advent of colonial administration.

The significant feature of population mobility in the pre-colonial period was that movements were usually associated with inter-ethnic wars, political oppression, slave trade and shortage of farmlands. For instance, it often happened that the powerful and organised ethnic groups may raid and carry into slavery the weaker ethnic groups. Those wars may result in sporadic and massive movement of the entire ethnic group in search of refuge beyond the area of influence of their enemies. In most cases the movement may involve fighting and conquering of other ethnic groups weaker than them, so that the movement of an ethnic group may set in motion waves of other ethnic groups moving.

The other form of population movement at this time was that resulting from population pressure on available farmland. Population pressure on available farmland was known to have existed in the Southern part of Tiv land (Vandeikya), the Amang district of Abak and Ikot Ekpene, and the Sokoto and Kano closely settled zones prior to the advent of colonial administration.

Bohaannan[3] reported that the British administration encountered Tiv migration almost as soon as they encountered the Tiv in 1912. As a result the British administration built the 'Munshi Wall' between Gaav Jechira and the contiguous people of Ogoja. The wall was meant to keep the Tiv in their place north of the wall, but they merely climbed over the wall. This is a process in which one ethnic group gradually encroached on the land of the neighbouring group and gradually dispossessed them of their land. The weaker ethnic groups are usually pushed away from their land to the less fertile land which the stronger ethnic group may not even want.

Both population movements associated with both political instability and shortage of farmlands existed in the Tiv area in which Makurdi is located. It is important to note that the first Tiv settlement recorded in the vicinity of present site of Makurdi, the Kpan Compound, was essentially a farming settlement.

There is evidence that the first settler settled in the present site of Makurdi to farm in the fertile soil in the Benue Valley.

3.2 POPULATION MOVEMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH COLONIAL ERA.

One significant effect of colonial administration on population mobility was that it brought to an end the incessant inter-ethnic wars and slave raiding and the population movement, triggered off by these wars. As a result of the 'Pax Britanica', there was a measure of peace and security and people were able to work and live in areas outside their ethnic enclaves. As Prothero pointed out.

> "The advent of widespread colonial administration in the late 19th century and early in the present century brought to an end some long-established types of population movement associated with conditions of political and social instability."[4]

In addition to the new political atmosphere, the colonial administration brought some social, economic and technological changes. The advent of colonial administration brought the country into contact with the international monetary economy. Cash crops replaced the slaves as export commodity and inter-national currency replaced the barter system and cowrie currency.

The introduction of the cash crops led to demand for more land than was tilled in the past with resultant decrease in man-land ratio. On the other hand indegenous

methods of cultivation which continued to be practised with shorter and shorter periods of fallow reduced the fertility of the soil and brought about an overall decrease in the margin of subsistence and density of population which the land can support.[5] This development led to shortage in some rural areas and aggravated the situation in some areas already expriencing population pressure on the land.

At this time of decreasing man-land ratio and decreasing soil fertility, the population was expriencing rapid increase due to improvements in the health facilities and child welfare.[6] The increasing population pressure on land and the needs created for cash, to purchase goods manufactured in the factories of Europe, to meet obligatory tax commitments and pay bride price were some of the underlying causes of the migration patterns for which this period is associated with.

In contrast to the land shortage and depressed rural areas which were described above, there were certain rural and urban areas where economic activity was expanding. Opportunities existed in these rural and urban areas for the surplus population of the land hungry and depressed rural areas to be gainfully employed and earn cash to meet their needs and aspirations. These rural areas were the cocoa and rubber producing areas of the Western and Mid-western Nigeria, and the tin mining district of Jos. The urban areas were the administrative and the commercial centres. In the north these were the

administrative and commercial centres of Kano, Zaria, Kaduna and Jos areas.

This period was very significant in the growth of Makurdi. The first group of Hausa settlers settled on the banks of River Benue in the present site of Makurdi in about 1912.[7] This settlement was founded on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries trade route linking the Northern parts of Nigeria and the Southern parts of Nigeria. Migration into Makurdi in the colonial period followed these trading routes. (See fig. 6).

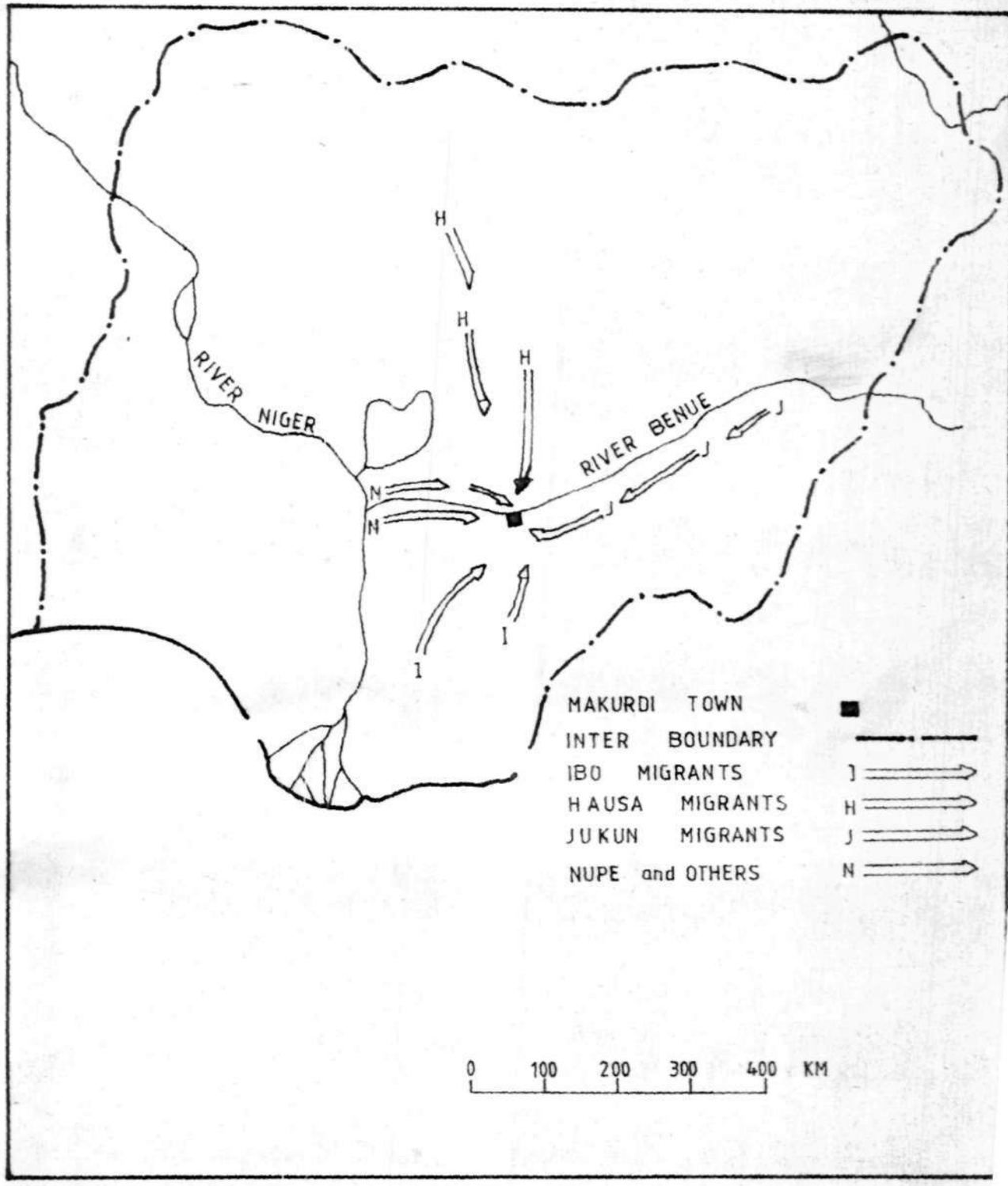
In addition to in-migration of Hausa, the Jukuns, the Nupes and the Tivs, the Ibo speaking people started migrating into Makurdi about 1924.[8] They came in connection with the rail construction which reached Makurdi in 1924. The dual carriage bridge in Makurdi which was started in 1930 was not completed until 1932.

The extension of the rail line and the construction of the bridge are some of the significant developments that influenced population movement into Makurdi at this time.

Makurdi could not supply all the labour force that was needed in the construction. Skilled labour was brought from the South especially the Ibos who were already

FIG. 6

NIGERIA: MIGRATION ROUTES TO MAKURDI DURING COL. PERIOD



Source: Abeligah, D (1973)

exposed to the techniques. In addition the rural Tivs moved into Makurdi in large numbers to get employment in the construction activities that were goin on. Many of them were employed either directly in the construction industry or in trade. They accumulated wealth and refused to go back into their respective areas after the construction of the bridge and the rail line was over.[9]

In addition to the construction activities, Makurdi developed as a major trading centre for the European companies. By 1935, both United African Company (U.A.C.) and John Holt, had already established stores and warehouses houses in Makurdi.[10] Their steam boats came with manufactured goods from the factories of Europe. Makurdi became the Headquarters and distribution centre for the company in the area. Many of the traders who were either agents or middle men settled in Makurdi.

The expansion in economic activities and the growing population is reflected in the growth of population of Makurdi from 7,655[11] in 1932 to 16,713[12] in 1952. The ethnic break down of the 1952 population figures also illustrated the importance of migration in the population growth. (See table 1.1). The Ibo accounted for about 32 per cent of Makurdi population by 1952 census while the Hausa accounted for about 24 per cent. The Tivs only accounted for 12 per cent of the population in 1952 but by 1982 their percentage had risen to 45 per cent of the population. (See table 1.2).

TABLE 1.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF MAKURDI 1952 AND 1982

1.2 1952*

Ethnic Group	Total	%
Hausa/Fulani	4,011	24.0
Ibo	5,370	32.0
Nupe	668	4.0
Tiv	2,005	12.0
Yoruba	618	4.0
Kanuri	217	1.0
Bassa	50	0.3
Igede	167	1.0
Idoma	187	1.0
Other Northern Group	2,296	14.0
Other Nigerian	1,003	6.0
Non-Nigerian	121	.7
		100

1.2 1982 **

Ethnic Group	Total	%
Tiv	456	45.0
Igala	82	8.0
Idoma	83	8.0
Other Benue	75	7.0
Ibo	93	9.0
Yoruba	38	4.0
Hausa/Fulani	134	13.0
Other	62	6.0
		100

SOURCES: * 1952 Census

** 1982 Survey - Project International Group.

3.3 POPULATION MOVEMENT ASSOCIATION WITH POST COLONIAL ERA.

Though rural-urban migration could be said to have existed before this time in Nigeria it certainly gained momentum due largely to the colonial pattern of spatial development. The pattern of spatial development was such that, the socio-economic infrastructures in terms of electricity, pipe-bornewater, health and recreational facilities, and educational institutions were concentrated in the administrative headquarters.[13] As political, economic and administrative centres, the headquarters were also able to provide job opportunities in the industrial, commercial and administrative establishments.

As Adepoju[14] pointed out, "the concentration of ammenities, industry, administration and commerce exerted a strong pull for traders, small-scale industrialists, contractors, teachers, students, apprentices as well as politicians."

In contrast to the industrial, mining, administrative and political centres where opportunities exist, are the depressed land shortage rural areas which were lacking in both opportunities and socio-economic infrastructures. Movements from these rural areas to the urban centres have dominated the migration studies in Nigeria.[15] In the analysis of inter-regional migration into the then Northen region, Green[16] reported that the central

core areas of Kano, Zaria, Kaduna closely settled zone and the mining district of Jos accounted for about 54 per cent of immigration into the former Northern Region from other parts of the country between 1952 - 1963.

There is evidence of strong influence of urbanization of the central core areas on the intra-regional migration within the former Northern Region. Green[17] reported a net centripetal migration from the peripheral areas to the central core areas. He estimated that the central core areas recieved about 62 per cent of the intra-regional migration within the Northern Region between 1952 - 1963.

The peripheral belts of the former Nothern Region were on the whole net exporters of population because of massive movements of people either to urban destinations in the core areas or to the cash-crop producing rural areas in the former Mid-Western Region and Western Regions of Nigeria. The movements of Hausa/Fulani people from Sokoto areas, and the Ebira, Igalas, Idoma and Tiv speaking people to the cocoa and rubber producing areas of Western states and Bendel state has been well documented in migration literature.[18]

Apart from limited local movements to provincial towns like Makurdi, Bauchi, Ilorin, Sokoto and Maiduguri, no rural-urban movements to any other towns, a part from the central core areas, was of any significance at this period in the former Northern Region.

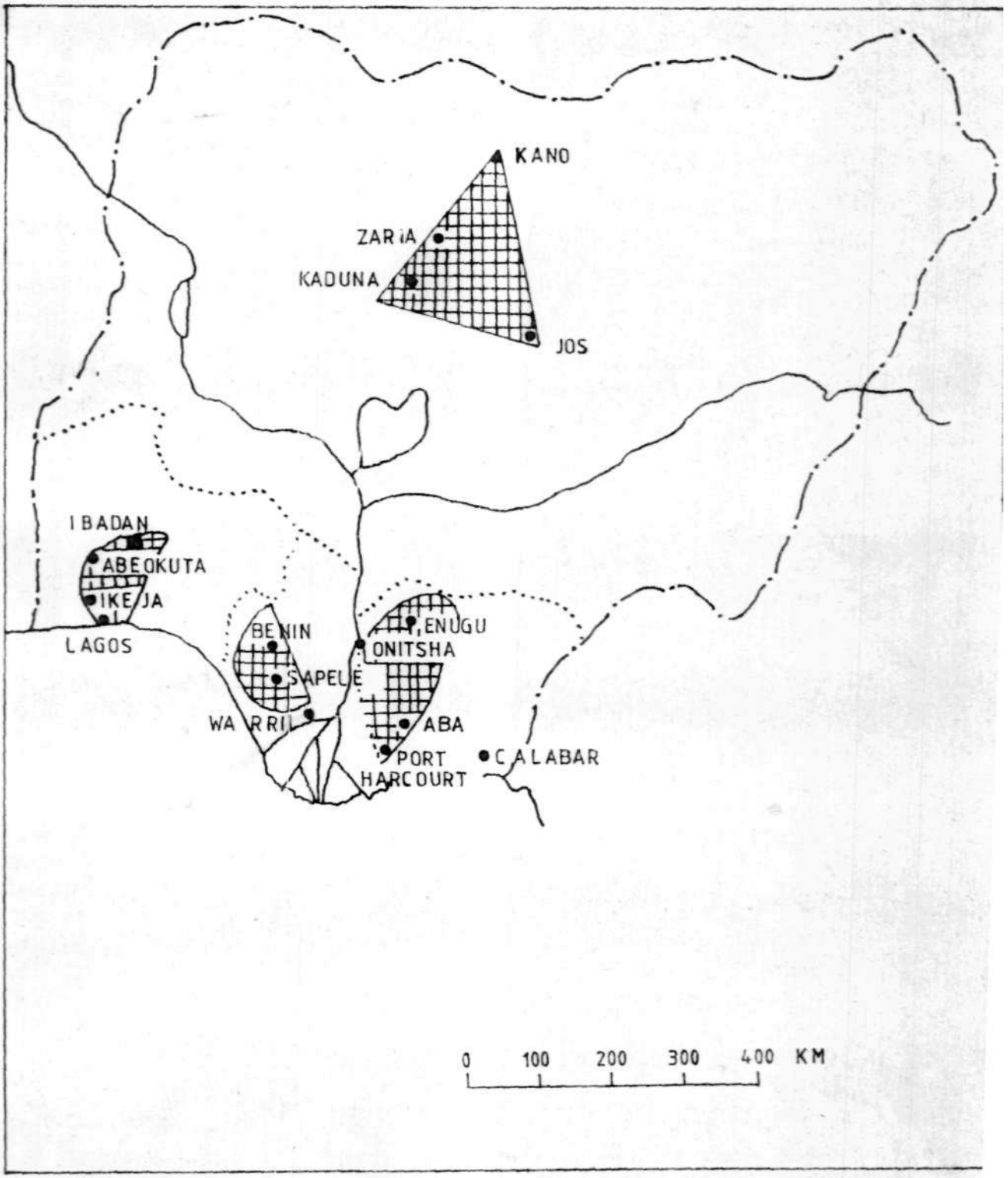
The colonial pattern of spatial development of concentrating socio-economic infrastructural developments in the political, administrative and commercial centres was continued after independence by the political elite that took over from the colonial administrators. Those areas of concentration are the areas around the metropolitan Lagos, Ibadan Abeokuta areas; the Kano, Kaduna, Zaria and Jos areas; the Port-harcourt-Aba-Onitsha-Enugu areas and the Warri-Sapele-Bennin areas (see fig. 7). A good indication of this concentration can be seen from the distribution of manufacturing industries. By 1965, 82 per cent of the country's total manufacturing plants were located within these four growing areas.[19]

These patterns of spatial development resulted in waves of migration from depressed rural areas, lacking in job opportunities and socio-economic infrastructural developments to the growing urban areas.

Max Lox[20] reported that as at 1965, two-thirds of the population of Kaduna were migrants and that two-thirds of the migrants (66.7%) originated from other parts of the Northern Region, six per cent (6%) from the former Western Region, three per cent (3%) from the former Mid-Western Region and over one fifth (21.5%) from parts of the former Eastern Region. (See fig. 8).

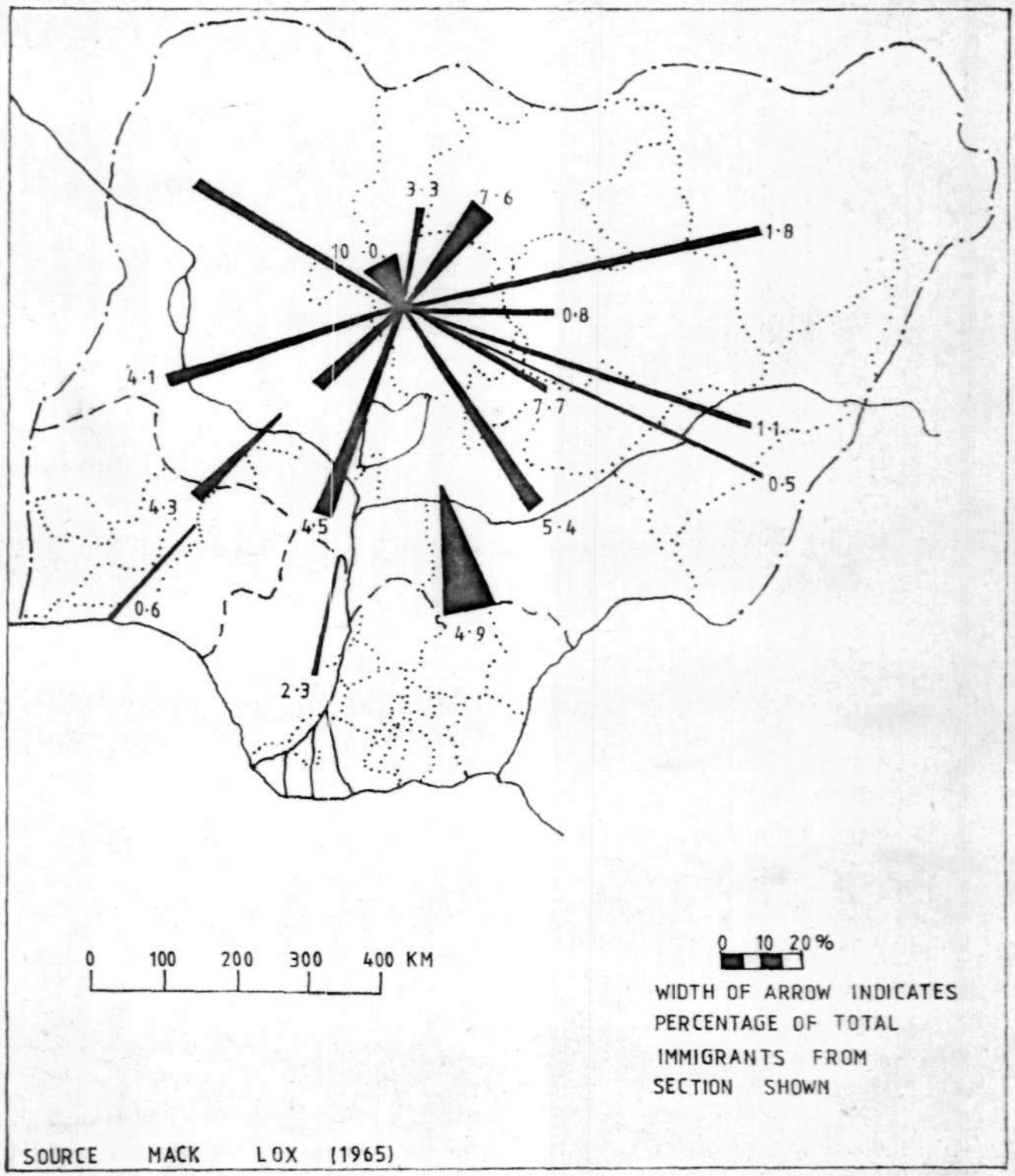
In another study Alabi[21] reported that 74.9 per cent of the migration into Zaria urban centres

FIG. 7 INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ZONES



SOURCE: AJAEGBU (1975)

FIG. 8 MIGRATION INTO KADUNA



originated from the then six Northern states. (see fig. 9).

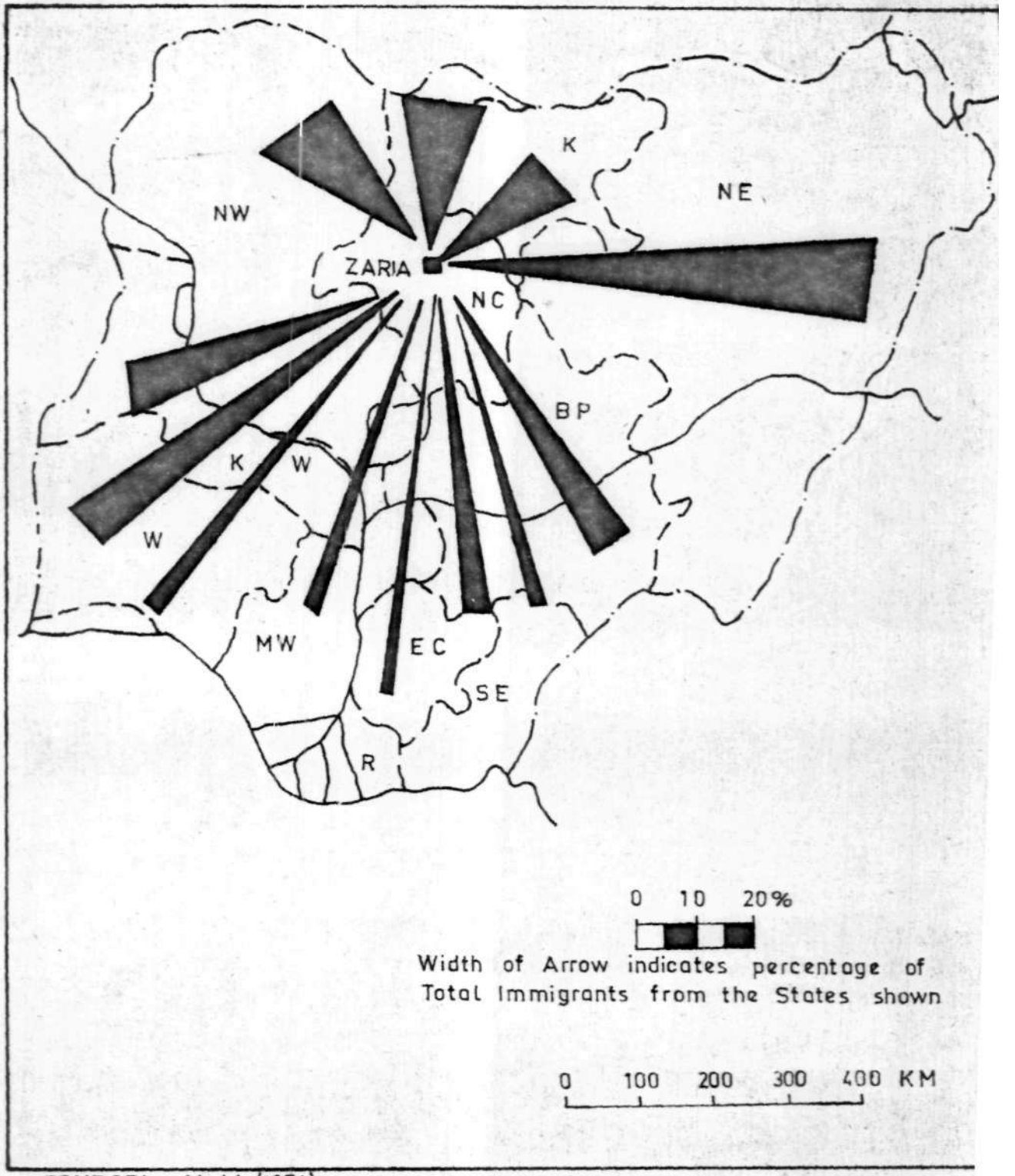
If migration within Nigeria is strongly determined by the economic factors of employment and income as Mabogunje[22] argued, then it is natural to expect movement into the central core areas where employment opportunities are available in the administrative, industrial and commercial establishments.

3.4 POPULATION MOVEMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH CREATION OF STATES.

The evolution of Nigerian urban spatial system seems to have been greatly influenced by the internal spatial distribution of political and economic power. Spatial distribution of political power can be measured in terms of how decisions allocate benefits and burdens to different places within the society. Such locational decisions refers to the assignment of certain funtions, services, expenditures to individual locations.[23]

In Nigeria the growth of urban centres like Kaduna, Lagos, Enugu, Ibadan has been greatly influenced by their functions as the administrative capitals of various political units and the decline or stagnation of places like Lokoja and Zungeru is related to their being deprived the functions of capitals of political units. The spatial distribution of political power influences both the growth of urban centres and the internal migration patterns.

FIG. 9 MIGRETION INTO ZARIA



SOURCE: Alabi (1974)

The creation of states in Nigeria in 1967 and 1976 has greatly redistributed the spatial concentration of power and consquently has influenced the patterns of population movement. The growth and development of various medium-sized urban centres in Nigeria within the last few years is largely as a result of the spatial redistribution of power. Prior to the creation of states in 1967 and 1976 the former Northern Region was a single political unit with Headquarters in Kaduna. The Regional capital th ough a new settlement established in 1905 grew to be the industrial and commercial centres in addition to being the administrative headquarters. Consequently it attracted migrants from the rest parts of former Northern Region. The importance of the central core areas of the former Northern Region as destinated areas for migrants from the Southern parts of Nigeria and the rest parts of the former Northern Region has already been discussed above.

Between 1967 and 1976 the former Northern Region was restructured into ten administrative units. (see fig. 4) and Table 2).

With the restructuring of the political units, political power was decentralized and the meduim size urban centre which were mere provincial headquarters became the state capitals of the new states. These medium-sized urban centres are growing into major industrial and commercial centres within the area and

they have become alternative destination to the central core area of Kaduna, Kano, Zaria and Jos. In addition people are moving to these medium-sized urban centres, from the both the larger urban centres and from the rural areas throughout the country.

TABLE 2.

THE TEN NORTHERN STATES

STATE	DIVISION	CAPITAL
Benue	Idoma, Tiv, Igala	Makurdi
Plateau	Lafia, Nasarawa, Akwanga, Jos, Lowland, Pankshin	Jos
Kano	Kano, Northern Kano	Kano
Kwara	Borgu, Ilorin, Lafiagi Pategi, Igbomina, Kabba, Kwara	Ilorin
Kaduna	Katsina, Zaria, Jema'f, Kaduna T.C.	Kaduna
Bauchi	Bauchi, Gombe, Katagum	Bauchi
Borno	Bedde, Biu, Gwoza, Borno, Dikwa, Postiskum	Maiduguri
Gongola	Wukarri, Adamawa, Numan	Yola
Niger	Abuja, Bida, Kontagura, Minna	Minna
Sokoto	Argungu, Gwandu, Sokoto	Sokoto

SOURCE: Compiled from Green, L. (1969)

3.5 MIGRATION INTO THE NEW STATE CAPITAL.

3.5.1 VOLUME OF MIGRATIONS.

In the socio-economic survey of Makurdi between April and July 1979 the researcher found that there was an increase in the volume of migration into Makurdi since Makurdi became a state capital in 1976. The same is true for each of the new state capitals for which data is available.

In the Makurdi socio-economic survey of April - July 1979 the respondents were asked, "since when have you been living in Makurdi?". The analysis showed that 95.8 per cent of the respondents are migrants, while only 4.2 per cent of the respondents claimed to have been living in Makurdi all their life. (See table 3). Migration into Makurdi between 1976 - 1979 accounted for 64.5 per cent of the sample population (see table 3). Infact 55 per cent of the people that arrived in this period came in 1976 alone. In a similar survey in Makurdi in 1982 by Project International Limited,[24] it was found that 60 per cent of the sample arrived in Makurdi between 1977 - 1982 and only 4 per cent claimed they had been living in Makurdi all their life. This analysis showed that Makurdi became an important destination for migrants only after it became a state capital in 1976. Similar surveys in Ilorin[25] and Maiduguri for which data are available yielded similar results.

TABLE 3.

MIGRATION INTO MAKURDI

PERIOD	%
Born in Makurdi	4.2
1956 - 1960	3.0
1961 - 1965	.9
1966 - 1970	9.2
1971 - 1975	18.2
1976 - 1979	64.5
	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 1005.

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April-July, 1979.

For instance migration into Maiduguri between 1968, when it started functioning as a state capital, and 1973, when the survey was conducted accounted for about 62.4 per cent of the sample population (see table 4). In the case of Ilorin migration into Ilorin between 1968 when it started functioning as a state capital and 1974 when the survey was conducted accounted for about 79 per cent of the sample population (see table 5).

In the period between 1966 - 1970, 9.2 per cent of the respondents settled in Makurdi. This was the period of the crisis that led up to the Nigerian Civil War. This was also a period of massive out-migration of Ibo speaking people from Makurdi and other towns and villages in the North of Nigeria. This period also witnessed a counter immigration stream of Tiv speaking people from the hinterland of Makurdi and Yoruba speaking elements from the South and Yoruba speaking areas of former Northern Nigeria, who migrated into Makurdi to fill the vaccum created by the departing Ibo speaking people.[26]

In the period between 1971 - 1975, 18.2 per cent of the sample population settled in Makurdi. The high rate of immigration within this period could be attributed to the return migration of people from the war affected areas of the former Eastern States at the end of the hostilities. According to Sada and Adegbola,[27] "within few months after the ceasation of hostilities,

TABLE 4.

MIGRATION INTO MAIDUGURI

PERIOD	%
Before - 1962	24.3
1962 - 1967	16.8
1968 - 1969	24.9
1970 - 1973	34.0
TOTAL	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 6,202

SOURCE: MAX Lock (1973), Maiduguri, pp. 7.3 1.6.

TABLE 5.

MIGRATION INTO ILORIN

PERIOD	FREQUENCY %
Before - 1962	11.0
1963 - 1964	13.0
1968 - 1969	15.5
1970 - 1974	60.5
TOTAL	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 91,000

SOURCE: Compiled from Doxiadis Association, (1974) Ilorin pp. 5.9.

the Ibo speaking people that survived the civil war were already returning back to various towns and cities in the rest parts of the Country". With reference to the Maiduguri survey, the analysis showed that 74 per cent of the migrants in Maiduguri[28] who came from the war affected areas came between 1970 - 1973, that was at the end of the civil war (see table 6). The result of these studies in the new state capitals has shown that the creation of states in 1967 and 1976 and the resultant increase in opportunities in the new state capitals has made the new state capitals attractive destination areas.[29]

The main factor responsible for the current reditribution of population in the country is the re-organisation of the political structures and the spatial redistribution of political and economic power.

There is strong evidence that migration into Makurdi has increased in volume since it became a state capital in 1976. The new function as state capital means capital investments in the provision of socio-economic infrastructures and influx of state and federal government employees. The concentration of population has created demand for goods and services which has attracted private investments and therefore increased the general level of economic activities.

TABLE 6.

MIGRATION INTO MAIDUGURI FROM FORMER EAST-CENTRAL, RIVERS AND SOUTH EASTERN STATES.

PERIOD	%
Before - 1962	1.1
1963 - 1967	1.1
1968 - 1969	23.97
1970 - 1973	73.8
TOTAL	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 363.

SOURCE: Compiled from Max Lock (1973), Maiduguri pp. 7.3.16.

3.5.2 ORIGIN AND DIRECTION OF MIGRATION

In this study it is observed that 30.7 per cent of the sample respondents came from Plateau State while Benue State accounts for 28.3 per cent of the respondents (See table 7 and fig. 10) only 4.2 per cent of the respondents were born in Makurdi and claimed to have been living in Makurdi continously (See table 3). Anambra State accounts for 6.3 per cent of the respondents, Kaduna 5.6 per cent, Kano 4.7 per cent while Kwara and Lagos accounted for 3.9 and 5.9 per cent respectively, (See table 7 and fig 10).

TABLE 7.

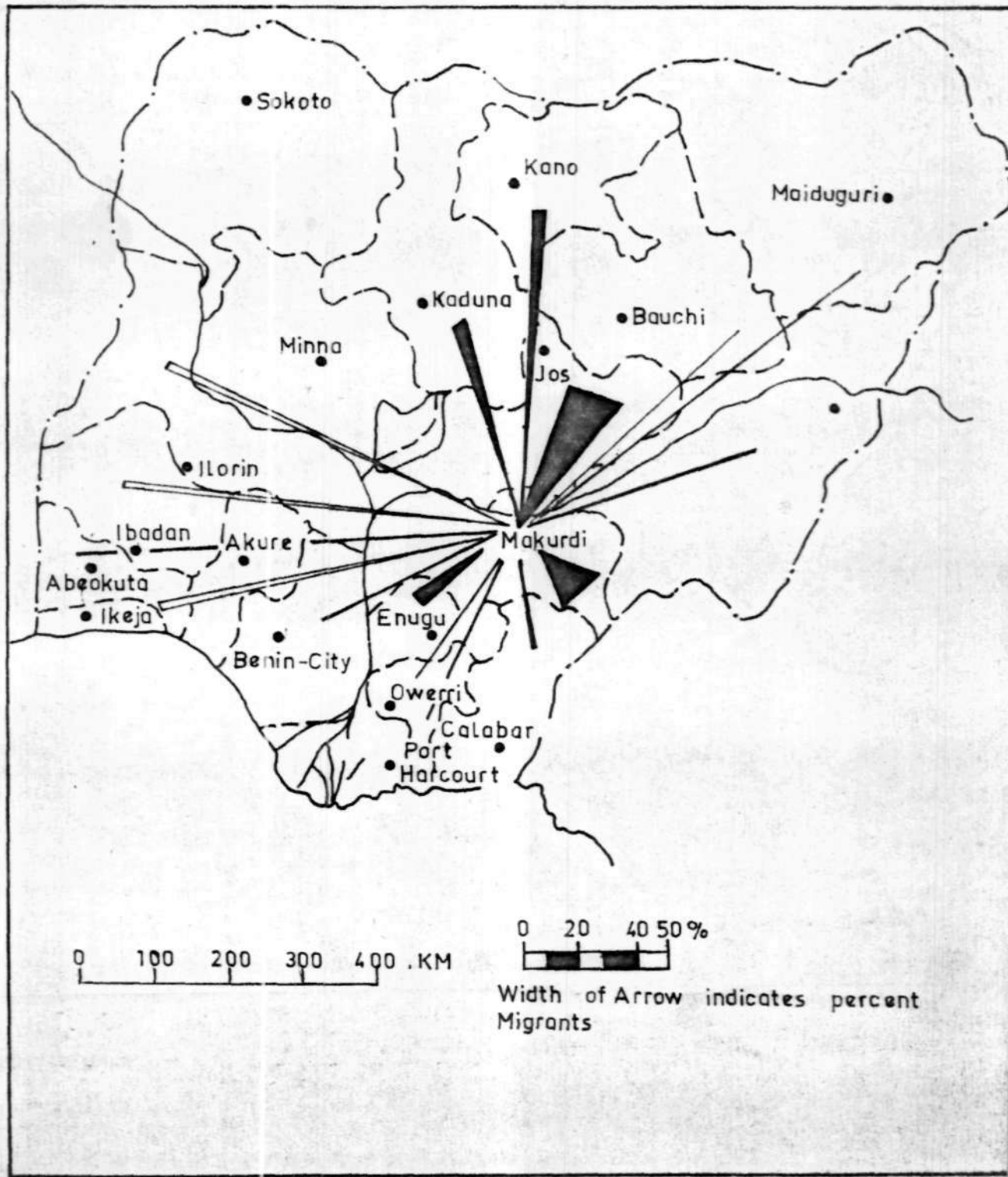
MIGRATION INTO MAKURDI BY STATE

STATE	%
Anambra	6.3
Bauchi	.6
Bendel	1.8
Benue	28.3
Borno	.6
Cross River	1.8
Gongola	.9
Imo	2.0
Kaduna	5.6
Kano	4.7
Kwara	3.9
Lagos	5.9
Niger	-
Ogun	.3
Ondo	1.2
Oyo	2.4
Plateau	27.7
Rivers	2.0
Sokoto	-
Asian	.3
European	.2
TOTAL	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 1,005.

SOURCE: Makurdi socio-Economic Survey, April - July, 1979.

FIG. 10 — MIGRATION INTO MAKURDI



SOURCE : Makurdi sample survey April – July 1979

In the Makurdi survey of 1982, it was reported that 60 per cent of migrants in the town arrived from other parts of Benue State while the second largest group of 14 per cent came from Plateau State.[30] It appeared from the result of the 1982 survey that while the volume of migration from Plateau state may have declined significantly, the volume of immigration from other parts of Benue state has increased significantly.

Six states (Plateau, Anambra, Kaduna, Kano Kwara and Lagos) accounted for 57.3 per cent of the respondents while six states (Bauchi, Borno, Gongola, Niger and Sokoto and Ogun) accounted for only 2.4 per cent of the respondents.

The high rate of immigration from Plateau, Kaduna, Kano, Lagos and Kwara states could be the result of three factors, namely distance, level of socio-economic development and former political relationship with Benue State.

Migration tends to flow from both areas of high and low level of socio-economic development to areas with expanding socio-economic activity as characterised by the new state capitals. This confirms Myrdals[31] hypothesis that localities and regions where economic activity is expanding would attract immigrants from other parts of the country. For instance Anambra state, Kaduna and Kano with relatively high level of socio-economic development accounted for 53.5 per cent of the

respondents. The traditional destination area for rural-urban migrants from Benue State - Kano, Kaduna and Jos accounted for 41.1 per cent of the respondents.

The core areas of Kano, Kaduna, Zaria and Jos, have not only been areas of relatively high level of socio-economic development, but they have served and may continue to serve as attractive destination areas for people from Benue State and many other peripheral areas of the former Northern Region.[32] It seems that the high rate of immigration into Makurdi from the core areas are infact part of return migration of people of Benue State origin who are returning to Benue State following the creation of the state and attractive destination area whose utility functions in terms of opportunities, nearness to natal home or residence of parents more than offset the utility functions of the core areas.

It is possible that physical distance may have influenced the low volume of migration from Bauchi, Borno, Gongola, Niger, Ogun and Sokoto states. Another factor is that, a part from Sokoto state, all these states were created along with Benue state in February 1976 and possibly they are areas of expanding economic activity and attractive destination regions for migrants. They are also on similar level of socio-economic development as Benue state. It would be expected that migration into Makurdi from area of expanding economic activity and relatively

on similar level of socio-economic development would be minimal.

The analysis of the origin of migrants shows that 63 per cent of all the respondents originated in urban centres while 37 per cent originated in the rural areas. (See table 8) In the 1982 survey, 74 per cent of the respondents claimed they had urban origin only 26 per cent claimed they came from rural areas.[33] Further analysis showed that 92 per cent of all the respondents who originated from the core-areas (Kano, Kaduna, Jos) had urban origin, only 8 per cent originated in the rural areas. All the respondents originating from Bendel, Kaduna, Kano and Lagos originated in the urban centres. The analysis showed that 88 per cent of the migrants originating outside the state had urban origin while 12 per cent have rural origin. It seems that inter-state migration into urban centres outside the states is pre-dominatly urban-urban while intra-state migration is predominantly rural-urban. This finding could be compared with the result of Ilorin surveys in 1974 by Doxiades Associates which reported that 60.1 per cent of all the immigrants into Ilorin originated in other urban centres, 36.7 per cent from the rural communities and 3.2 per cent from abroad.[34]

TABLE 8.

ORIGIN OF MIGRANTS

STATE	URBAN	RURAL
	%	%
Anambra	5.4	.9
Bauchi	.3	.3
Bendel	1.8	-
Benue	-	28.3
Borno	.3	.3
Cross River	1.2	.6
Gongola	.3	.6
Imo	.9	1.2
Kaduna	5.7	-
Kano	4.8	-
Kwara	3.0	.9
Lagos	6.0	-
Niger	-	-
Ogun	.3	-
Ondo	.9	.3
Oyo	2.1	.3
Plateau	27.5	3.3
Rivers	1.8	.3
Sokoto	-	-
Asian	.3	-
European	.2	-
	62.7	37.3
Total No of Respondents	130	375

Total Size of Sample 1005.

SOURSE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July, 1979.

This may have been influenced by physical distance and information flow. Rural resisdents living close to Makurdi are much more likely to have information on the available job opportunities than rural residents outside the state not only because of the friction of distance in information flow but because they are most likely to have friends and relatives living there who provide information on the job opportunities. The urban-urban migrants are people of high educational attainment and advanced skills. They have access to information on available urban job opportunities than the rural residents,[35] and more willing to travel long distance to seek better job and opportunities.[36]

3.5.3 THE DISTANCE FACTOR

Since Ravenstine[37] there have been numerous attempts to study the relationship between migration and distance. Ravenstine[38] observed that migration tends to be towards cities of large population and that the volume of migration decreases with distance between the source of migration and the centre of absorption.

Since the work of Ravenstine was published in 1885 various studies have provided insight into the relationship between migration and distance. For instance it has been shown that the friction of distance is a function of some other factors like intervening opportunities,[39] information flow[40] and as a function of monetary and psychic costs of moving and the social distance.[41]

The finding of this study has comfirmed that distance as a factor cannot be discarded entirely. For instance the two states, Anambra and Plateau states, which have contiguous boundary with Benue state and whose capital have both direct rail and road link with Makurdi accounted for 37 per cent of the respondents, while the six states Bauchi, Borno, Gongola, Niger, Ogun and Sokoto States which are further away from Benue and have no direct road and rail link with Makurdi accounted for only 2 per cent of the respondents.

Analysis of migration by physical distance shows the influence of physical distance on volume of migration; 28.7 per cent of the respondents come within a distance of 0-200 km while 71.4 per cent come from within a distance of 0-400 km. (See table 9). Even more pronounced is the correlation between the residence of parents and migration; 63.3 per cent of the respondents have their parents living within 0-200 km from Makurdi. (See table 10).

It seems that the distance to the location of parents weighs heavily on the African migrants' perceived utility function of alternative possible destinations.

Since African migrant maintains close link with his natal home, distance to the location of parents determines the frequency of visits and participation in the social, economic, political and cultural activities at the natal home. It also determines the projects - farming, building, that a migrant can undertake at the natal home and the effectiveness of supervision that he can undertake.

TABLE 9.

MIGRATION AND DISTANCE TO LAST RESIDENCE

DISTANCE	%
0 - 200 km	28.7
201 - 400 km	42.7
401 - 600 km	5.4
601 - 800 km	16.1
800 - km	7.2
	100.0

Total Size of sample, 1005

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July, 1979..

TABLE 10.

MIGRATION AND DISTANCE TO PARENTS RESIDENCE

DISTANCE	%
No. Response	1.2
0 - 200 km	63.3
201 - 400 km	19.4
401 - 600 km	5.6
601 - 800 km	6.3
801 - and Over	4.2
TOTAL	100.00

Total Size of Sample 1005.

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July, 1979.

The analysis of distance travelled and level of education attained showed that 82 per cent of the people with no formal education came from within 0-400 km of Makurdi while 18.4 per cent come from areas above 401 km from Makurdi. In case of people with primary education 73 per cent came from areas within 401 km of Makurdi. Analysis of the group with Post-Secondary education showed that 64 per cent of them came from within 0-400 km from Makurdi, while 36.6 per cent came from areas beyond 401 km from Makurdi; 60 per cent of the respondents with University education came from within 0-400 km from Makurdi, while 40 per cent came from areas beyond 401 km from Makurdi (See table 11).

The findings comfirm the observations of Rose[42] that high status person seeking better jobs or opportunities generally move longer distances than people with less skill. Despite the fact that 51.6 per cent of the respondents were transferred into Makurdi, one may observed that there is a positive correlation between distance, willingness to travel and the level of educational attainment or the level of skills acquired. People with high level of educational attainment or sophisticated skills who seek better jobs or opportunities are willing to travel longer distances than people with low level of educational attainment and the unskilled. This may be related not only to the willingness to travel longer distances but also the ability and resources to cover long distances. People with low level of income may not have the resources to cover long distances nor the resources to endure the initial hardships of the first few weeks, months or years before recouping benefits from migration.

This findings is similar to that of Schwartz[43] who found that education reduces the friction of distance. The rationale is that the more educated a person the more knowledge he has about job opportunities at distant places.

The finding also showed that distance to the natal home or community of origin is an important factor in considering the influence of physical distance.

TABLE 11.

DISTANCE TRAVELLED AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

DISTANCE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	%	%	%	%	%	%
0 - 200	52.6	30.6	25	29.4	8	12.1
221 - 400	29.8	42.4	39	47.0	56	48.5
401 - 600	2.6	8.0	-	4.4	4	3.0
601 - 800	12.28	14.6	20	11.8	28	24.2
801 +	2.6	4.0	15.6	7.4	4	12.1
	11.3%	44.2%	6.3%	20.3%	7.8%	9.8%

KEY:

1. No formal Education
2. Primary
3. Islamic
4. Post Primary
5. N.C.E. (Diploma)
6. University.

Total Size of Sample 1,005

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April-July, 1979.

For instance, 63.3 per cent of the migrants have their parents or community of origin within 200 km of Makurdi. (See table 10). The social distance is important to the migrant[44] and has been shown elsewhere the psyco-social costs and benefits of migration enters into migrants evaluation of place utility of various possible destinations.

This finding showed that physical distance alone in the typical gravity model[45] is inadequate in explaining migration. The influence of physical distance is a function of information flow, frequency and intensity of human interaction, transport and communication networks and other psycho-social factors.

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CHAPTER FOUR

REASONS FOR MIGRATION DECISIONS.

Most researchers studying migration in Africa and else where have tried to study the reasons behind migration decisions.[1] The resons behind the migration decisions are very central in the study of population movements.

Broadly three approaches have been used in the study of reasons behind migration decisions. They are the subjective approach, the objective approach and a combination of both the subjective and objective approaches.[2]

The subjective approach tries to learn from the migrant himself the resons for his movements. In most cases, the researchers drew the conclusions from analysis of responses to questions like, "Why did you migrate? Why did you leave that place"? The critics of this approach argue that the battery of questions often asked did not reveal the real reasons for migration. The individual reasons usually reported, are in fact rationalization of the behaviour within the system.[3] Bouge,[4] has argued that in most cases, the migrant is not fully aware of all the forces at work which prompted the decision to migrate. Adepoju[5] was of the opinion that migrants usually report "the last straw motives" while the real causes are either over shadowed or omitted completely.

The objective approach infers reasons from a study of objective structural determinants, and the correlations between the external determinants and migrations and impute these reasons to the migrant.[6] The third approach is the combination of the subjective account of reasons reported by migrants and inferences based on a study of subjective structural determinants of migration and the inter-relationship between these external determinants and migration.[7]

Mabogunje suggested the use of systems approach in the study of migration process.[8] Systems approach sees migration as a response to change in social, economic and technological environment which affect the whole system and in turn affected by the behaviour of the system.

In the following analysis of reasons for migration, both objective and subjective approaches would be freely used.

The migrants were asked the reasons for leaving last residence and the reasons for choosing this destination. In addition the migrants were asked to state the ways they benefited by their movements to Makurdi. The responses are reported below.

4.1 ECONOMIC FACTORS.

The analysis has shown that 51.6 per cent of the respondent left their last place of residence because of transfer, 19.4 per cent left on completion of schooling, training or apprenticeship, 12.2 per cent left because of

poor trade or business, 7.8. per cent left because of lack of employment opportunities, 2.1 per cent left because they dislike the former place while 6.0 per cent left for other reasons. On the whole 71.6 per cent left for reasons connected with employment, trade or business, while 19.4 per cent migrated on completion of education, training, apprenticeship. (See table 12).

TABLE 12:

REASONS FOR LEAVING FORMER PLACE

REASONS	%
No Response	.9
Transfer, Deployment	51.6
Completion of Education Training, Apprenticeship.	19.4
Poor Business, Trade	12.2
Dislike for formar place	2.1
Lack of Jobs, Employment	7.8
Others.	6.0
T O T A L	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 1005

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July, 1979.

The analysis of benefits derived from the movement showed that 59.1 per cent reportedly benefited from their movements by having better job, better pay or better trade and business. (See table 13).

The analysis have showed that the economic factor is the most dominant factor in the decision to migrate into Makurdi. The finding is consistent with the reports of other researchers in Africa who have found that economic factors are dominant in the decision to migrate and that, to a large extent, determine the volume and direction of migration flow.[9]

4.2 THE NON-ECONOMIC FACTORS

The economic factors may be dominant in the decision to migrate but various non-economic variables enter into the migrants cost and benefit analysis in the decision making process.

4.2.1 EDUCATION

Diffusion of Western education has been found to be an important factor in the population mobility in Africa,[10]. It has been argued that youths who had received any form of schooling have high propensity to migrate to urban areas where the returns to their labour is much higher than in the rural areas.[11] On the other hand it has been found that the concentration of education institutions in the urban

TABLE 13:

BENEFIT FROM MIGRATION

RESPONSES	%
No Response	.9
Better Job, Pay, Trade	59.1
Education, Training	3.6
Enlightenment, Civilization	.6
Better Living Standard	9.0
Learness Home	21.8
Others.	5.1
T O T A L	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 1005.

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July, 1979.

areas and opportunities that exist for educational advancement and training in the urban informal sector attracts migrants especially youths.[12] The youth migrate into urban areas not only to seek employment in the urban commercial industrial and administrative establishments, but also to benefit from facilities for educational advancement and training that exist in the urban formal and informal sectors.

As it has been shown in the study 19.4 per cent migrated on completion of education, training and apprenticeship while 12.2 per cent reportedly migrated into Makurdi because of availability of facilities for schooling,

training and apprenticeship. (See table 12). This finding may be compared with that of Sada and Adegbola who found that 13.92 per cent of their respondents migrated into Lagos because of availability of Educational facilities in Lagos.[13]

4.2.2 NEARNESS TO THE NATAL HOME

The African rual-urban migrant has been described as a temporarily urbanised migrant who maintains a strong link with the natal homes through frequent visits, and remittance of money to the natal homes.[14]

It then follows that the nearness of the natal home to the destination would be very important in the migrant evaluation of the net utility of the various possible destinations.

In this study it has been found that 21.8 per cent of the respondents claimed they benefited from migration because of their nearness to their homes (See table 13) From the analysis of responses to the question "How frequently do you visit home?" It was discovered that, 43.2 per cent of the respondents visit homes between 1 - 6 times a year, while about 5 per cent visit homes more than six times a year (See table 14).

TABLE 14:

FREQUENCY OF VISIT HOME PER YEAR

RESPONSE	%
None	3.6
Once	35.2
2 - 6	8.0
7 - 12	39.4
More than 12	13.8
T O T A L	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 1005.

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July 1979.

With the advent of party politics since 1979, the visit home has even become much more regular. It is common to have most of the migrants travelling out of Makurdi at week-ends and public holidays possibly to the natal homes. For most of the migrants, the socio-economic and cultural links with home are very strong, if the frequency of visits home is used as an indication of their participation in the socio-economic, political and cultural activities at home.

One may infer from the above analysis that the location of the natal homes has a strong attraction in the choice of destinations.

4.2.3 FRIENDS AND RELATIVES

Friends and relatives who had migrated earlier to urban centres or who form an immigrant community in the urban centres affect the migrants decision making process. They may provide information on the job opportunities, support when the migrant arrives in town, and may even feed and clothe him in some cases. It has been argued that this is the main reason why migrants tend to go to the same places as earlier migrants and on arriving at the destination tend to settle in similar areas.

The respondents were asked if they had knowledge of any job opportunities at the destination before they migrated from their last residence. The question was considered not relevant for the 51.4 per cent of the respondents that were transfered, because their movement does not involve a change of job rather a change of location. For the rest of the respondents 40.6 per cent have the knowledge of jobs before migrating 7.8 per cent had no knowledge of any job before migrating (See table 15).

The 40.6 per cent of the respondents who reportedly had knowledge of some jobs before migrating were asked to mention their sources of information. The analysis showed that 75 per cent of the respondents who have the knowledge of available job before migrating got their information through friends and relatives, 8.8 per cent through advertisement in the mass media while 12.2 per cent through other means (See table 16).

TABLE 15:

KNOWLEDGE OF JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION

RESPONSE	%
Not Relevant	51.4
Yes	40.8
No	7.8
T O T A L	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 1005

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July, 1979.

TABLE 16:

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

SOURCE	%
Friends and Relatives	75.0
Advertisement (Mass Media)	8.8
Others	16.2
T O T A L	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 410.

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July, 1979.

The most difficult times for the urban migrants is the waiting period, that is, the time of arrival until they get jobs. Most migrants, especially rural-urban migrants, left their home barely with only their transport money. During the period of waiting, they must be fed, sheltered and

sometimes clothed. The respondents were asked where they stayed when they first came to town before getting accommodation of their own, that is, if they were staying in houses rented by them at the time of interview. The analysis showed 60.6 per cent of the respondents stayed with friend and relatives, 14.9 per cent stayed in hotels while 23.6 per cent stayed in other places. (See table 17). Other places include those with houses in town, 7.6 per cent of the respondents, or have accommodation arranged by friends and relative, have government quarters ready for them before arrival.

TABLE 17:

ACCOMMODATION ON FIRST ARRIVAL

RESPONSE	%
No Response	.9
Friends and Relatives	60.6
Hotel	14.9
Others	23.6
T O T A L =	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 1005.

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July, 1979.

The respondents were further asked "How long did you stay there?" The purpose is to give us an idea as to the magnitute of the support the migrants received from friends and relatives. The analysis showed 26.9 per cent of the respondents stayed between 1 - 4 months before

securing accommodation of their own, 59.4 per cent of the respondents stayed between 1 - 12 months while 18.5 per cent stayed more than 12 months (See table 18).

There is a very strong evidence that the presence of friends and relatives in town weighs heavily on the decision to migrate. Friends and relatives do provide financial and moral support before and even months after the migrant must have secured urban job. They also help the migrants in the process of adjustment to a new environment.

4.2.1 CHANGES WITHIN THE MIGRANT'S ENVIRONMENT

We can also infer that some of the migrants moved because of the changes in the socio-economic, political and technological environment which affected their perception of relative utility of the various locations and their own needs and aspirations.

TABLE 18:

LENGTH OF STAY IN PLACES WHERE FIRST ACCOMMODATED

RESPONSE	FREQUENCY	%
No Response	222	22.1
1 - 4 Months	270	26.9
5 - 8 Months	183	18.2
9 -12 Months	144	14.3
More than 12 months	186	18.6
T O T A L	1005	100.0

Total Size of Sample 1005.

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July, 1979.

The changes may be such that the present location no longer satisfies the migrants needs and aspiration for instance in the material improvement in his way of life, maintaining close contact with the natal home, and other psycho-social considerations. These group of people may be attracted by the socio-economic facilities and opportunities in the new location to satisfy their economic and non-economic needs and aspirations.

It is clear from these analysis that though the migrants usually report one reason for migrating, the reasons for migration involves complex economic and non-economic factors.

It may also be infered from this study that benefits like living in migrants cultural and social framework, nearness to community of origin, and sense of belonging to a place are as important as economic motives in the decision to migrate.

In the African society where communication net work is still poor and where literacy rate is very low, the effects of friends and relatives in information flow as regards urban job opportunities is very significant.

The factors that prompt an individual to move transcend individual factors. It has to do with the socio-economic, political and technological changes in the migrants evironment resulting from internal and extraneous factors.

For instance Mabogunje[15] has argued that the transformation of the socio-economic and technological environment of the rural community through contact with the international economy, mainly the Western capitalism, has influenced the values and expectations of the rural community. The demands of the modern ways of life have forced migrants to move into the favourably placed cash crop producing areas and urban centres to earn cash to meet their expectations and aspirations like buying clothes, manufactured products and education of themselves and children.

As it has also been shown by Idachaba, the wages paid by the public sector and other price distortions have artificially increased the rural-urban income differential and this has made urban employment more attractive than employment in agriculture. As long as the rural-urban wage differentials persist, the towns would be relatively more attractive not only because socio-economic facilities are available in urban centres but also because the returns to labour are higher in the urban areas than in the rural areas.[16]

Another aspect of this changing environment was the creation of states since 1967 which has greatly affected the development of the new state capitals. The state capitals are being transformed into administrative, commercial and industrial centres. They are being provided with basic infrastructural facilities like piped water, road, electricity and health care facilities. The concentration of socio-economic facilities in these towns is of great attraction to the migrants both from the rural communities and other urban centres. One feature of the new state capitals was that because of expansion in all facets of the socio-economic activities they are capable of absorbing the migrants both skilled and unskilled, literate and illitrate as such uneployment rate was very low.

The decision of migrate transcends individual economic reasons usually reported by the migrants. It has to be seen within the environment, in which the decision is being taken and in terms of individuals expectation, and aspirations. One tend to agree that individuals are generally not aware of all the factors that prompt the decision to migrate.[17] For instance non of the migrants in the survey mentioned that they migrated into Makurdi because the creation of states has created opportunities in Makurdi, yet this is the most important single change in the environment that has made Makurdi an attractive destination area for both rural urban and urban-urban migrants. One may than agree with Taylor[18] that a study of reasons for migration must combine both subjective and objective approaches.

The reasons for migration are still a complex mixture of both economic and non-economic factors. The weight of economoc and non-economic factors on the decision to migrate depends on other factors like, age family size, educational level attained or the sophistication of skill acquired.

However a crucial factor is the quality of the destination itself - quality in terms of the utility functions of the destinations visa-vis others as perceived by the migrant.

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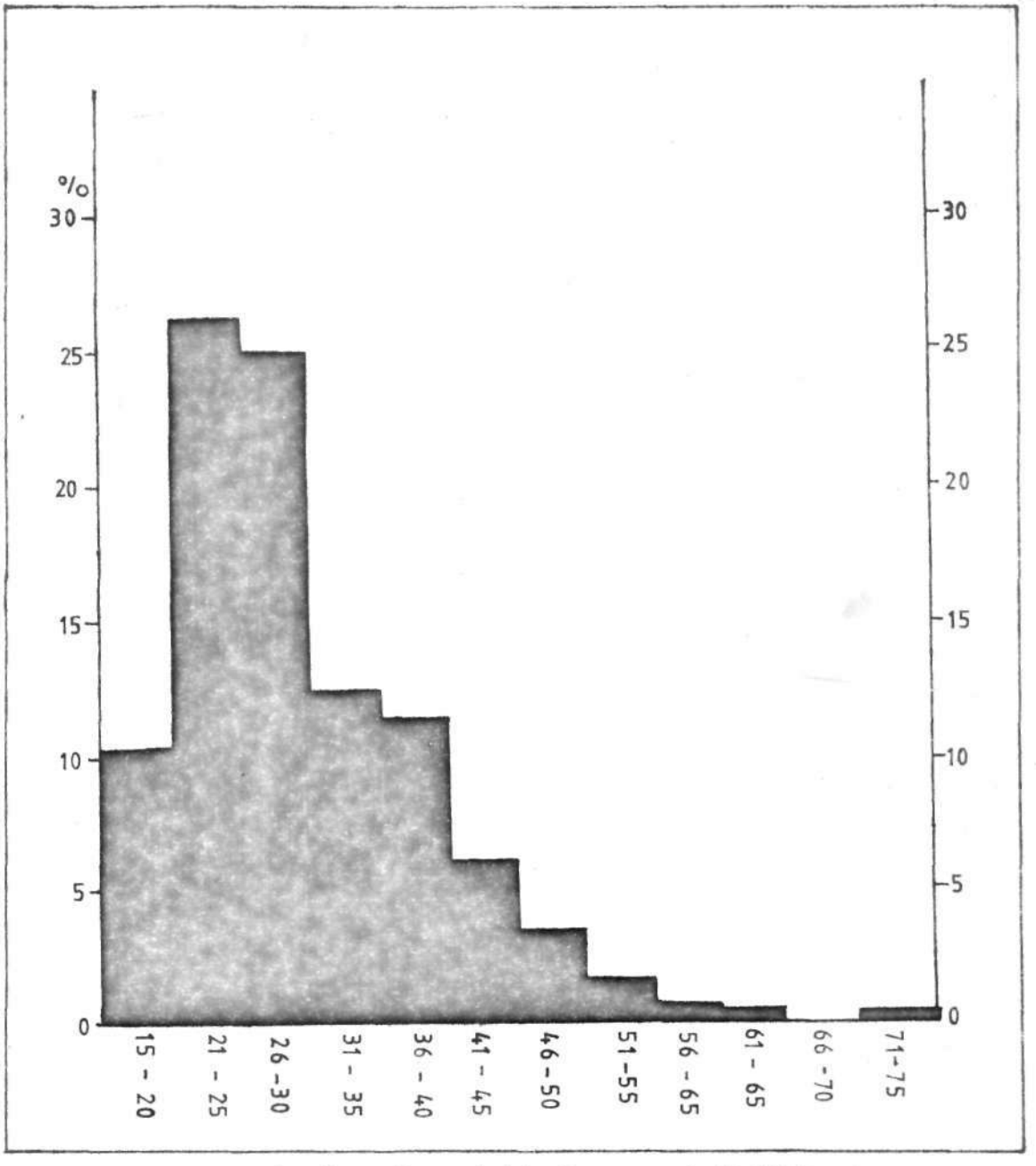
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FIG 11. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD HEADS



Source Makurdi House hold Survey, April 1979

TABLE 19:

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD HEADS

AGE	%
15 - 20	10.7
21 - 25	26.9
26 - 30	25.0
31 - 35	12.8
36 - 40	11.9
41 - 45	6.0
46 - 50	3.9
51 - 55	1.5
56 - 60	.6
61 - 65	.3
66 - 70	-
71 - 75	.3
T O T A L	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 1005.

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July, 1979.

TABLE 20.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE HOUSE-HOLD MEMBERS

AGE	FREQUENCY PCT.
0 - 5	18.8
6 - 10	17.8
11 - 15	12.0
16 - 20	13.2
21 - 25	14.3
26 - 30	11.1
31 - 35	4.4
36 - 40	4.1
41 - 45	2.2
46 - 50	1.1
51 - 55	.5
56 - 60	.2
61 - 65	.08
66 - 70	-
71 - 75	.05
T O T A L	100.0

Total Size of Sample, 5,829

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey April - June, 1979.

The aged, that is 61 years and above accounted for only .13 per cent of the population of the household members. This finding could be compared with that for Ilorin[5] in 1974 where it was found that 29.6 per cent of the sample population was between the ages of 6 - 14 years while the 15 - 54 years age group accounted for 44.5 per cent of the smapled population. The aged, that is 55 years and above accounted for only 4.8 per cent of the sampled population. The Maiduguri survey[6] reported .5 per cent of the sample over 60 years, 57 per cent between the ages of 15 - 59 years while approximately 42.5 per cent was under 15 years.

The high percentage of people in the 16 - 40 years age bracket in the population is due to high immigration rate and this has implications for the development of the towns. Generally people in the 16 - 40 years age bracket are the most active in terms of employment and the most energetic and enterprising part of the population. The migration of them could have serious implications for the socio-economic development of both the destination and the source areas.

If migration of people in the 16 - 40 years age bracket is to growing urban centres like Makurdi expriencing expansion in the industrial, commercial and administrative establishments, the labour inflow would help to fill vacancies created in these establishments. It would also prove beneficial by increasing demand for urban goods and

services thereby stimulating general economic growth. On the other hand if migration is to already congested, labour surplus urban centres with high rate of unemployment migration would tend to worsen the situation. As Miracle and Berry have argued "the impact of labour inflow on the urban labour market will depend on the ability of the urban centres to absorb the increased supply of labour. The impact can be beneficial by providing increased urban production, providing labour where shortage exist, providing increased supplies of human capital or providing enterpreneurs who can establish additional firms to provide the increase amount and varieties of goods and services, demanded in the growing urban centres"[7].

The selective out-migration of people in the 16 - 40 years age group some of whom are skilled, educated and more receptive to change from any location can have serious effects on the socio-economic development of such location. In Nigeria these locations are generally the rural areas who export most of the migrants to the urban centres.

Demographically the age structure of the migrants could have serious implications for both the source areas and the destinations. The youthfulness of migrants could have significant impact on the rate of natural growth of the population of the rural source areas and the urban destination. Majority of the sample population

are young, 47.1 per cent of them within 15 - 40 years age bracket, (see table 20) and about 30 per cent of the respondents, not yet married. The single men will either return to the rural areas to find wives or will marry women who migrate into the urban centres. This would tend to increase both the immigration and birth rate within the urban centres and would tend to decrease the population growth and birth rate in the rural source areas.

The analysis of the composition of the household members showed that 48.7 per cent of the household members are within the ages of 0 - 15 years bracket. (See table 20). The concentration of such age group in the urban centres could put pressure on the stock of social service facilities like schools, hospitals and other welfare establishments.

5.2 SEX.

It is observed that 87 per cent of the household heads are males while 12 per cent are females. The ratio of male to female is about 7 to 1. However this figure must be compared with the composition of the household members. Between the ages of 16 - 40 years category which represent 47.1 per cent of the sample population, the ratio of male to female is about 2:1 while the ratio of male to female for the total household members is less than 2:1 (see table 21).

The consistent finding of the demographic characteristics of African migration is the high proportion of men in the migration stream.[8] The dominance of men in the migration stream may be due to two factors. Firstly the common approach to migration research is to interview the head of the households since the household migrate as a unit. In most parts of Africa, a man is usually the head of the household except in case of widowed or unmarried women. Therefore in the analysis of migrant characteristics male members normally dominate, for instance in our analysis of the household heads the ratio of male to female household heads was about 7:1 while the ratio of male to females in the 16 - 40 years group of members of the household is about 2:1.

Secondly males dominate in school attendance in most African countries largely as a result of African

TABLE 21:

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

AGE	% MALE	% FEMALE
0 - 5	10.0	9.0
6 - 10	8.7	9.1
11 - 15	6.3	5.6
16 - 20	7.2	6.0
21 - 25	8.2	6.1
26 - 30	6.4	4.7
31 - 35	3.2	1.2
36 - 40	2.7	1.4
41 - 45	1.7	.5
46 - 50	.77	.39
51 - 55	.46	.07
56 - 60	.15	.08
61 - 65	.05	.03
66 - 70	-	-
71 - 75	.05	-
T O T A L	= 55.85	44.14

Total Size of Sample, 5,829.

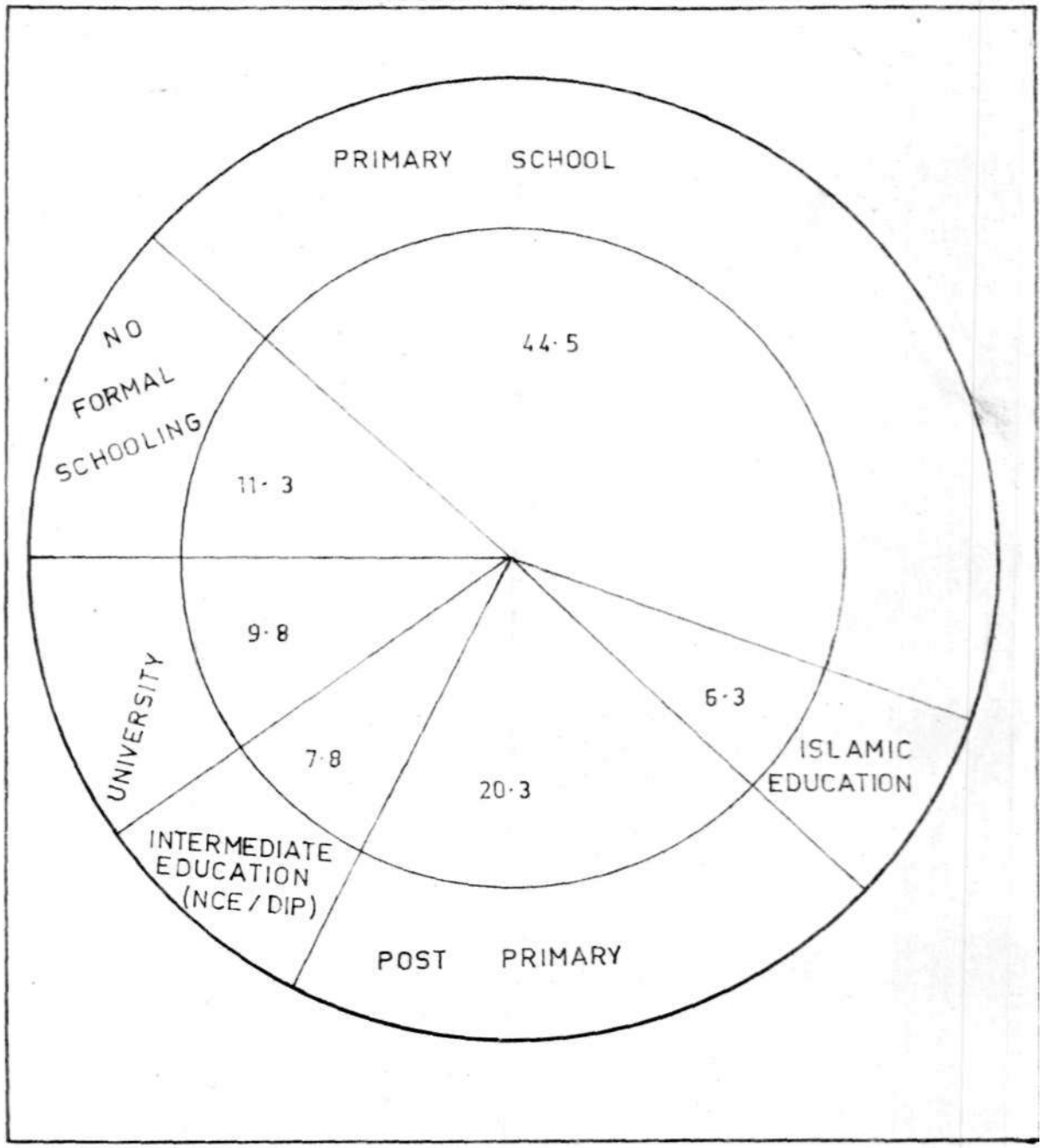
SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July, 1979.

value system where parents favour educating the males more than the females. Since the propensity to migrate is highest among people with formal schooling, the differences in schooling between males and females would normally be reflected in migrant composition.[9] It is expected that there would be a gradual increase in the female composition of migrants as their school attendance increases in the rural areas.

5.3 EDUCATION.

In the analysis of the educational characteristics of the respondents, 88.7 per cent of them has one form of schooling or the other. People with primary education constitute 44.5 per cent of the respondents while those with post-primary education consititute 38 per cent of the respondents, (see table 22, fig. 12) This finding may be compared with the 1982, Makurdi survey which reported that "over-all, 81.4 per cent of the Makurdi population (77.7 per cent of Makurdi Central and 88.7 per cent of High Level) of the respondents replied that they attended school." The break down of the figure showed that people with some form of primary education constituted about 57.4 per cent of the respondents while people with post-primary and post-secondary education constituted 42.5 per cent of the respondents (see table 23). It has been observed that people with some form of formal education tend to be more mobile than those with none.

FIG.12 EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD HEADS



Source : Makurdi Sample Survey April to July 1979

TABLE 22:

EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD HEADS

L E V E L	%
No Formal Schooling	11.3
Primary School	44.5
Islamic Education	6.3
Post-Primary	20.3
Intermediate Education (NCE. Diploma)	7.8
University	9.8
T O T A L =	100.0

Total size of sample, 1005

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July 1979

The association between incidence and extent of education and migration has been shown in studies in various parts of Africa.[10] The general conclusion has been that there is statistically significant association between the level of education and migration.

Yehuda Karmon[11] found that in the then Eastern Nigeria; there was widespread tendency to leave the rural areas on the part of those who have completed secondary schooling because agriculture holds little attraction for those who finish secondary schooling. Instead they look for jobs which will enable them to utilise their education and attain higher income and

standard of living. These opportunities exist as government officials, clerks and traders in towns.

TABLE 23:

EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

L E V E L	%
Primary/Islamic	19.5
Full Primary	37.9
Post Primary	32.4
Post Secondary	10.1
T O T A L =	99.9

Total size of sample, 840

SOURCE: Compiled from Benue State Urban Development Project, 1982. pp 19.

This situation has led some researchers to suggest that education is a factor leading to rejection of agricultural pursuits.[12] However, the fact that the tendency to migrate among the school leavers is very high does not necessarily mean a rejection of agricultural pursuits. One of the factors for high propensity to migrate of school leavers is that returns to education is very low in rural areas as compared to the urban areas.[13] Secondly the nature and system of agriculture as at present does not provide the school

leavers with opportunities to utilise their education.

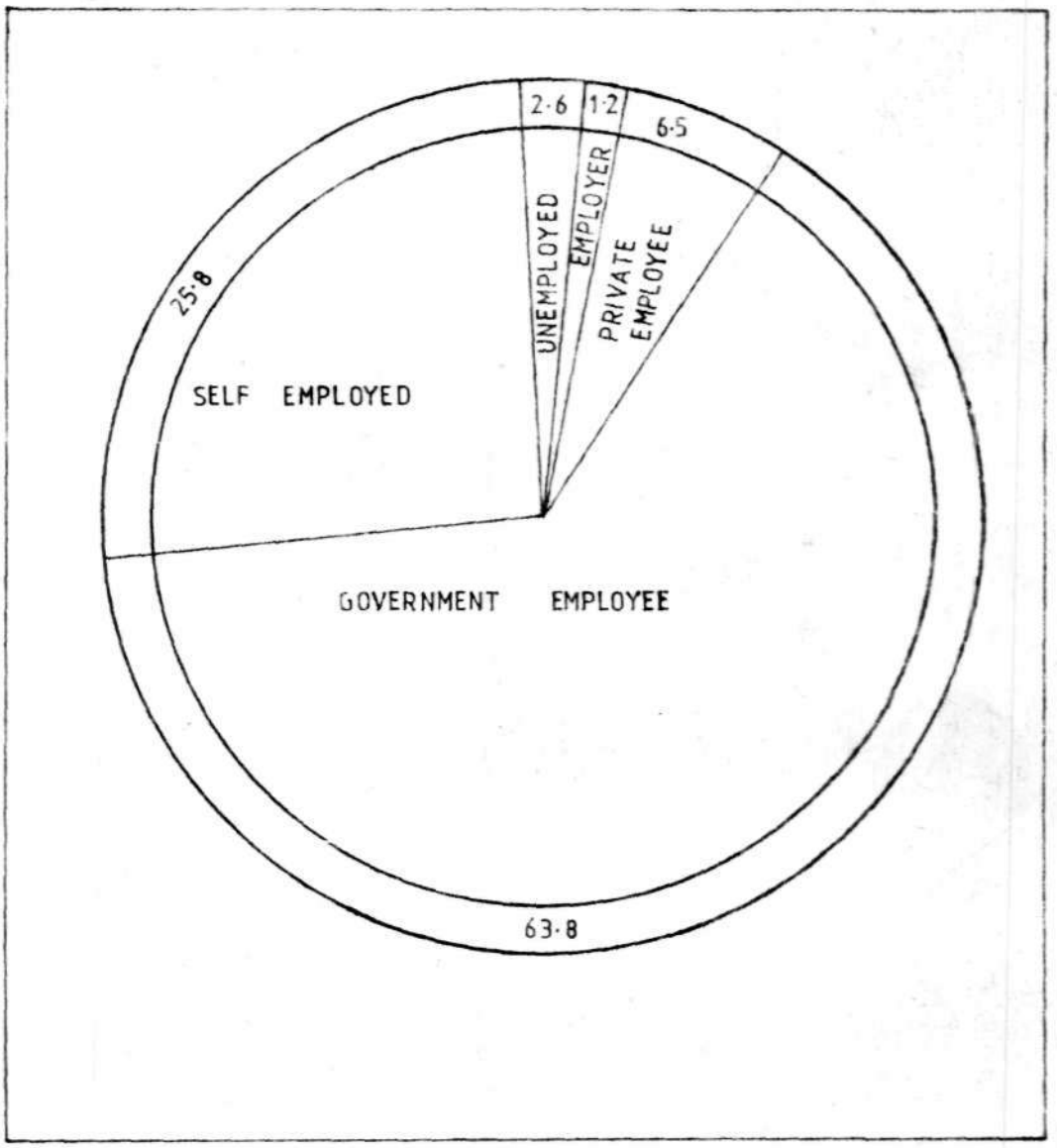
The selective out-migration of educated people from rural areas to urban areas has implications for the socio-economic development of the state and the country. At the present state of the agricultural development, selective out-migration can be said to be an effective means of locating labour with regard to patterns of distribution of resources and opportunities. In the long-run the pattern of out-migration might have serious adverse effects on the rural source areas who are being deprived of their labour force.

The implication of the selective out-migration for socio-economic planning is clear. The source areas would continue to lag behind in the level of socio-economic development except the source areas could be provided with facilities in such a way that job opportunities could be created to absorb their surplus population.

5.4 OCCUPATION:

The analysis of the sample population of household heads showed that 63.8 per cent were employed in the public service, 6.5 in the private sector, while 25.6 per cent were self-employed. Employers accunted for only 1.2 per cent while the unemployed accounted for 2.6. per cent (see table 24 and fig. 13).

FIG. 13 OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD HEADS



Source: Makurdi Sample Survey, April to July 1979

This result may be compared with that of Ilorin [15] and Maiduguri[16]. For instance in the Ilorin survey only 2.2 per cent among the economically "active population" were reported unemployed while in Maiduguri 5.5 per cent of the working population were reported "totally unemployed."

TABLE 24:

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD HEADS

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS	%
Unemployed	2.7
Employer	1.2
Private Employee	6.5
Government Employee	63.8
Self Employee	25.7
T O T A L =	100.0

Total size of sample, 1005.

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July 1979

The 1982 survey in Makurdi could not be compared with this report because of difference in classifications. The study was more of professional classification than occupational.

The various forms of classification may prevent rigorous comparsion but two importnat aspects of this analysis are that the government is by far still the largest employer of labour in the new state capitals employing 63.8 per cent of the sample population of household members, secondly unemployment is not yet a serious problem in the new state capitals undergoing expansion in the various sectors.

The implications of this situation for the socio economic development is that there is a limit to which the government can go employing people into the public sector. Except employment opportunities can be created in the private sector to take more of the migrants, unemployment rate would soon rise especially among the primary school and secondary school leavers. In addition to allocating resources in favour of the rural source areas to stimulate economic activity, the planning of industrial, agricultural and educational investment must be geared towards reducing the proportion of the labour force employed in the public sector. Educational system must be made functional so that school leavers may learn some useful trade which would enable them to go into the private sector instead of seeking white collar jobs.

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CHAPTER SIX

MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

6.1 DEFINITION OF DEVELOPMENT.

The literature on economic development of the post second World War years was based on the definition of development "as a rapid and sustained rise in the real output per head and attendant shifts in the technological, economic and demographic characteristics of a society".[1]

In line with this definition, the economic objectives of most developing countries was to maximise output of goods and services and the principal measure of development came to be the Gross National Product (GNP) per head. The emphasis was on the export of cash crops and minerals, and import substituting industrialization as a measure of raising real output per head and conserving foreign exchange.

This concept of development does not pay much attention to the distribution of wealth and the improvement in the quality of life in the society. It was merely hoped that the benefits of development would automatically diffuse throughout the society. This concept and strategy of economic development has created a situation in many developing countries where the wealth of the society is concentrated in a few hands while the majority of the people live in abject poverty.[2]

The repercussions of the post-second world war concept and strategies of development have led to a re-examination of our concepts and strategies of development. Increasing emphasis is being laid on distribution of wealth and the improvement of the material well-being of the people rather than on the aggregate output of goods and services.[3] The change in emphasis also means change in the indicators of development from the Gross National Product (GNP) per head to some welfare indicators of the improvement in the quality of life of the people like improvements of Education, Health, Housing, Water and Electricity Supply.

The change in the concept, strategies and indicators of development would augur well for a micro level study of development. On the micro level the impact of development may be felt and even noticed, but it is sometimes difficult to quantify development on the basis of Gross National Product (GNP) or aggregate production.

For the purpose of this study, development would be defined as the mobilization and utilization of the human and material resources of the society for the improvement of the material well-being of the people irrespective of their social status and geographical locations. The critical variable in this definition is the improvement in the living standard of the people in the society. The goal of development should be, to bring about a qualitative improvement in the living standard

of the people in the society. This goal may be achieved through promoting industrialization and agricultural development, provision or improvement of transport facilities, water and electricity supply and the provision of social welfare services like health, education and housing. The emphasis is on satisfying the basic human needs of the society. This emphasis is reflected in the choice of indicators of development which have been chosen in the following analysis of development in Makurdi since 1976.

6.2 INDUSTRIALIZATION.

The level of industrialization is one of the indicators of growth. In addition, industrialization provides employment opportunities where migrants may be gainfully employed which is one of the basic needs of the society.

In the 1975 -80 plan period over 20 industrial projects were planned for Benue State with plan allocation of 44.9 million naira.[4] At least three of these industrial projects were located in Makurdi.

These are:-

(1) Benue Breweries Limited which was incorporated in 1978 with a capital investment of 12.3 million naira. It went into production in 1982.

(2) The Benue Bottling Company which was incorporated in 1981 with projected

investment of 5.3 million naira.

(3) The Plastic Production of Benue State which was incorporated in 1981 with project investment of 4.7 million naira.

When completed the direct government participation in the Industrial Projects in Makurdi alone would be about 31.3 million naira. These projects are in various stages of completion, it is only the Benue Breweries Company that has gone into production.

The plan envisaged that about one thousand job opportunities would be created in Makurdi alone by the three projects. In addition to the job opportunities created directly and indirectly, it is hoped that the projects would improve the income generation to the government and individuals, and increase the level of commercial and social activities in the town, and therby raising the quality of the living standard of the people.

In addition to the government direct participation in the industrial projects, the government has encouraged the small-scale industrial concerns through the small-scale industrial loan scheme.

By definition, small scale industry is any manufacturing, processing or service concern with less than ₦120,000 initial capital. Small scale industries are the vital base for the industrial take off of any society. While serving as industrial base, the small scale industries help in tackling the problem of unemployment.

The small scale industrial loan scheme started during the time of the former Northern Regional Government when it was designed to help small scale industries finance industrial projects which they can not finance on their own. When the states were created, the beneficiaries of the loan scheme were transferred to the respective new states.

The new states continued generally with these projects and it has helped greatly in boosting small scale industrial establishments in the various states.

In Benue state a total of 51 projects were inherrited from Kwara and Benue-Plateau state in 1976 and the total loan to the 51 establishments as at 1976 were less than 1 million naira. A total of 61 fresh loans were granted between 1976 and 1980 and a total loan of nearly 4 million naira has been granted between 1976 and 1980[5] (table 25).

In February 1980, it was reported that only 74 projects remained in the scheme. These projects are shown in the table 26. The 74 projects have a total of 1062 employees at the time of the survey. Makurdi has 13.5 per cent of the total projects and has about 15 per cent of the employees.

TABLE 25

SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIAL LOAN

YEAR	TOTAL LOANS GRANTED
1976 - 1977	1,190,500
1977 - 1978	2,205,786
1978 - 1979	-
1979 - 1980	540,000
T O T A L	3,936,286

SOURCE: Compiled from Benue State Industrial Development Plan 1981 - 1985. Final Report by Bell Management and Finance Services Limited. 1981 pp. 37.

From the foregoing it can be seen that government's effort in encouraging small scale industrial concerns through the small scale industrial loan scheme is an important factor in the industrial development of the state and in the growth of socio-economic activity. Job opportunities are being provided and hopefully the people's income and standard of living are being improved.

In the study of Makurdi there is enough evidence to show that there has been increase in the level of economic activity since the influx of migrants started in 1976. For instance, in the 1979 survey of business

TABLE 26:

SMALL - SCALE INDUSTRIAL LOAN SCHEME

INDUSTRY	NO.	NO. OF EMPLOYEES
Bakery	26	402
Palm Oil	2	68
Rice Mill	8	85
Saw Mill	4	52
Cement	1	12
Funiture	10	130
Concrete Blocks	23	313
T O T A L =	74	1,062

SOURCE: Ministry of Trade and Industry, Makurdi.

establishments in Makurdi, 74 per cent of all the business premises surveyed were established between 1976 and 1979, while only 26 per cent were established before 1976, (see table 27). This can be compared to the survey carried out by the statistics Division of Benue State Ministry of Economic Planning (see table 28), in 1980 in which it was reported that 73.2 per cent of all the small scale establishments in Makurdi were established between 1976 and 1980, while only 26.8 per cent were established before 1976.

TABLE 27:

YEARS BUSINESS WAS ESTABLISHED

PERIOD	RESPONSE	PER CENT
No. Response	1	.5
Before 1961	3	1.5
1961 - 1965	3	1.5
1966 - 1970	7	3.7
1971 - 1975	36	18.9
1976 - 1979	140	73.6
	190	100.0

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April - July 1979.

TABLE 28:

SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENT IN MAKURDI

T Y P E	BEFORE 1976	1976-1978	1979-1980	
3116 Grain Milling Products	3	-	-	
3117 Manufacture of Bakery Products	4	16	8	
3220 Manufacture of Wearing Apparels	2	2	1	
3240 Repair Products	3	4	6	
3320 Carpentary and Woodworks	4	2	1	
3420 Publishing and Allied Industry	1	1	1	
8324 Engineering Architetural and Technical	2	8	2	
T O T A L	19	33	19	71
	26.8%	46.5%	26.7%	100%

SOURCE: Compiled from Benue State Industrial Directory 1980 - 1981.

There is evidence that the migrants have contributed to the general growth of economic activities and development in Makurdi. Most of the migrants are gainfully employed. It has been reported that 63.8 per cent are employed in the Public Sector, 6.5 per cent in the Private Sector while 25.6 per cent are self

employed (see table 23). It has also been established from the survey that substantial per centage of the urban income is spent in the town. This money may be spent on housing and consumer items in which the expenditure patterns of the migrants help to stimulate general economic activities in the urban centre. Some of the migrants may have invested their saving in the various sectors of the urban economy.

Immigration into urban centres is not only a movement of skilled labour into the towns but it also involves the movement of capitals. It has been shown that about 75 per cent of small scale industrial and service establishments in Makurdi were established between 1976 and 1979, (see table 27 and 28). These establishments involve huge capitals most of which must have come with the migrants who came into Makurdi from various areas.

There is enough evidence from the nature of their occupation and the business they have been able to establish that many of the migrants were semi-skilled and skilled craftsmen and people with considerable capital for investment. Their migration also involved movement of their capital into the urban centre.

This finding shows that immigration of enterpreneurs, income earners and semi-skilled and skilled people into medium sized urban centres tends to stimulate general

socio-economic growth and development in such urban centres.

The influx of people into a medium sized urban centre like Makurdi could have negative or positive effects on the rate of socio-economic development. The effect would depend on the training and the socio-economic status of the migrants; the opportunities that exist to gainfully employ the migrants and the resources available to the public and private sectors to meet the increased demand for social services like provision of housing, health, education facilities, electricity and water supply. The influx of large number of people into a medium sized urban centre like Makurdi would put pressure on the stock of socio-economic facilities like housing, schools, health facilities, water and electricity supply. This has been true of Makurdi since the creation of Benue State in 1976.

When the public and private sectors were able to meet the demand for these basic needs of the society migration would tend to have a positive effect on development but when the public and private sectors were unable to meet the demand for these basic needs, then migration can be said to have negative effect.

In the case of Makurdi as a new state capital in its initial phase of take off, opportunities exist for the migrants both skilled and unskilled. Secondly the migrants are generally semi-skilled and skilled people who are gainfully employed and entreneurs whose spending

patterns and investments help to boost the level of socio-economic activities and development. Thirdly there is enough evidence to show there has been considerable development in the provision of the basic human needs like housing, water supply, electricity and employment opportunities between 1976 and 1979.

6.3 HOUSING:

Shelter is one of the basic human needs. Providing accommodation for the army of migrants is one of the problems of most urban areas. The magnitude of this problem would be perceived when it is realised that only about 8 per cent of the respondents owned houses in the town according to 1979 survey. The 1982 survey report showed that about 28 per cent of the respondents were owners of the compound in which they lived. The rest must be sheltered in private houses and government owned or rented quarters and housing estates.

The responsibility of building residential houses for government employees was that of the State Ministry of Housing and Environment between 1976 and 1979. When Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) was established in 1978 the responsibility was transferred to that body.[7] Between 1976 and 1979 the State Government spent about 16.6 million naira on the provision of residential units in Makurdi alone.

This include 5 million naira grants to Housing and Urban Development Corporation, 8.1 million naira spent on provision of senior staff quarters and 3.5 million naira spent on junior staff quarters.[8] In addition the Housing and Urban Development Corporation has spent 6.4 million naira on building of residential houses between 1978 and 1981.[9] In summary the state government and its agencies has spent a total of 23 million naira on provision of residential houses in Makurdi alone between 1976 and 1981.

It has not been possible to estimate directly the level of private investments in the provision of residential facilities. However from the study it is estimated that only 22 per cent of the respondents stayed in government rented quarters and housing estates. Neglecting the fact that private houses were rented by government agencies which tend to raise the percentage, it now stands that about 78 per cent stayed in the private houses i.e. in the ration of 1:4. Therefore the private investment in the provision of residential houses within the period may be about four times the size of government investments.

6.4 ELECTRICITY.

The level of electricity consumption is an indication of the level of socio-economic activity and development and the per capita power consumption are usual indices of comparing level of development in one area with another.

The demand for electricity supply in Makurdi between 1976 and 1980 grew at an annual rate of 85.5 per cent (table 28). While the demand for residential purposes grew at annual rate of 71 per cent, the demand for commercial establishments grew at an annual rate of 74.5 per cent (see table 28). Within the same period electricity generated grew from 1,176,000 KWH in 1976 to 2,901,100 KMH in 1980 which represents a growth of about 35 per cent annually. There exist a gap between supply and demand; while the demand is growing at a very fast rate, the supply is lagging behind and this means that most of the demand would not be satisfied. The problem of electricity supply in Makurdi is only a reflection of the national problem. While the installed capacity of electricity in Nigeria seem to remain stagnant the demand is growing at a fast rate. The reality of electricity supply situation in Makurdi, like as it is at the national level, is that the demand is more than the supply. Consequently most of the demand is not adequately satisfied.

TABLE 29:

ELECTRICITY CONSUMPTION

PERIOD	UNITS OF ELECTRICITY GENERATED	NO. OF CONSUMERS	
		RESIDENTIAL	COMMERCIAL
1976 - 1977	1,176	1,559	107
1977 - 1978	5,553	1,713	217
1978 - 1979	1,176	3,534	398
1979 - 1980	2,901	6,001	858

SOURCE: Compiled from Benue State of Nigeria, Statistical Year Book 1979. pp. 227 and 228.

Though it has not been possible to calculate the total capital investiment in National Electric Power Authority it can be concluded from the foregoing, using electricity supply and consumption as an indicator of level of development, that much socio-economic growth and development has taken place in Makurdi between 1976 and 1980.

6.5 WATER SUPPLY.

Water in adequate quantity and quality is one of the basic human needs. Water indeed, is a necessity for the existence of human life. The influx of migrants into urban centres would increase the demand for water supply.

It has not been possible to estimate the increase in demand for water between 1976 and 1980 but the level of public investment may be an indication of the level of the problem. Between 1976 and 1980, the state government has invested a total of 5 million naira in building and extending water supply facilities in the state capital. Wirhir the same time, water supply in Makurdi has increased from 2.3 million litres a day to 18 million litres a day.[10]

Despite the progress in the water supply situation it is estimated that about one-third of the town is not directly supplied with water. For instance the whole of the North-Bank of Makurdi is yet to be supplied with pipe-borne water.

6.6 MIGRATION AS A CATALYST IN THE PROCESS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

It is a widely held view that migration stimulates economic development.[11] The main argument is that migrants contribute to the general growth of the economy by helpingin the diffusion of skills, ideas and attitudes and through their investments in the socio-economic activity.

It must be stated that whether migration would be beneficial or not depends on the characteristics of the migrnats and situation at the destinations. In a situation

where migrants are moving from unemployed and labour surplus areas to labour shortage areas where opportunities exist for the migrants to be gainfully employed, migration can be said to be a process of facilitating mobility and efficient allocation of labour with regard to patterns of distribution of resources and opportunities.[12]

However in a situation where migration is to areas of employment and labour surplus areas where opportunities for employment are limited, migration would be negative to the socio-economic development and would tend to increase the crimes and vices in the society.

The characteristics ofthe migrants is also important. Migration of enterpreneurs who have capitals to invest in the economy of the destinations would be beneficial by stimulating economic activity and creating job opportunities. On the other hand migration of job seekers with no useful training and skills would only worsen the socio-economic and unemployment situations at the destinations.

Another impact of migration on development is the influence of migrants on the rural homes. As has been shown, 67 per cent of the respondents claim to have their rural homes in Benue State. Their contact with the rural homes among other things could enable the flow of wealth from the urban areas into the rural homes.

In this study the respondents were asked if they sent money home regularly. Table 30 showed that 21.7 per cent of the respondents did not send money home, while 78.3 per cent sent money home regularly. The respondents were further asked to estimate the percentage of the annual income sent home annually. It is estimated that over 64 per cent of the respondents send between 6 - 20 per cent of their income home annually. Evidence from other studies showed that between 20 - 25 per cent of urban income are remitted to the rural homes annually.[13] The impact of this cash flow on the rural economy is enormous if this cash is invested in agriculture in the short or long-run. The remittance however is often used to pay school fees of members of the families in the rural homes or for maintenance of parents and families left at home. In this way the rural dwellers may benefit from the growth of the urban economy.

To the cash remittance we must add the urban income filtered into the rural hinterland through purchase of food-stuff and other essential products and services of the rural hinterlands which support the urban population. For example field survey and interviews during this study show that many workers in Makurdi do by-pass the middle men and go directly to the rural markets and buy food-stuff.

TABLE 30:

PERCENTAGE OF ANNUAL INCOME SENT HOME

RANGE	% OF INCOME
0	21.7
1 - 5	18.5
6 - 10	24.12
11 - 15	9.6
16 - 20	13.1
21 - 25	5.1
26 - 30	3.6
31 - 36	.9
36 - 40	2.1
41 - 45	.3
46 - 50	.6
50 +	.3
	100.0

Total Size of Sample 1,005.

SOURCE: Makurdi Socio-Economic Survey, April-July, 1979.

Certain investment undertaken by migrants individually or collectively do not necessarily fall within the category of cash remittance to the rural home. In Nigeria like other parts of Africa where migrants maintain strong links with their rural homes, migrants usually invest in housing, farming and other projects in

their rural areas. Apart from the fact that these investments are preparations for the time they will retire into the rural home, it is a sign of success for migrants to invest in building and other similar projects in the rural home. Such country houses owned by migrants living in urban centres is common in the rural villages throughout the country. Usually such houses are complete with modern amenities like piped-water, electricity etc. A part from the physical impact on the landscape its impact on the goals and aspiration of the rural community is enormous.

The diffusion of ideas, values, skills and attitudes is an important element in the process of socio-economic development. It seems the most outstanding contribution migrants are making to the process of socio-economic development is by providing channels for the diffusion of ideas, values and skills. As Mabogunje[14], has pointed out; 'In a community where agencies for resource development, such as agricultural extension services, sales promotional services, and widespread advertisement facilities are non-existent or poorly developed, migrants are important because they are able to perform these functions.'

There is evidence from the present study that migrants still perform these functions and are likely to continue to be important agents of diffusion of ideas, attitudes, and skills until such a time when education would be much more widespread and communications much more improved.

NOTES

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4. Bells Management and Finance, (1981), Benue State Industrial Development Plan 1981 - 1985. Government of Benue State.
5. Ibid.
6. Ministry of Trade and Industry, (1980), Benue State Industrial Directory. Government of Benue State.
7. Interview with General Manager, Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO), Makurdi.
8. Government of Benue State, (1979) Statistical Year Book. 1979. pp. 208.
9. Interview with General Manager, Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO), Makurdi.
10. Government of Benue State, (1979) op cit.

11. The following writers have argued that migration stimulate economic development. Ajaegbu, H.I. (1976[b]) "Migration and rural economy in Nigeria" in Adepoju, J.A. (Ed) Internal Migration in Nigeria (Proceedings of the Seminar on Internal Migration in Nigeria). University of Ife. Mimeographed. Udo, R.K. (1975), The migration tenant farmers in Nigeria. African University Press. Mabogunje, A.L. (1970[b]), "Migration Policy and Regional Development in Nigeria". Nigeria Journal of Social and Economic Studies. Vol. 12 pp. 243 - 262. Also Mabogunje, A.L. (1972), Regional Mobility and Resource Development in West Africa. Mac Gill-Queen's University Press.

12. Ajaegbu, H.I. (1976[b]), op cit., Udo, R.K. (1975) op cit, Mabogunje, A.L. (1970[b]) and (1972), op cit.

13. Johnson, G. and Whitelaw, W.E. (1972) "Urban-rural Income Transfer in Kenya: An Estimated Remittance Function". Unpublished paper, Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi, Adepoju, J.A. (1974), "Rural-Urban Socio-economic Links: The example of migration in South-west Nigeria" in Amin,[5] (Ed) Modern Migration in West Africa. Oxford. Also Sabot, R.H. (1972), Education, Income Distribution and Urban Migration in Tanzania". Unpublished

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14. Mabogunje, A.L. (1972), op cit.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This research has thrown light on some aspects of the current patterns of population movement resulting from the administrative re-structing of the country since 1967.

It has been shown that migration is essentially a human response to the stimuli from the socio-economic and political environment. The potential migrant's response depends on the individual characteristics and the differences in the net utility between various locations. The migrant is a supposedly rational man who tends to move to locations which give him or promise to give him maximum utility.

The relative utility functions[1] or attractiveness of a location change with the changes in the socio-economic and political environment. A change in the status quo, may decrease or increase the relative attractiveness of a particular location. For instance, the creation of an administrative centre, like the new state capitals, a new industrial undertaking like the Iron and Steel Project in Ajaokuta, is an example of some of the changes that may affect the utility of various locations.

The dominant theme of this research has been an appraisal of the effect of the creation of states in

1967 and 1976 on patterns of migration and the development of the new state capitals. As Riddell and Harvey[2] have argued, "To restructure geographic space and man's mobility vectors in that space requires an isolation of the major components which affect aggregate behaviour patterns in that environment. Thus a meaningful approach to population mobility research is to appraise the effect of new impetus on the status quo".

It has been shown in chapter three that prior to the creation of states in 1967 and 1976, migration in the North was mainly characterised by movement from the peripheral areas of the North to the core areas of Kano, Kaduna and Jos. The core areas were the administrative, commercial and industrial centres within the North and they exerted a lot of pull on the migrants from the peripheral areas.

The creation of states in 1967 and 1976 seems to have modified the pattern of population movement. With the creation of states, the medium-sized urban centres in the peripheral areas of the North, which used to export population, have become attractive destination areas for migrants from other urban centres and the rural areas throughout the country. Some people are now moving from the large urban centres like Kaduna, Kano and Jos, and the rural areas into the medium-sized urban centres that became state capitals. The reason is not only that opportunities have been created

in the medium-sized urban centres but they may have been able to meet certain psycho-social needs of the migrants which the larger urban centres do not provide.

The spatial redistribution of power which occured in 1967 and 1976 is the most single important factor affecting the patterns of migration within the last two decades. The result of this study and various reports from Maiduguri and Ilorin have shown that since the creation of states, the new state capitals have witnessed influx of migrants both from the rural areas and other urban centres in the country.

In Nigeria, within the last two decades at least political factors more than pure economic factors seem to be responsible for the growth of the medium-sized urban centres. Since the creation of states in 1967 and 1976, the new state capitals were not only administrative centres, but areas of concentration of socio-economic activity. The new state capitals have witnessed massive private investment in the commercial activities and massive public invetment in the provision of socio-economic and infrastructural activities. The combined effect of these factors has led to massive influx of migrants into the new state capitals.

The utility functions of the new state capitals have increased since they acquired their roles. Opportunities exist in the expanding administrative, commercial and industrial establishments to gainfully

employ the migrants both skilled and unskilled. In addition prospects advancement is higher in the new establishment in the new state capitals than in the larger urban centres.

One of the attractions for migrants in the new state capitals is the benefit of being close to the community of origin. Most migrants reportedly benefited from migration by being close to their community of origin.

The current pattern of population mobility particularly those resulting from the creation of states and development of the new state capitals seemed to be restructuring geographic space in favour of development of the stagnant or declining areas and medium-sized urban centres. It has been shown that migration into Makurdi has contributed immensely to the development ofthe town and the regional economy through demands for goods and services created by migrants and through spending patterns of migrants and their remittances to the rural homes. It has also been shown that a lot of capital for investment came with the migrants.

Prior efforts to narrow the gap between developed areas and underdeveloped areas in Nigeria through inducing industries to locate in the stagnant areas had little success, if any, in restructuring geographic space. As Logan[3] has observed, 'manufacturing in Nigeria has not brought about any restructuring of space

economy rather it has consolidated organisational and spatial structures originally imposed by the old merchant firms and marketing boards."

The current process of spatial development would certainaly help in the restructuring of geographic space so as to increase the nations rate of economic growth and ensure that the benefits of growth and development pass on to a greater number of people regardless of where they leve. As Richardson[4] has argued. "The growth of urban centres usually has a generative impact on the regional and, by extension, on the national development."

This process can be said to be beneficial to the space economy because, it help to achieve spatial equity in the distribution of national revenue. The decentralisation of regional administration and the creation of states andlocal government means equitable distribution of welfare and resources through grants and allocation of national revenue to the states and local government authorities.

There is evidence from this study that migration could be a catalyst in the process of socio-economic development. One feature of African migrants is the strong contact maintained with the community of origin. The contact provides channels for diffusion of ideas, values and skills from the urban centres to the rural areas. This function is much more significant in a society where the means of communication and transportation is

still poor and the illitracy rate is still high.

In addition to providing channels for the diffusion of ideas, values and skills, there is evidence from this study that migrants also came with capital which they invested in the economic ventures within the town thus stimulating the rate of general economic activity. The movement of skilled labour and capital, and the spending patterns of the migrants has been an important ingredient in the socio-economic development of Makurdi since it became a state capital. As pointed out by Mabogunje[5] the major role of migrants in stimulating economic development "is often as innovators in terms of either institutions, techniques, values or actual physical objects created or introduced into the environment".

The motives for migration are complex and may involve forces which may be known or unknown to the migrant. The need for migration usually arises out of the forces operating in the migrants socio-economic and political environment which create needs and a aspirations which the migrant may seek to satisfy. The changes may also affect the net utility of various possible destinations visa-viz the present location.

In this study it has been shown that although the dominant reasons usually reported are economic, psycho-social reasons are also important factors in the decision making process.

Another factor in the decision making process is the migrants characteristics. The age, training, education, and family size are some of the factors that enter into the migrants decision making process.

The role of friends and relatives in the destination areas in the decision making process has already been discussed in chapter four. This could be a critical element in the decision making process. Friends and relatives in the destinations provide feed-back to the rural areas on the social and economic situation in the urban centres and especially information on the urban job market. They influence the direction and volume of future migration. The role of friends and relatives in influencing migration is not limited to providing information on job opportunities but they help new arrivals in finding jobs and providing support and accommodation for the new arrivals during the search for urban jobs and even months after securing urban employment.

In this study it has been shown that distance, level of educational attainment, and nature of skills acquired have noticeable impact on migration. It is observed that people with high level of educational

attainment or sophsicated skills are much more willing to travel longer distances than unskilled people and people with limited level of educational attainment. Persons with high level of educational attainment or sophiscated skills seeking better jobs and opportunities are generally more willing to move longer distance[6]. They are also likely to have better knowledge of job opportunities at longer distance. Secondly persons with higher level of educational attainment and sophiscated skills generally have better means and resources to cover long distances and endure the initial hardships before recouping the benefits from migration.

The positive correlation between migration and distance from the residence of parents may be explained in terms of migrants desire to minimise the physical and social distance from the community of origin. Because African urban migrants visit home regularly and participate in the social, political and economic activities at home, there is a great desire to minimise the distance between community of origin and destination.

From all indications majority of migrants find the decision to migrate rewarding. Benefits from migration reported include both economic and non-economic. Some of the benefits are economic like better trade, better pay, promotion and psycho-social benefits like nearness to parents residence.

The policy issue of this study is viewed from the wider perspective of place prosperity versus people's prosperity[7] as the most appropriate regional policy target. "People's prosperity" means aid to people, the unemployed, the poor and the under priviledged. A common instrument for "people's prosperity" relevant to this study, is migration subsidies, like inducing people to move from stagnant to growing areas. It is argued that inducing people to move from stagnant areas to growing areas would increase efficiency and aggregate productivity through elimination of underemployment in the stagnant source areas.[8] "Place prosperity" means aid to places, for instance rural underdeveloped areas. It is argued that concern for interregional or other dimensions of spatial equity may contribute towards solving the problems arising from the inequitable distribution of welfare, income and resources. Therefore, aid to any geographically defined areas becomes almost equivalent to maximizing the welfare of the target population within that area.[9]

In Nigeria most migration policy often recommended by researchers has tended to favour inducing migrants to move from stagnant labour surplus regions to developed often labour deficient regions.[10] It is often argued that this way labour would be effectively utilised and national aggregate productivity increased through

elimination of underemployment of labour in the labour suplus stagnant areas.

Any regional policy must take cognisance of the national goals and the existing situation. If the situation whereby certain regions are condemned to stagnation is to be reversed, and if the declared national goal of building an egalitarian society among other things means to organise geographic space and ensure that the benefits of growth and development pass unto a greater number of people regardless of where they live, then the only alternative is to lay emphasis on place prosperity based strategies of spatial planning. Spatial planning in the 1950s in Nigeria tended to emphasis locational efficiency at the expense of regional equity. The result of this approach has been inequality in regional development and out-migration from stagnant areas to the growing areas and urban centres.

Migration, as has been shown, is a human response to differences in opportunities which exist between various locations in space for which the migrant has contact. People migrate not because they have got a higher propensity to migrate but because the present location was unable to provide opportunities to satisfy individual expectations and aspirations (e.g. opportunities in white collar job). They move into locations that have or promise opportunities to satisfy the expectations and aspirations. If we accept the declared national objective

of egalitarianism as defined above, then attempts must be made to narrow the gap between the developing areas which had acted as destinations and the stagnant underdeveloped areas which have been areas of out-migrations.

It has already being pointed out that industrial policy of inducing industries to locate in the stagnant areas has not been very successful in Nigeria. The most successful way of stimulating development in the stagnant areas so far has been political decision which allocate administrative functions to the stagnant areas. In the interest of even development and equitable distribution of resources this process has to be pursued depending on the available resources.

NOTES:

1. Utility is defined as the net composite of all economic and non-economic benefits that give an individual satisfaction by locating at a point in space.

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8. Richardson, (1978:221), op cit.

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AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA

SOCIO - ECONOMIC SAMPLE SURVEY OF MAKURDI APRIL/MAY 1973

Household Head.

District.....

Segment:.....

Date.....

Enumerator.....

Supervisor.....

1					2	3	4
Tenure of dwelling					Monthly Rent	No. of Rooms	No. of Persons in Household
Owned	Rented Private	Rented Govt.	Rent free	Shared Rented			
1	2	3	4	5			

5			6			7		
Income at previous place of residence			PART OF ANNUAL INCOME			Income in this Town		
Annuly	Monthly	Weekly	Sent Home	Spent on goods and services in Town	Spent on goods and services outside this Town	Annualy	Monthly	Weekly

8. Give the reasons for leaving your last place of residence.

(1) Transfer, Deployment.
(2) Poor trade, business
(3) Dislike for the former place
(4) Lack of employment opportunity in the former place
(5) Completion of Education, Training, apprenticeship.
(6) Others, specify.....

9. Give the reasons which made you come to this Town.

(1) Transfer, Deployment.
(2) Trade, business.
(3) Nearness to home
(4) Attractiveness of the town
(5) Others, specify.....
(6) Education, Training, apprenticeship
(7) Employment opportunity

10. Did you know of any available job before you left your last place of residence: YES NO

If yes, give the source of information. (1) Friends and relatives
(2) Advertisement
(3) Others.....

11. Where did you stay before you got accomodation of your own in this Town?

(1) Friends and relatives
(2) Others, specity.....
(3) Hotel

How long did you stay there before you got accomodation of your own.

12. In what ways have you benefited from coming to this town?

(1) Better jobs, better pay, better trade, better business
(2) Education of children, of household head
(3) Enlightenment, Civilization.
(4) Better living standard, improved health
(5) Others, specify.....

13. Have you/any regrets for coming to this town? Give reasons.....
.....

14. Give the name of your place of birth.

TOWN	L.G.A.	STATE

15. When did you artive in this town?.....

16. How long have you lived in the town?.....

17. Have you lived in any other place before you settled in this town?

YES NO

If yes, give the name of these towns in order

STATE	TOWN	FROM	TO

18. Give the names of other towns you could have settled if you had not settled in this town. 1. .....
2. .....
3. .....

19. Do you intend to move out of this town in the future? YES NO

If Yes give the reasons why you intend to move.

(1) Retire home
(2) Employment
(3) Transfer
(4) Education, Training
(5) Trade, Business
(6) Others, specify.....

		20	21	22	23
		SEX	AGE	MARITAL STATUS	Relationship to Household Head
	Name of Persons	Male Female		Married Divorced Widowed Never Married Re-Married	Household Head Wife Child Brother Sister Father Mother Wife of Relative Other relative Non-relative
	Household Head	1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
		1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
		1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
		1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
		1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
		1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
		1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
		1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
		1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
		1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
		1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
		1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
		1 2		1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

24. Level of Educational attainment.

(1) Below Primary
(2) Primary
(3) Post-Primary
(4) Islamic School.
(5) N.C.E./Diploma, & H.S.C. etc.
(6) University

25. Economic Status

(1) Unemployed
(2) Employed
(3) Enrolled in school/College
(4) House wife

26. Nature of Employment

(1) Employer
(2) Private employee
(3) Civil Servant
(4) Self-employed

27. Nature of Establishment

(1) Trade
(2) Govt.
(3) Industry
(4) Services (Mechanics, Capentary etc.
(5) Crafts
(6) Farming
(7) Mining
(8) Fishing

28. Where do your parent live (Natal home)

Town/Village	L.G.A.	State

29. How frequently do you visit your home (Natal home)

.....