INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

University Microfilms International
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 USA
St. John's Road, Tyler's Green
High Wycombe, Bucks, England HP10 8HR

77-18,049

KING, Maria H. Wills, 1922-
RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN NIGER: THE FATE OF THE MIGRANT IN AN URBAN SETTING.

The University of Michigan, Ph.D., 1977
Education, general

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN NIGER: THE FATE OF THE MIGRANT IN AN URBAN SETTING

by
Maria H. Wills King

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Education)
in The University of Michigan
1977

Doctoral Committee:

Professor William M. Cave, Chairman
Professor Lawrence S. Berlin
Assistant Professor Nolan E. Jones
Professor Ali A. Mazrui

DEDICATION

To My Daughters

They have provided me an inspiring example through their courageous spirit in encouraging me to press forward in my advanced studies. The sacrifices they made in accepting my absence and short temper when I was present are acknowledged. Ever mindful of this, I sincerely hope I have in some small measure instilled in them a gentle dignity and personal pride which will influence their lives.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the course of designing a research project (the actual time spent in Niger, Africa--eight months--carrying out my field work, the many months spent on the coding and analysis of the data collected, and finally, the writing of my dissertation), I have become indebted to many people whose help has been both extensive and brief. The substantive, methodological and psychological assistance has been and will be crucial to my completion of graduation requirements. It is almost impossible to thank the countless individuals who have contributed, but I feel I must name a few whose assistance deserves special thanks.

I turn first to the African natives, the scholars of the highest degree, who were actively involved in making my stay in Niger worthwhile and my research an actuality. The Institute de Recherche en Science Humaines, located in Niamey, Niger, extended to me lodgings and personal assistance throughout my stay in Niger. Three Nigeriens: Director Dioudle Laya, Co-Director Pierr Foulani, Secretary Issa Garba and their complete staff continued to reassure me of purpose and were invaluable in aiding me through all phases of the sojourn in Niger. I remember them with affection and gratitude.

Dr. Guy Comlan of the World Health Organization, his wife, Carol, Professor of English Literature at the Univer-

sity of Niamey, and their two young daughters, Sheila and Shola, were invaluable interpreters and companions to me--it grew into a love affair! They kept me alert, alive and happy by opening up their hearts and their home to me while I was so far away from home.

I am equally grateful for the interest and guidance of Dr. William Cave, the Chairman of my dissertation Committee. Dr. Ali Mazrui, who graciously gave me moral support, which I needed so badly, and went beyond the call of duty, and I will be forever indebted. Dr. Nolan Jones and Dr. Lawrence Berlin, members of my committee, also deserve a round of sincere applause.

There are not words enough to express my thanks to my old "standby" Darryle Thomas, a fellow graduate student. We struggled together helping each other along the way for nearly four years within the "den of iniquity" (Department of Political Science, The University of Michigan). Heartfelt thanks to another old and lasting friendship, Lillian Coffee who made suggestions and recommended a very good typist, Ms. Faye Burton, whose help continues to keep me in awe. Both ladies' typing expertise and proofreading did not fail under the most precarious circumstances. Last, but of equal importance, I must acknowledge Dr. Obidinma Onyemelukwe and Esther Schaeffer who helped me computerize and analyze an enormous amount of data.

The research study and my living expenses while in the field were financed by the Center for Research on Economic Development at the University of Michigan. A supplementary grant was offered and accepted from the Ford Foundation for writing my dissertation, processing and analysis of the data, rendering the final operation more compatible both morally and financially.

DISCLAIMER

I hereby officially assume full responsibility for the archive copy of my dissertation, submitted to the Department of Adult and Continuing Education within the School of Education, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Michigan. I ask that pictures be as carefully handled as possible to avoid loss of detail, but I assume full responsibility for any clipping which must be done concerning the information of any photographs and writings, etc. I understand that it is my responsibility to support the same. To the best of my knowledge there is nothing in the dissertation which will embarass or misrepresent the Republic of Niger, its government or its people; but if such are to be found, I also assume responsibility.

Maria H. Wills King
May, 1977

Approval of Thesis Advisor: _____
May, 1977

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS. iii

DISCLAIMER vi

LIST OF TABLES ix

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xi

LIST OF APPENDICES xiii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION 1

The Dilemmas of Urbanization Phenomenon
An Overall View of Some Literature: Theoretical Frames of References
Demographic Approaches
Sociological Approaches
Economic Approaches
The General Systems Approach: Rural-Urban Migration
The Input Concept in General Systems Analysis
Conclusion

CHAPTER TWO: A PROFILE OF NIGER: FACTORS TO BE EXPLORED. 43

Geographic Expansion
Population Growth: A Portrait of the People
Hausa
Touaregs
Peul
Foreigners
Modern African Elite

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY: BACKGROUND AND PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION. 70

Method
Viewpoint 1
Viewpoint 2
Rural-Urban Ties

Table of Contents--Continued

Sites of Camp Gardé and Campe Marché de Bétail
Factors to be Explored: What is a Migrant Community?
Housing
The Migrant Communities
Standards of Living
Commerce and Economy
Drawing a Sample: Research Techniques
Some Limitations of the Research
Formulation of the Questionnaire
Questions Formulated

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA 119

Sample Description and Procedures
Statistical Techniques
Chi-Square Statistic (X^2)
Analysis of Data
Ethnic Structure of the Population
Statement of Hypotheses
Future Population Growth, Family Dynamics and the Drought
Health Problems
Adaptive Characteristics
Practical Problems with Systems Approach Model

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PUBLIC POLICY 168

Observations and Summary of Findings
Problems and Recommendation for Public Policy
Education and Employment
Health and Housing
Conclusions

APPENDICES. 184

BIBLIOGRAPHY. 208

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Demographic Profile of the Migrants at Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail	131
2.	Ethnic Groups Within Both Sites	134
3.	Sex and Age Ratios of Migrants Post-Drought in Both Camps.	136
4.	Camp Gardé Pre-Drought	139
5.	Camp Marché de Bétail Pre-Drought	140
6.	Camp Gardé Site #1 Post-Drought	141
7.	Camp Marché de Bétail Site #2 Post-Drought	142
8.	Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail Pre-Drought	143
9.	Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail Post-Drought	144
10.	Two-Way Cross Tabulation for Past and Present Employment	147
11.	Past and Present Employment	148
12.	Infant Mortality Differences.	153
13.	Preferences of Types of Medical Assistance	155
14.	Importance of the City Life in Percentages	158
15.	Future Residential Preferences in Percentages	160
16.	Population of School-Age Children and School Attendance in Niger	197

List of Tables--Continued

Table		Page
17.	Attendance in Nigerien Primary Schools, 1974-1975	199
18.	Attendance in School, 1955-1968	203

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1.	A distant view of a small segment of a typical migrant camp	2
2.	A closeup view taken within the confines of a migrant camp.	2
3.	Sedentary housing, a walled-in compound and shops which are constructed of sun-baked brick	3
4.	The same housing area. Note the road which runs very close to the site. A sharp decline is about 52 inches from the trodden areas where the camel is being led	3
5.	Small children sitting inside their hut protecting themselves from the sun as it has reached its zenith	4
6.	Two herders who have returned home to rest at mid-day.	4
7.	Three women busying themselves with the daily chore of pounding grain into meal	5
8.	A sunken well, almost hidden by a field of green lettuce	5
9.	Location map of the Republic of Niger, West Africa.	44
10.	Diagram of urbanized Maradi	52
11.	Location map of Maradi.	58
12.	Group of Touaregs near their dwelling	88
13.	Closeup of Touaregs whose light skin and dress illustrate a distinct influence of their Arab-African (Black) heritage	88

List of Illustrations--Continued

Figure		Page
14.	Cluster of Touaregs resting at noon day	89
15.	A Peul mother holding infant of not more than two weeks old	89
16.	A Hausa mother preparing food for her children.	90
17.	Hausa children playing in front of their shelters	90
18.	Members of the Peul group in their typical surroundings.	91
19.	A Hausa child at play with the mother not too far away.	92
20.	Working Hausa mothers with colorful head scarves.	93
21.	Heard of cattle owned only by the Peul group	93
22.	A look inside the straw huts demonstrates a loose but orderly arrangement of sleeping and eating space	98
23.	Peuls and Touaregs who share housing	99

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix		Page
A.	Decret N 76-24 P.C.M.S. du 21 Fevrier 1976 Portant Nomination des Membres du Gouvernement Provisoire	185
B.	Questionnaire	188
C.	Sample Codings.	191
D.	Population of School-Age Children and School Attendance in Niger (Overall Population)	196
E.	Attendance in Nigerien Primary Schools, 1974-1975	198
F.	Sieste des Etablissements Scolaires de la ville de Marche	200
G.	Attendance in School, 1975-1968	202
H.	Enseignement Superieur Recapitulation des etudiants Nigeriens au Niger at a l'Entranger.	204
I.	List of Schools in Maradi	206

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Bukoki," shantytown-styled districts are common in the larger cities of Niger. A composite of Banco (sun-baked earth; namely, unfired brick) and straw huts, like the pictures (Figures 1 through 4) that follow, are at present the residences of most Nigerien migrants and about one-third of Maradi's urban population. The other photographs (Figures 5 through 8) show how the inhabitants manage to stay alive in a constrained community. Careful examination of these photographs yields the courage of these poor people who survive within a subsistence economy. The inhabitants seen relaxing in front of their huts are not lazy, shiftless squatters or outsiders because they lack formal educational levels of skill and initiative for hard work. On the contrary, these people--men, women and small children--are up and on the go, constantly working from early sunrise until high noon and returning to labor as soon as the sun begins to lose its apex, about four o'clock in the afternoon. Occupations are various, as massassakas (carpenters), boka (traditional medicine men), cultivateurs (farmers), jina (tanners), and those participating in the less sophisticated tasks of vendres (sellers) of straw, water and hay, which are used for both animal and human consumption. Most of these people feed on a daily



Fig. 1.--A distant view of a small segment of a typical migrant camp.



Fig. 2.--A closeup view taken within the confines of a migrant camp.



Fig. 3.--Sedentary housing, a walled-in compound and shops which are constructed of sun-baked brick.

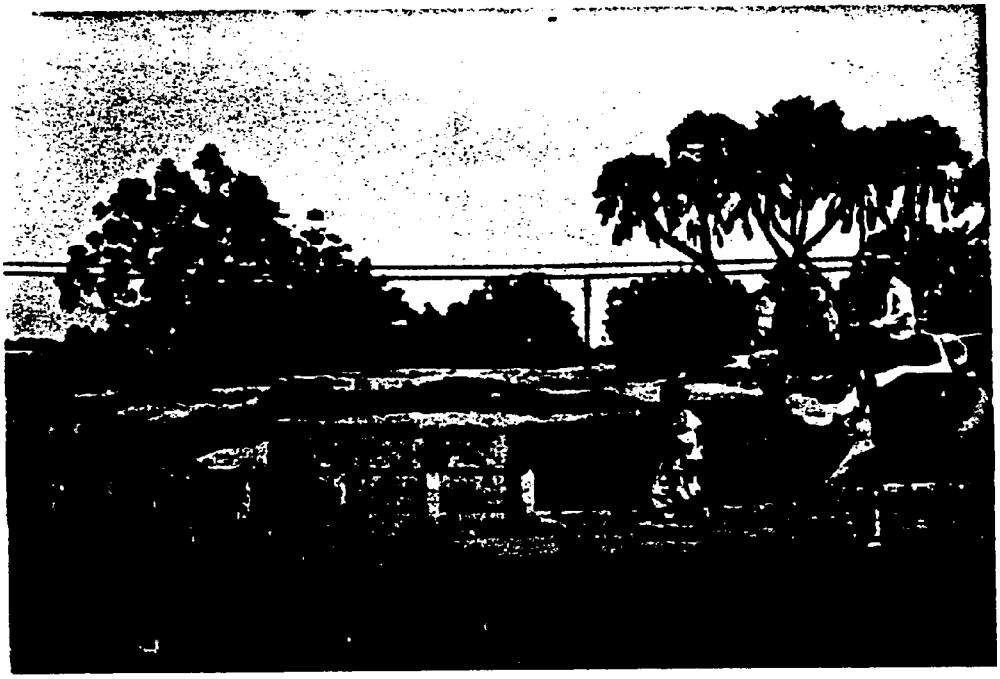


Fig. 4.--The same housing area. Note the road which runs very close to the site. A sharp decline is about 52 inches from the trodden areas where the camel is being led.

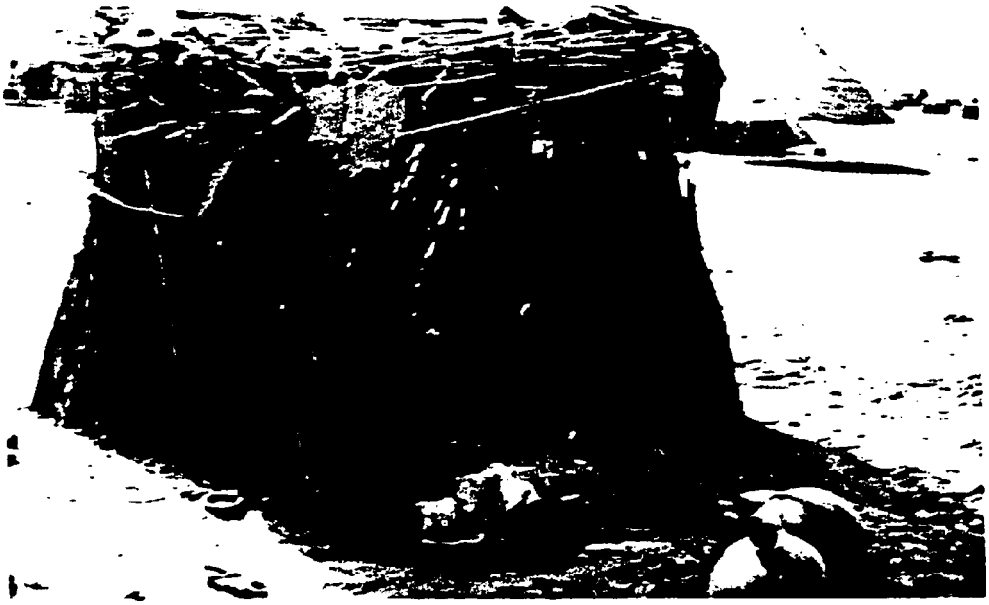


Fig. 5.--These are small children sitting inside their hut protecting themselves from the sun as it has reached its zenith.



Fig. 6.--Two herders who have returned home to rest at mid-day. They take their cattle out to dry pastures very early in the morning hoping to find the scarce feeding grounds which are about 2-3 kilometers from the city.



Fig.7.--Three women busying themselves with the daily chore of pounding grain into meal.



Fig. 8.--A sunken well, almost hidden by a field of green lettuce. These men sell water as well as cultivate their garden. It is located about 3 kilometers from the city.

diet of "la boule," which is millet flour doctored up with goat's milk; sugar, cheese and dried fruits also constitute part of their diets.

These are the migrants of Niger. When these pictures were presented to fellow scholars, professors, administrators, and even the general public, the most common response was that these pictures depict the chaotic, unorganized and overcrowded conditions which have plagued urban migrants all over the world. Yet, upon careful examination of these photographs and the time spent on participatory observation by the researchers, you will find that the daily work habits of this migrant community give pause to the evidence of hard work, community solidarity, community planning, and social commitment exhibited by each individual and family towards one another.

The economy of this region, the African Sahal, is subjected to the harsh natural conditions. The dryness of the region is evidenced, as it is situated on the verge of the desert which cannot be considered farmable. Nevertheless, there are many cultural aspects to the social, economic and political formulations, information which is, indeed, apparent and deemed necessary to explore if we are to realize quality research within this geographic area.

These are the conditions, these are the kinds of persons this study sets out to understand--the migrants (first and second generation) who live in the migrant communities of Maradi, one of the largest cities in Niger.

There are many controversies centered around the nature of these people and their incorporation into the urban society, but few arguments can support their assumptions with adequate empirical foundations. Of course, urbanization is a complex phenomena with an accumulation of processes, procedures, experiences and knowledge. We pretend to know that urban communities throughout the world are constantly expanding with an environment conducive to economic growth. If this be so, how can we speed up that economic growth in Niger? The present study seeks to confirm the assertions of urban expansion and economic growth, and it will try to fill in some of the spaces--paucity found in the sketchily-designed models of paradigms presented to find out <u>why</u> the migrants come and go; <u>what</u> they are really looking for or want; <u>what</u> the migrants think about permanent city dwelling; or <u>what</u> the sedentary community and local governments think of migrants. These are all good questions to ask, but most conclusions are generally vague. The migrants are often portrayed as a number, a group drifting unfavorably within a cloud of doubt. They are often described as restless drifters, a group of people who hardly ever are expected to fit into the larger society without grave socioeconomic problems. We ask why do the migrants have to do all the adjusting; what are the obligations of the sedentary community and local governments?

The goal of this study is to explore and try to develop a new set of social and political indicators that

will afford solid information that can be extended to the government--policymakers--giving them a keener sense of what is really going on and what might really develop; basically, what it is like to live in a large city in Niger during a certain period or year--1976. We must try and obtain a solid picture of the quality of life at this particular time if we hope to accurately assess and compare the quality of life of the past and predict the quality of life for the future. Policymakers should demand a factual and realistic foundation on which to base their initiations and decisions for social programs. Only by identifying social, political and economic indicators unique to Niger can a large scale economic movement be designed and initiated. Point to be made: It is an attempt to put sociological knowledge into practical endeavor. It is a giant step toward "real" economic development in Niger.

In Chapters 1-3, we will set our efforts in perspective by presenting facts and problems concerning the rate of migration in the "Third World" nations. Several arguments will be reviewed through the presentations of different authors. Chapter 1 will deal specifically with the pros and cons of the phenomenon of urbanization. A review of the literature will point out the many concepts of rural-urban migration in Africa and how conflicts in perceptions of this phenomenon are projected. In Chapter 2 we will look more specifically at the migratory movements in Niger, noting some of the "problems" equated with population shifts

and growths which are not problems at all. Pointing out the socioeconomic aspects of community development--a "Portrait of a Community"--is the heart of the dissertation.

Chapters 4-5, the procedures and selection of sites and methodology, will explain how the sites were selected, how the people (heads of households) were chosen or sent to us for questioning and the actual filling out of the questionnaires. How scientific was our data collection can be questioned by the conditions forced upon the researchers. Chapter 3 discusses in detail the basic methodological techniques used in the preliminary investigation and some of the problems encountered in the procedures employed. There is a careful description of how the data were collected--survey research which entailed five months of constant and concerted effort on my part to meet and visualize each of the 450 migrants who were interviewed for this study. Chapter 4 presents the propositions tested against the data collected. The findings and analyses are reported and equated on chi-square tests of significance. Chapter 5, the conclusion, stresses a major theme. After carefully studying the data, I am compelled to argue these migrants are not marginal beings but a solid community of responsible people who can very well and must be integrated into society in a meaningful and productive way, each according to his or her own interest. There is a vital need for educational reform. Further research in

this specific area of rural-urban migration will be of enormous value for predicting the rate or levels of economic development. Indeed, consistent and thorough evaluations of social and political indicators unique to Niger can be accepted as a large-scale movement--a serious attempt to put sociological knowledge into practical exercises of economic development.

The Dilemmas of Urbanization

Phenomenon

Urbanization is a complex process including many and different aspects. There is no doubt that internal and international migration constitute the most important elements in the urban dynamics. In the growing literature on the study of migration we can divide the analytical frameworks into at least three major processes: the decision to migrate, the actual transfer, and the acculturation into the urban society (Eisenstadt, 1954). The literature is usually a designed model that has been formulated to analyze rural-urban migration in terms of "push-pull" factors. As such, migration is considered to be the outcome of interplay and balance of expulsive forces existing in the countryside and attractive forces operating in the city. Different combinations of such forces have been elaborated upon to take into account internal movements throughout the world and within the smallest nations of the world. The issue of how far people move,

how often they move, and where they move has given rise to the formulation of many statistical models with varying degrees of industrialized societies, and have generated more confusion than explanation.

Although social science researchers (anthropologists and economists included) have amassed a great deal of theoretical and empirical information about the effect of rural urban migration, it has been applied most often to conditions in the developed countries. In the last few decades, an all-out effort has been made to formulate theoretical notions essential to the basic dynamics in the transformation of societies. Most nations concentrate on socioeconomic dimensions of skills, race, color, education and motivation, and behavioral patterns which seem to always encompass effects they have made on the political environments of recent choice. Whether it be fear, power, or humanitarian reasons--take your pick--migration is often considered a political hazard. This is obvious in studies of migration to or within western societies. The theme always seems to be an attempt to get a handle on the complexity of phenomena which involve not only the migrant but a number of social and political agencies and institutions, public and private, that are burdened by aiding in the significant and varied adjustment for the migrant of different geographic areas (Fried and Gleicher, 1970; Gans, 1962; Suttles, 1968, et al.).

On the other hand, in most of the literature, theoretical and empirical formulations for explaining or handling migratory movements in the "less-developed" countries or "Third World" nations' models are designed to show a spatial process whose dynamics and spatial impact show a high and rapid rate of urbanization as rural-urban migration occurs. Some authors contend that urbanization is too often equated with modernization and modernization in turn is thought to ultimately lead to enlightenment-revolutionary potential. Of course, we know it could be the other way around. The World Bank could, perhaps, add to either stance based on their concepts of aid which is grounded on population control figures.

No matter, people in Africa are on the move; rural-urban migration has become a challenge to economic growth and development. Particularly in Africa, the circumstances resulting from migration have not yet been seriously considered (Mabogunje, 1972). It is in these areas of the world that there is a need for theoretical testing and intensive case studies about the many notions of population movements. In this chapter we intend to provide some frameworks and/or existing models which have been used and present some of the questions to which these models attempt to address themselves. It is my contention that there are too many phenomena to observe and try to harness, when we

consider constructing models of rural-urban migration in Africa that to date much has been ignored. There is, however, one basic agreement: We must construct a system for the purpose of a scientific analysis of migratory patterns.

As a system has its own environmental factors to resist or adjust to, there are also international environmental considerations. Because of these complexities, I have favored the General System Approach Model. To date, it has some very fundamental advantages over other models. It provides a broader conceptual framework in which an entire range of questions can be asked relevant to getting an understanding of the structure and operations of the entities (sub-systems) within the system. This is the major reason this researcher proposes an analysis of rural-urban migration by using the General System Approach framework.

It is argued that the General Systems Model can deal with a particularly complex number of variables. They can be recognized as being within a system--processing certain properties which are common to many systems, yet performing a different function within a specific system (Singer, 1971). A system, then, is a simple set of interrelated elements which induce complexity within the system as they perform an ongoing interrelationship between each other and the environment. As a framework,

the concept of a system, with its component parts acting and communicating among themselves, will permit us to ask a wide range of questions relevant to their notions, structure, and operational responses to a host of phenomena out of which feedback becomes a crucial variable. We can then sum up with application a great many theoretical and experimental methods of applying analysis to the organizational aspects of generating policy and policy-decisions resulting from the system's successive adjustment prompted by the environment (Deutsch, 1964; Easton, 1965; Singer, 1971, et al.).

A model is only an abstraction from the concreteness of real events, the General Systems Model included; but the more we can see even in an artificial way, the greater our chances to guess the right thing. Models are possibilities in nature, some of which increase the probabilities of winning. However, the General Systems Model affords more leeway than most models for gaining insights into old problems and detecting weak or strong points in new options for optional structures for an organization. In this study, no attempt will be made to define a system or its major components and their relationships in a highly statistical or mathematical way. Our goal is merely to point out some phenomena most common to rural-urban migratory routes in Africa and to try to identify the elements and areas of interrelationships.

An Overall View of Some Literature: Theoretical Frames of References

In Africa, urban growth rates are among the highest in the world, averaging 7 percent annually, with several cities in West Africa having growth rates in excess of 10 percent. Associated with this aspect of rural-urban migration has been an increase in urban unemployment which generally exceeds 10 percent of the urban labor force and consists largely of young school-leavers (Sabot, 1971 and Todaro, 1971).

Although rapid urbanization and its associated unemployment is due partly to high population growth rates, rural-urban migration accounts for over half of the growth of most African cities. At the same time, out-migration of labor from agriculture has been one factor leading to deficits in raising food prices in many African countries (Byerlee, 1970 and Eicher, 1970). For these reasons, there is widespread concern that the rates of rural-urban migration should be slowed. From an economic and socio-political viewpoint, the mass of urban unemployment coupled with at least seasonal deficits in rural areas, represents under-utilization of resources and contributes to inequitable distribution of income.

But more important to policymakers, urban unemployment and higher rates of urbanization pose stronger socio-political questions than the economic ones when considering

the need for reducing the flow of migrants to the city. There is not general agreement that rural-urban migration should be an integral part of national policy analysis and planning, although there is little agreement on the impact of various policies, such as education, minimum wage legislation, and agricultural taxes, relative to rates of rural-urban migration (Byerlee, 1970). Despite considerable research on African rural-urban migration, there is still inadequate understanding of the rural-urban migration process and its implications for economic development. The most recent literature on this phase of migration in Africa has revealed the writers' specific interests and perspectives. Economists, sociologists, and demographers all describe areas of selective concerns, providing excellent coverage of characteristics of African migrants; however, this lends little focus that can be examined from a theoretical standpoint.

With a view toward gathering data for the use of proposing a research framework or model which can address itself to key public policy issues, we will attempt to point out the shortcomings of a few models. Most have been designed to explain and describe rural-urban migratory patterns rather than espouse predictive qualities.

Several models have been used to explain these demographic aspects of migration; namely, the Zipf Distance Hypothesis (1946), the Stouffer Intervening Oppor-

tunity Model (1940), and the McGinnis Stochastic Model (1968).

The first model involves the population in two places, and the distance between the two, and proposes that the shorter the distance the less difficult the move and an attraction being exerted by the larger of the two places. This model, however, has not been very successful at predicting the volume of migration, let along elucidating the role of other factors (i.e., education, economic, and political levels of adjustments.)

The second model is built on the first and postulates that "the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance, and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities" (Jackson, 1969), and a number of other migrants competing for these opportunities. This model would seem at first to embrace a broader range of variables than just demographic ones. But it falters in the end. Intervening opportunities were operationalized as the number of in-migrants settling between two cities and the competing migrants as the number of out-migrants from all cities within a circle. Only one of the cities is undergoing analysis. However, there is an attempt to measure the center of this city to the center of the other.

The third model is based on the finding that only a

certain proportion of the population is mobile and that within this group there are individuals who might be termed "chronic movers." This theory holds that an individual's propensity to migrate depends on his past migratory behavior. A person is more likely to move if he has already made one such move than if he has not, and a person is less likely to move the longer he is in one area--the principle of cumulative inertia.

These three models would seem to have only limited usefulness for analytical study of migration in West Africa unless, of course, one is centrally concerned only with describing and explaining the volume of migration. Looking at the intervening opportunity model (the second model), it would not seem to progress very far beyond the standard "push-pull" theories model. As for the Stochastic process approach, it is certainly of some use in studying "step-wise" migration, seasonal migration and the isolated chronic movers, but it is miles away from focusing on a series of behaviors and events influenced by environmental factors. Certainly, an effective theoretical model policy analysis could not depend on these general and limited data.

Demographic Approaches

Formal demographic studies of migration have been largely descriptive in nature; they have focused on the

volume and types of migrants; the explanation and prediction of migratory streams: the characteristics of places of origin and destination in terms of rural-urban characteristics, size of the city and geographic location, and characteristics of migrants in terms of age, sex, race, and socioeconomic status (occupation, education, skills, etc.). There have also been several attempts to fit migration into the general framework of demographic transition and the process of modernization/industrialization (Davis, 1971). While these efforts help to provide a very general background, they have not demonstrated specific relationships. When one broadens the scope from the purely demographic studies concerned with questions of volume and composition to a more sociological treatment, one sees not only urbanization (both in terms of rural-urban migration and growth of cities) treated in its broader social and psychological aspects, but also interrelations between population parameters (fertility-mortality) and how these interrelations are affected by social factors.

Sociological Approaches

The sociological literature in this field has become a subject unto itself and include such headings as: "Urban Society," "Urbanism as a Way of Life," "Social Disorganization and Conflict," etc. However, out of this mass of literature is enough agitation to keep those interested

in research on their toes as scholars engaged in ongoing debates. The two broadest areas, both of which are of utmost interest to me, are closely linked to the idea of social change in general. The first of these concerns the change from rural to urban settings, problems of assimilation, anomie and social disorganization connected with it (Beals, 1951; Breese, 1966; Kingsley, 1955; Inkles, 1969, et al.). Another part of this same segment of literature stresses the role of institutions as adaptive mechanisms to aid the migrant during the transition.

Thus, Caldwell's (1968) study in Ghana shows how the rural-urban migrants tend to originate from households of wealth, relatives or kinsmen who provide information on job prospects, make contacts with prospective employers and sometimes "naildown" the job for the prospective migrant. This proximity of relatives does reduce considerably the material cost and any human suffering encountered from a migrant's viewpoint, who happens to fall into this group because he/she has been provided the social services he/she needs while waiting for a job. But what about the many migrants who have no friends to greet them? I am sure there are many, and there are any number of migrants whose relatives cannot provide support even though they are already urbanized.

Kenneth Little (1965) focuses on the role of secondary organizations (tribal associations, etc.) in continuing the role of rural primary associations (tribal, family

lineage, age, sex, etc.) for rural migrants in the cities. Perhaps, for some purposes this approach offers one aspect that could be valuable--the functions and dysfunctions of the role of the proverbial-extended family in drawing migrants to the city and looking after them there, when unemployment opportunities no longer exist. This leads to the highly negative type of literature--negative aspects of change visited upon the individual within the urban setting. Perhaps, we should label this portion of literature a "socio-psychological" aspect of rural-urban migration. Life in the city as described expresses various forms of disorganization, such as juvenile delinquency, crime, mental illness, alienation, etc. The content makes this reader recheck the geographic area being described because it sounds much like the literature on the Black ghettos of America. Aside from that, the basic modern political expression is described as being found in the crucial roles of the social institutions. They are adaptive mechanisms, political organizations and the functions of numerous bodies submerged in new electoral wards which are of value in modernizing Africa today (Mabogunje, 1970).

The second broad area linked to the social change idea is that migrants are selected for change; that among all persons who are exposed to opportunities and incentives to migrate only some will actually choose to do so. These individuals are seen as more prone to change and more innovative since they have taken an active step to change their

lives (Caldwell, 1968; Sabot, 1972; Mabogunje, 1972).

The sociologists in particular are interested in the social aspects of the personality, attitudes, values, self conceptions, modes of striving, patterns of moral functioning and ways of relating to authority and subordinates. These analyses and the models developed by sociologists, to carry them out are largely the result of restricting such analysis to the use of secondary source data, usually from the census, sources that provide only aggregate data on migration with few basic cross-tabulations by age, sex, education, etc. Most frequently, these models assign demographic variables; for example, population pressure as a "push" and low population density as a "pull" factor. Thus, rural-urban exodus to town (not large cities) is seen not only as a response to economic opportunity in the cities and declining numbers of laborers required on the farms due to increases in agricultural efficiency, but also to the traditionally higher fertility of rural as opposed to urban areas that produce higher population increases that the rural sector cannot absorb (Herskovits, 1962; Southall, 1961, et al.).

Economic Approaches

Analyses of the determinants of urban wage rates and measurement of the rural-urban earning gaps are important aspects of rural-urban migration to which economists have addressed themselves in recent years. Analysis of the determinants include wage rates and measurements of the rural-

urban employment earnings and levels of education and skills. Studies by Kilby (1967); Knight (1967 and 1972); Ghae (1968); Diejomaoh (1972); Mitchell (1969); and Byerlee (1972) merely begin to scratch the surface of the economist's views on the levels of wages in the urban sector. Most reflections have led to speculations and generalizations on future public policy formulations. This is based on concerns over non-market factors, such as minimum wage laws, the strength of trade unionism, educational opportunities for higher learning, to pay scales of earning, the relevance of applied skills, and parts played by foreign firms to improve and protect their own economic investments. This new concern and interest in non-market factors smacks of political stability and a greater measure of foreign control in order to gain security for large investments (avoid nationalization, if possible). Regardless of merit, this is a giant step for economists' theories and approaches, for they can support their theories of the porrer nations becoming poorer while the rich nations are continuing to get richer. Of course, there are still many schools of thought among the economists. Todaro (1969) has rigorously shown that the rate of rural-urban earning differential is weighted by the probability of obtaining urban employment. Although Todaro's model can be criticized (Byerlee, 1972) for singling out one variable as an explanation for rural-urban migration, it is considered the first serious attempt to subject rural-urban migration to rigorous

economic analysis. The study of regional income differential on rural-urban migration by Mabogunje (1972) shows a negative effect while Sabot (1971) in Tanzania and Levey and Moses (1967) in Ghana appear to support Todaro's (1971) hypothesis.

There are some economists who argue rural-urban migration is the result of poverty and a lack of economic opportunities in the rural areas. Warriner (1970) says that migrants go to the cities to find jobs no matter what the limitations of employment opportunities may be in urban areas, while Elkan (1960) contends that migration to urban areas stems from low productivity and low income in agricultural production, which become diminishing because of population increase.

A number of economists, writers and lecturers, such as Mabogunje (1972) and Adebaye (1967) advocate land reforms which will facilitate interstate labor mobility. These above-mentioned authors are both African geographers and economists. They take us to the closest any economists have come to purport or explain the economic process of national development by bringing the individual into the formula. Most often this is not done. Most economists attempt to justify themselves by pointing out numbers, ratios, and the lack of suitable means for measuring the "quality" of national populations as an excuse.

This brief review of rural-urban migration studies in Africa suggest a number of theoretical models, some of which are more limited than others. Yet, all of them have

some heuristic value, I guess, if they cause stimulation of thought, as some light was shed on the migration process in general. But this is not good enough for the serious researcher; for he must try to synthesize the literature, criticize the models' limitations and engage himself with constructing a model which is policy oriented, one which cannot only systematically test the masses of variables and their relationships with one another, but also expose the function of other variables or aspects of phenomenon present.

Let us suppose the General Systems Theory Model can lend itself to this need and ask it a few questions such as: why and how does an essentially rural individual become a permanent city dweller? How does a migrant to the large urban areas find the social and political institutions to assist him in acute need? Do institutions discourage or encourage him/her to remain in the city? Just finding the answers to a few questions such as these can help the researcher define some of the rural-urban system. Advancing a step further, viewing the system as an "open" system, input and output elements within the environment can be exposed and observed through utilizing the concepts of tension, stress and strain they may impinge on the system. Tensions and often conflicts can lead to observable activities of two kinds: those which are too weak to affect the structure of the system and those which can alter or change the system completely (revolution).

The General Systems Approach: Rural-Urban Migration

Theoretically, a systems approach can be used quite effectively at any level of analysis from the family unit to a global level of analysis. The most elaborate commitment to this approach is the General Systems Theory which capitalizes on the wide applicability of systems analysis to develop a framework within which many disciplines could be fitted. However, it is unfortunate that General Systems and related literature have generated considerable confusion. This is partly because of the unresolved problems facing any innovative approach to science, partly because of the current fad for that variety of vocabularies and orientations known as systems analysis, systems research, operations research, etc., and partly because of semantic implications (Singer, 1971).

Leaving aside these differences of opinions within and between the schools of thought which have radically different definitions of a system, there are definitions so similar they can hardly be discerned. Yet, here are some sets of distinctions which would seem to be necessary to point out at this time. Persuaded by Dr. Singer's (1971) tutelage within the graduate seminar setting, I was convinced that the "entity-oriented" model had the most promise. Dr. Singer argues that "entity-oriented" taxonomy is one that maximizes the safe transfer of knowledge among empirical domains, and it makes for an easier and more familiar comprehension of "things" rather than abstract

phenomena. Three major premises of this approach are defined in Singer's study.

The first premise is that one is free to define and delineate social systems according to any criteria as long as the components can be identified and their minimal interdependence established. The second premise is that there is nothing in this orientation which precludes the identification of overlapping systems, so that we might define some on structural and some on behavioral grounds. The third postulation is that any disadvantage in this scheme can be converted into a real asset, because it permits us to describe and compare systems in terms of the degree of congruence revealed by each system's sub-system (Singer, 1971).

One of the major tasks in conceptualizing a phenomenon as a system, therefore, is to identify the basic interacting elements, their attributes (physical, structural and cultural) and their relationships (Mabogunje, 1972). Once this is done, it soon becomes obvious that the system operates in an environment which comprises any social entity including the individual person, and which may be described in terms of three sets of attributes. Ranged in order of tangibility and ease of operational measurement, they are physical, structural and cultural (Singer, 1971).

1. Physical Attributes

   Looking first at the physical attributes of social entities, we find we may further divide this

set of descriptors into three sub-sets of minimal relevance to the individual human, but highly germane to any other entity: (a) geographic (including typology, natural resources, etc.); (b) demographic (including the number of people in the entity, their age, sex and racial distribution); and (c) technological (reflecting the entity's capacity to control or adapt itself to its geographic and demographic properties, such as industrialization, agricultural innovations, etc.).

2. Structural Attributes

Structural properties may be institutions, organizations, legislative bodies, banking and commercial interests, social services and any informal groups or influential processes that can be used to influence policymaking or have access to decisions and coalitions, etc.

3. Cultural Attributes

This is somewhat an idealistic area, although it might be safe to say this definition of cultural attributes embraces tribal ties, educational levels of personality types that vie for industrialization policy, and other social and political preferences. Persons' opinions and extensive personalities can influence what should or should not be done by others.

It can be shown in certain circumstances that a system may be considered as exhibiting adaptive or learning behavior with respect to its environment. The fact that today's movement from rural-urban areas characterizes many parts of rural life that no longer waits in isolation for (feedback) news from their relatives in cities to influence their motion toward increasing their economic sufficiency is a new phenomenon. Improvement in transportation and communication links (countryside-city; regions-nation; nations-international economic integration) are all to be considered. Such integration makes the rural economy more responsive to changes in wages and prices, consumer preferences and the overall demand pattern within the country. The system also subjects itself to a wide range of governmental legislation, of official policies over which, in many cases, the rural community has little or no control (Mabogunje, 1972).

It is this breakdown of isolation from one geographic area to another that has caused rural areas to come into the orbit of urban centers. It has made the villagers aware of social realities, goods produced, services rendered and "observable" patterns or types of behavior that are exhibited in the system.

This, then, causes them to concern themselves with "coping" with the environment by taking into account what is available (e.g., schools, social services, higher wages) and indicates their preferences and expectations of how the

system's flow of goods and services should affect them.

The extended family as an entity within the system serves to condition the potential migrant. Children are nourished, sent to school, and most often socialized to tribal customs. Later, sex differentials come into play as it enables the males to leave home while the females tend the home. Whatever the customs or circumstances that may prevail, this is the control mechanism for dictating who goes to the city or who stays behind. An inheritance law that encourages most of the land to go into the hands of the first child (primogeniture rule) will also tend to encourage other children to search for economic advancement elsewhere. So does the "climate of times" (environmental factors--war time would be a forced inducement to young males to leave the agricultural sector).

The next social entity--the community--is where interaction occurs. Thus, the community is a combined association of extended families, and as a result this interrelationship between two or more families is a linkage structure, so formed which can serve in a negative or positive way to encourage or discourage improvement of agricultural techniques, marketing practices, price control, etc. Many ethnic groups might discourage young men or girls in particular from leaving the village environment and migrating to the larger towns or cities. This is an area of research which demands in-depth investigation. A search for those individuals or groups who are not neces-

sarily visible but are influential in administering the activities of the community or village structure is important to research findings.

What is the nature of the urban spatial environment? Basically, as the migrant moves away from the rural toward the urban area he/she becomes absorbed in two basic entities: (1) the economic or occupational institutions (factories, labor unions, other labor-associated groups), and (2) the residential scope of adaptation.

What are the city's laws and administrative regulations toward health services? Here, the migrant becomes a vital concern of the environmental attributes or forces at play in the urban entity; his/her presence is gradually brought into or repelled out of the urban setting depending upon his/her commitment and willingness to adjust to a new environment.

Adjustment is the major factor in the migration taxonomy. We are bringing the rural entity to the connecting point of the urban entity. It is in a sense a connectedness or interdependence in the system where a bond links the two entities together. The confusion, conflicts as well as the distinctions within systems and among systems, is identified in terms of their responses or resistance to environmental attribute scales, i.e., the size of the cities, extent of ethnic homogeneity, friendships, jobs available, and the limited opportunities of employment agencies. A migrant's success of adapting him/herself to a

new environment is measured by his/her effectiveness in securing housing, employment, schooling for him/herself and his/her children and his/her ability to obtain social services. All are dependent on his/her own skills, ethnic attachments, friends in high places, etc., as well as the physical attributes in a specific geographic area (the capacity of the urban area--limits of human and natural resources--to incorporate another subject).

The point to be made is that the migrant's decision to move agitates the motion of the system as he/she moves from the rural to the urban environment. There are many adjustments to be made by the migrant and the time-space phenomenon he/she encounters. Observation with regard to the many mechanisms for migratory adjustments has led the researcher to investigate any significant loss to the agricultural sector; the impact of unemployment in urban areas often leads to anomic and revolutionary behavior if there is any significant drop in agricultural production. This is shown by the ratio of males who leave the rural areas. That some of these occur in one or two urban areas does not mean or give us the right to generalize about all urban areas.

Adjustments to take rural-urban migrants into urban centers varies with structural, physical, and cultural attributes at play. The Ardeners (1960) in their study of the Usu of the Cameroons point out that 40 percent of the adult male population in the village was absent, food pro-

duction did not show any significant drop. Other studies (Prothers, 1957) have indicated the same observations. However, Mabogunje (1972) points out some major factors which are involved in the adjustment to rural-urban migration. They are more than the minor arrangements by which the farmlands are viewed as seasonal or short-term implications of migrant workers' land as it is tended in their (males') absence by their wives and friends or members of their extended families. What is involved here are the ways and methods by which rural communities permit migrants to renounce partially or wholly their rights to productive resources in the rural areas (Mabogunje, 1972).

The important point that needs stressing is that in a period in which most African nations remain predominantly agricultural, only by encouraging the full utilization of agricultural land can a province or region hope to maximize economic benefits. The recent Civil War in Nigeria has placed the federal government in a most advantageous position to review the whole question of public and private access to agricultural land in Nigeria as a means of future stimulating economic growth. It is clear that a development-oriented migration policy at the level of the nation (or state) must encourage easy access of migrants to land and guarantee long tenure of usage (Mabogunje, 1972). A national migration policy must concern itself with creating

a virile and prosperous nation. Any migration policy must also insure absolute freedom of entry into any occupation anywhere in the country or it cannot be regarded as development-oriented.

In analyzing the impact of rural-urban migration on the rural economy of communities studies (Knight, 1972), attempts were made to estimate the impact of out-migration on: (1) expenditures on hired labor, (2) farm size, (3) level of earnings, and (4) intersectoral transfers of capital. Ideally, any attempt to measure the effects of rural-urban migration should entail a comparison of the variables above in two periods: the period before migration, and the period after migration. Also, allowance for a time lag should have been made to guarantee any semblance of validity to this study.

As a result of this not being done, the rather crucial dimension of rural-urban migration has tended to be neglected. However, in the absence of such data calculations were made and some conclusions reached. According to the method employed, which was to group the rural households into two categories (those with migrants in the urban areas and those without), comparisons were made as to farm size, per head earnings, roles of literacy, etc. There were several reasons found why the migration of educated youth from the rural to the urban areas can analytically be viewed as a transfer of capital from the rural to the

urban sectors. Researchers concluded that most parents regard investment in education as an investment in creating human capital in the same way a cocoa farmer looks upon investment in cocoa trees. Both types of investment are expected to yield a stream of income over the lifetime in assets. Both involve sacrifice of current consumption and a considerable waiting period for net returns. Here, we see admittedly intractable problems in the calculation of rural-urban transfer of funds, but not the extent to which a given class of outcomes or events was shown to be "caused" by a given sequence of events in the system. Prior conditions and events are not seen, limiting the value of research design.

Another major research frontier in rural-urban migration is to understand land tenure. This was alluded to in Mabogunje's (1972) advocation for development-oriented migration policy in Niger. To understand a land tenure situation, and how it is at least being culturally accepted (to renounce land holdings) is a project within itself. New patterns of land distribution in the Eastern Region of Niger (Onwueke, 1966) appear to have initiated a new pattern of rural-urban migration.

Renunciation of land has also encouraged some members of village communities to renounce village life completely without the fear of being ostracized by their

community when they head for the city lights and other glamorous attractions.

The Input Concept in General Systems Analysis

The concept of decision making is based on information whether it be the decision to leave the rural area or the decision to promote national policy. Information to the extent it is accurate may be thought of as "knowledge." Input is then a feeding into the policymaking segment of governments which in turn is generated into national policy.

The harnessing of energy may be regarded as an input which makes the growth of the social system possible. System development implies continuity, in a general sense. However, if not inevitably, we find discontinuities, anomies and dissipations. The rural-urban system, perhaps, produces entities such as these with greater proportions than other systems' levels of analysis. This is only an assumption of the writer. In asserting this belief, I merely contend the socio-cultural entity found in most urban areas is made up of people, groups, agencies and institutions which carry on the inheritance of the past. Growing societal systemness results from communication, the elements of which forces cleavages, and exigencies; both come from the past and are inherent by systematic interdependencies. The progressive ability

of migrants to harness energy in accelerated amounts reflects the accumulation of experience, their efforts placed on gaining information (knowledge) and their experimentation in search for new ideas which will better fulfill their needs. Within the systems framework the explanation of why people migrate must be in terms of different individuals' response to stimuli in the environment. The stimulus to migrate is related to degrees of information about opportunities transmitted from people to people.

Information is divided into three basic types (Singer, 1971). The first type is existential knowledge, this being any level of information gathering, from discussion at the family dinner table to government's intelligence agencies. These are from isolated facts up to comprehensive and integrated sets of data. The second is reciprocal knowledge; it is the extent to which two or more conditions are usually associated (i.e., a correlational level or education to urban migration). The last type of knowledge is called causal or explanatory, the extent to which a given set of outcomes or events are "caused" by a given sequence or prior conditions and events. A purely hypothetical example might be precolonial patterns of educational policy or of learning skills which were in conflict with colonial educational policy and which are the cause of high rates of unemployment in urban sectors today.

All three types of knowledge are used in building a theory of contemporary policy decisions in rural-urban

governments. They are, however, subjected to limitation, because each system has its own set of extraneous variables which has greater or lesser effects on decision making, migration patterns, etc.; but some generalizations can be made when the three types are identified as such (first, second, or third type) and it is known how they can be used to explain, predict or describe the "game" of the decision-making process within the system.

Bearing "knowledge" in mind we might look at the rural-urban process as one built upon or influenced by precolonial indigenous cities. The imprint of precolonial urbanization is still apparent in many cases and remains significant within the present day urban mosaic; however, a very large number of the most important contemporary cities in the developing countries were colonial creations (Dwyer, 1947). As such, there are some strains, stresses and, perhaps, conflictual behavior as two historical environments encounter one another.

Given the rapid growth of urban centers in the developing nations and the present size complexities inherent in large city life, circumstances emerge and raise important conceptual questions and considerations which lead inescapably to the conclusion that the previous experiences have had some influence on the functions and structure of the contemporary system. Are there conditions, for instance, which would represent a level of

order influencing organizational patterns existing within the system today? At what point does its influence become evident, particularly at the level of decision making? Those are tough questions to answer. There might not be any one answer, but there has been considerable work done on this aspect of "information feedback" into the system, and it surely has had an effect upon the input processes.

Finally, the various elements in the urban environment in which the migrant is exposed, face-to-face contacts, recreation and religious encounters, are communication networks in which the migrant must psychologically and physically attune himself in order to survive in the system. These are major considerations worth researching. There is a difference in analyzing the adjustment processes a migrant is subjected to in the rural-urban transition which is the subject of many studies. However, the mechanisms of incorporation into the urban areas is of greatest interest to me. Is the education policy today relevant to preparing for job opportunities and skills needed for employing the dropout or graduate? Particular attention will be paid to the role of the church, saloons, trade unions, occupational associations, recreational facilities, legislative boards, etc. What are they saying to the migrant?

Economic motives are nearly always given in response to survey questions such as, "Why did you migrate?",

"When did you decide to migrate?" Yet, none of the studies which the researchers have read rigorously establishes the three-tier relationships between education-economics and policy issues. Schools are socializing agents-transmission belts of knowledge. It is important to know who controls the schools. Are they national or international entities? More importantly, most questions asked of the migrant do not address themselves to the many attitudes and opinions the migrant brings with him to the urban area which could also influence crucial policy issues either overtly or covertly. Do numbers of people or the quality and the number of persons serve to influence educational policies, new wage laws and even the type of administrational government they perceive necessary to improve or change the migratory system?

Clearly, the system within a General Systems Theory Model can help explore a large empirical base. What the migrant thinks of himself and others around him in the new milieu are all things that are crucial to know in trying to determine the variation and levels of a person's preferences, perceptions and expectations. The society, the government, etc., are all people. People are the policy-makers.

As a person moves about in the system, he takes on not only a new geographical position, he also adjusts to new phenomena. This gives theoretical attention to the

relationship among the social entities, the behavior and interactions that permit or discourage an individual to migrate further or return to the first, second, or third place of origin. It is such actions and interactions as they that may influence or be influenced by the decision-making process of individual groups, governmental types (i.e., military, democratic, authoritarian, etc.), and by all sorts of physical, structural and cultural phenomena running free in the environment.

Conclusion

My purpose here was not to promote the General Systems Approach to rural-urban migration analysis, but to convey the limitations of all theoretical models. All models are abstractions from concreteness of events. Because the high degree of selectivity of observations and focus, the "fit" between the model and the thought processes of the researcher within the real world are subjective and arbitrarily objective, there is paucity.

Further, there are modes of diagnosing by intervening variables which do not fall neatly into the mode (i.e., when a doctor has tried everything to arrest an ailment to no avail, often a placebo is given and it works). So, it is with the researcher who tries some other activity in order to see if it works. Artificial change is often real. If it works, ditch the model.

This I would call a "patchwork" model which requires

some acceptance by us all at some stage. It is really a "gut" feeling about some things which should be an inter-related part of every researcher and his/her elaborate theoretically-designed model. With this thought firmly in mind, I have set out to grasp the many phenomena of urbanization within a systematic approach to rural-urban migration in Niger, Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

A PROFILE OF NIGER: FACTORS TO BE EXPLORED

Geographic Expansion

The Republic of Niger is a country in West Africa located south of the Sahara Desert. Geographically, it is situated more than 500 miles inland from the Atlantic Ocean; a landlocked country bordered by Algeria and Libya on the north, Upper Volta and Mali on the west, Tchad on the east, with Dahomey and Nigeria forming its most southern flank (see Figure 9).

Niger has an area of approximately 490,000 square miles, making it more than twice the size of France or larger than the states of Texas and California combined (Radecke, 1972). An estimated population in 1976 places a figure of nearly 5,000,000 with only 6.1 percent classified as urban, making it one of the ten least urbanized countries in West Africa (Ministre d'Interiour, 1976).

Most of the land in Niger is barren desert, one of the least explored regions of the Sahara. The most fertile areas, arable Savanna, are found in the southwestern corner along the banks of the River Niger, whereas the northern sector is arid desert which includes the Air and Djado Massifs with peaks as high as 6,000 feet (Erich, 1972).

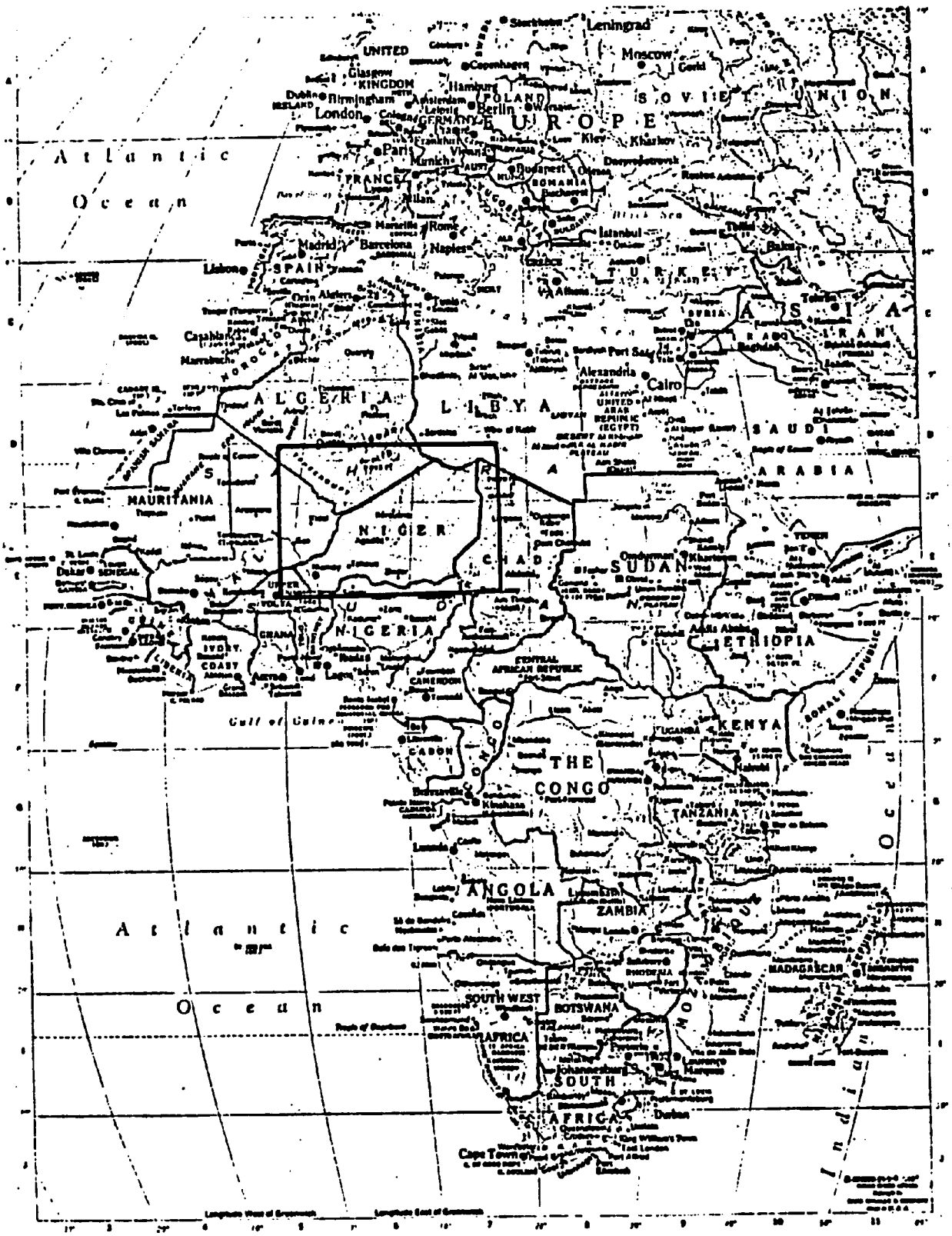


Fig. 9.--Location map of the Republic of Niger, West Africa.

Evidence indicates man inhabited northern Niger some 600,000 years ago. Control of portions of Niger was contested by the Emperors of Sanghai (7th century), Mali, Gao, Kanem and Bornu as well as a number of Hausa states as far back as the 8th century (David, 1964).

The geographic location made Niger an important economic crossroad. This situation became quite evident as early as the 17th and 18th centuries. History relates how nomadic Touaregs formed confederations and pushed southward, siding with various Hausa states as they clashed with the Peul Empire of Sokoto (David, 1964). The 19th century ushered in the conflicts with the west when European explorers (Mungo, Park [British] and Heinrich Barth [German] waged a long and vicious battle for control of the Niger River) (Birney, 1972).

In 1922, Niger became a French colony and was governed by the French West African Administration of Territories, administrated from Paris through a governor general who resided in Dakar, Senegal, who, in turn, governed through local governors in individual territories (Spitz, 1949). Niger was one of these French territories that maintained this rigid system of government until 1946, when the French Constitution conferred French citizenship and certain decentralization of power and limited participation in political life to local Advisory Assemblies (Carter, 1966). The Overseas Reform Act (Loi Cadre) of July 23, 1956, began a

softening of colonial rules; and on December 4, 1958, after the establishment of the 5th French Republic, Niger became an autonomous state within the French community (Delavignette, 1950).

Two years later, on August 3, 1960, Niger was declared independent from French rule; and on November 8, 1960 a constitution was adopted: (a) Executive power was given to a president for a five-year term and a cabinet composed of eleven ministers and four secretaries of state; (b) Legislative power was placed in the hands of 50 members of unicameral National Assembly with elections to be held every five years. The Republic was divided into seven departments which are subdivided into 32 districts, and four communes for basic local government procedures with a chief administrator (mayor) appointed by the president. They all function as the local agents of the Central Government (Service de la Statistique, 1976).

The first political party, the Parti Progressite Nigerien (PPN), was formed in 1946 with President Diari Hamain. He was not elected but appointed by Felix Houphouet-Boigny, leader of the Congress of Bamako. Later, there was the Swaba Party (Marxist-oriented), which was found and led by Djibo Bakary in 1958; however, it was short-lived and disbanded in 1959, sending its leader into forced exile until 1965 (Service de la Statistique, 1976). Throughout this period of contested political rule, President Diari remained the head of the PPN from 1958 to April

1974 when a successful coup d' etat ushered in the present military regime of Lt. Colonel Seyni Kountche (see Appendix A).

Today's government in Niger, under military rule, is faced with an alarming statistic: problems associated with urban poverty and unregulated urban growth are questioned. They share a world phenomenon which emphasizes the dilemmas facing governments in the Third World. How does a developing nation deal with the rapid pace of urbanization as it produces a major challenge to plans for rapid modernization? By dint of the sheer size of the impoverished urban masses, the improvement of transitional settlements is no longer a matter that can be pushed on the back burners by government planners, whether it be in the "developed" society or the struggling "developing" societies of the world of urbanization. Populations are shifting at rapid rates demanding an orderly plan of relocation of its people. Hence, the initial urban planning attempts during the late sixties and early seventies in Niger are largely formed or inadequately formed in the context of plans needed to contain population shifts and growth within its largest urban agglomerations.

There are only four urban agglomerations in Niger with more than 20,000 inhabitants. The largest and most important city being the capital city of Niamey which is located in the west, along the banks of the River Niger.

Niamey's estimated population is 123,000 inhabitants representing approximately 3.6 percent of the total population of Niger (Republique de Niger, 1970).

Zinder, the "traditional city," dominates the southeast borderland region of Niger, importantly so because of its commercial center. An estimated population of 36,240 was recorded in the census of 1968 (Republique de Niger, 1970). However, recent figures not yet exposed to public scrutiny places a numerical figure over 46,000 as a more accurate count of the population for 1976, making Zinder easily the second largest city in Niger. It is noted that Zinder has grown and continues to grow because of its commercial importance. It has always been considered an import city, first gaining its importance over a century ago. At that time it was designed to eventually play a significant role in Niger's future. Urban growth was anticipated, and it was felt then that there would be a need for a city which was geographically located and large enough to be employed as a pivotal point for internal communications. As such, Zinder was tailored for a specific purpose as it represented the former French colonial administration's headquarters for Niger from its first invasion up to 1926, after which the administrative headquarters were moved to Niamey.

Commercial sites were set up in large numbers within the city proper of Zinder allowing neighborhood stores to

develop overflowing into residential areas. Most of the smaller stores were set up in response to the African shopping preferences while retailing was restricted by the French colonial fiat to modern enlarged facilities in response to the emergency of external trade demands. The results of increased commerce during the latter 20th century in Zinder has been cited as the cause for this spatial diffusion of commercial facilities; there was an extrapolation of residential sites, selections became inaccurate as the general direction of the city growth expanded towards the traditional walls of the city. Zinder was always a traditionally birmi (walled city): however, in the last decades it has continued to develop far beyond the city walls. Today, not only has Zinder's residential population overflowed its traditional boundaries, but its role as a chief trading center for Niger has developed to such vast proportions that it has placed Zinder's commercial area among the most prosperous trading centers in West Africa. Many traders from all over West Africa, particularly traders from neighboring Nigeria, Tchad, Mali and Upper Volta, maintain trading quarters here so that they can spend time and religiously bargain with one another, thereby keeping this city as a central "hub" of internal and external commerce in West Africa today.

Tahoua and Maradi are the other two acknowledged urban agglomerations with more than 20,000 inhabitants. Both

are said to be competing for third place among the growth population of Nigerien cities. Maradi, in some circles, is credited with surpassing Tahoua in importance if not in actual population "headcount." The population growth variance between these two cities is expressed by some local officials as pronounced. Beliefs that the structural attributes of the two urban centers are quite different, tending to reflect the social and economic values of the time which are responsible for building the new urban centers, and at the same time to be responsive to confronting the problems of urbanization and planning of a new town.

Local officials in Maradi argue that Maradi, which has established primacy within the south central borderlands, plays a major role as it functions in the overall economic development of Niger. "The internal nucleus is here in the marketplace," they say, and Maradi is and has always been an important marketplace. A key market center where Nigeriens meet not only to bargain their wares, but more importantly, to feed the oral communications network for all Niger.

This urban center today boasts of an estimated population of 40,000 or more. It is also noted that when the extensive tributary areas encompassing Maradi are considered, approximately 500,000 square kilometers (19,000 square miles), the population exceeds over 500,000

(Mainet and Nicholas, 1968). Point to be made: Today, this city plays a very important role in urban planning for Niger; its geographic location makes it a pivotal point between Nigeria and Niger, as land routes are formed most extensively here making it a way station for many, if not all, routes north. As an example, the Maradi River is fed by the Nigerian River, making its bank fertile for domestic vegetation and a water hole for cattle brought down from the north by the nomadic herdsmen. Large cattle markets are based here furnishing most of the meat for all Niger, particularly Niamey. There is an airport and large highways, fairly large in size but few in number, which promise an extension of cooperation and coordination in transportation in the prospects for future economic planning. It is within this urban arena that two migrant communities were selected for this research: rural-urban migration in Niger and the fate of the migrant in an urban setting (see Figure 10).

On the other hand, it is argued, Tahoua is running neck-to-neck with Maradi in urban population growth. Only 30,000 inhabitants are acknowledged by demographers as a working population count, but they reason that Tahoua was a small city for a long, long time and has just begun to grow, but is growing at a much more rapid pace than Maradi. They argue that Tahoua will take only five years or less before it surpasses both Maradi and Zinder in in population growth. Perhaps this prediction may hold

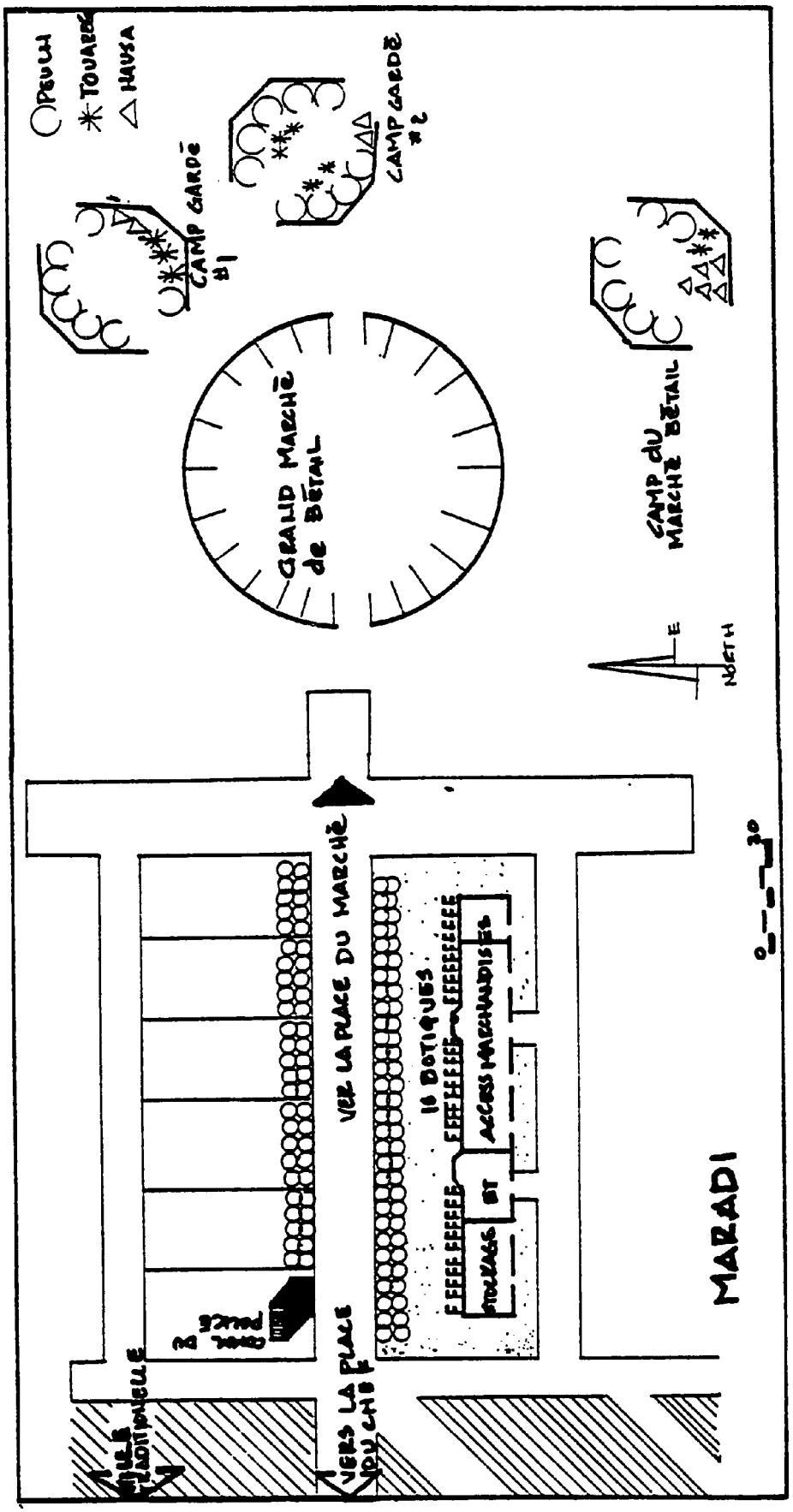


Fig. 10.--Diagram of urbanized Maradi.

for the future, but today it is not so; however, it is apparent that though urbanization is of major significance in Tahoua, it is relatively slow in being explored. There is little action here; that is, Tahoua is not an open city in which you can see an upward motion or mobility in its socioeconomic status. Thus, there is a paucity in the information and the analyses of commercial and residential activities--information sought by researchers. The urban areas are located so far inland, more so than the other three cities already mentioned, that Tahoua's role and function in the development of Niger is hardly observed, much less understood. Public officials and private citizens who should be in the position to know are hesitant to discuss Tahoua's business activities. Agreed, Tahoua cannot be denied its birth, among the important urban centers, but its distance inland away from the other large city traffic makes its importance suspect, especially to the social science researchers who have been restricted entry into this geographic area for study.

It has also been argued in close circles that Tahoua does offer great competition to Maradi and Zinder because its urban growth potential is based on the fact that foreign industries, French in particular, have begun an extensive mining exploration in this area. Uranium deposits are said to be here in exceedingly large quantities and

qualities, forcing a lid of secrecy on who comes and goes in and out of this area. Of one thing we can be certain, all of these urban centers are growing at a rapid pace within Niger. The major question becomes who is coming to and going from where.

There are some established facts: we know most of the land in Niger is barren desert and the drought is responsible for displacing large numbers of people from the Sahara region at this specific time, and most linkage between geography and migrant flow in this area are accredited to negative influence inputted to the rural migrants: the Sahalian drought.

Since 1968 drought conditions have persisted in a wide strip of land stretching over 4,500 miles from the west coast to the east coast, between the Sahara Desert and the Tropical Rain Forest of Africa (Halsheets, 1974). The Republic of Niger has been affected by the problems of this drought and famine, particularly in the northern and central regions which consist largely of semi-desert plains, so dry that most of it can be inhabited only by pastoral nomads like the tough and hard Peul. They keep sheep, goats and a few cattle of other species. To keep their cattle alive is a hardship for most nomadic groups even in normal years when the rainfall in this area is only about five to ten inches. This is enough rain to nourish sufficient grass and herbs for the livestock but

hardly enough to make a prosperous or easy life. It is astonishing how well some of the nomads have adapted to the special conditions of the African semi-desert and how their deep complex culture, based as it is on what can be eked out of their surroundings, has afforded them a survival level in such an apparently unproductive region.

It is inevitable that the population living in such marginal areas, three unusually dry years, widespread famine and large populations actually perishing of hunger should result in widespread misery. To overcome the hunger is a gigantic project within itself and to plan for the future is quite another. The central and local governments are not adequately informed as to what is <u>really</u> happening to the large number of migrants; however, they know in the long run it is a grave problem that has to be dealt with. Is there enough room in the cities for the nomads to wander? If nomads convert in the urban areas, will they settle down and become a contributing part of the socioeconomic community? Can the migrant change the habits of a lifetime; habits which have grown up over many ages? These are all questions which have to be answered in time. In the long term, this picture of questions and answers is considered by some to look on a background of gloom.

On one hand, it is commonly agreed that the drought is a picture of gloomy characters on a background of bright

coloring; it is only a freak of nature, a way to eliminate the weak. On the other hand, it is argued by some that this is an evolution--a picture of complete change, an erasure which is needed to upgrade the life styles of a former colonized nation whose progress--scenic colorings--have been plagued by insurmountable problems--hues of black and gray--of decolonization. Most argue, and rightfully so, that massive relief operations (monetary funds and technical assistance from the international community) are vitally needed and will greatly support small nations' efforts toward harnessing the socioeconomic and ecological problems associated with urbanization.

There is an urgency for each individual nation to plan and develop concrete patterns of policy aims and goals which will suit the trends and outcomes of severe bursts of population within their urban centers. This is not only the hope of the future, it is a must of the future. Presently, each nation must proceed in this task of identifying the present and trying to predict the future. This process is generally implied among heads of governments who are slowly exploring the problems of urbanization. Some have made a few steps in the right direction, others have tried and continued to fail in their efforts. Urbanization is a phenomenon very closely tied with migration; one cannot analyze the one in mutual exclusion of the other. This is the primary reason one must ask the questions: <u>who</u> comes, <u>where</u> they come from, and <u>how long</u>

they expect to stay in the urban areas, if we are to come up with solutions to urban problems.

Population Growth: A Portrait of the People

A moment given to the history of the inhabitants of Niger shows these people have been known to move, regrouping themselves from a very principled hierarchy and continue to survive. Moreover, at the turn of the 19th century a massive immigration took place and settled in and around the region of Maradi, the geographic area of this study (see Figure 11). Looking at the larger picture of Niger, we are talking about a large geographic region of transition between the Sudan and the Sahara Desert where there has never been any fear of overcrowding, just the instinct to move from place to place. The population of this vast region is the successive movement from north and east as the people of this region have superimposed themselves on other populations previously there.

Hausa

Approximately 20 million people speak Hausa today in and around the Sahara region, about four million of them live in Niger. Most are settled in the south-central part of the country (Mainet and Nicholas, 1968). The Hausa are those black natives who were settled before the arrival of the nomads and who farmed mainly in the "Air" range just north of Maradi. Some Hausa later became the agricultural

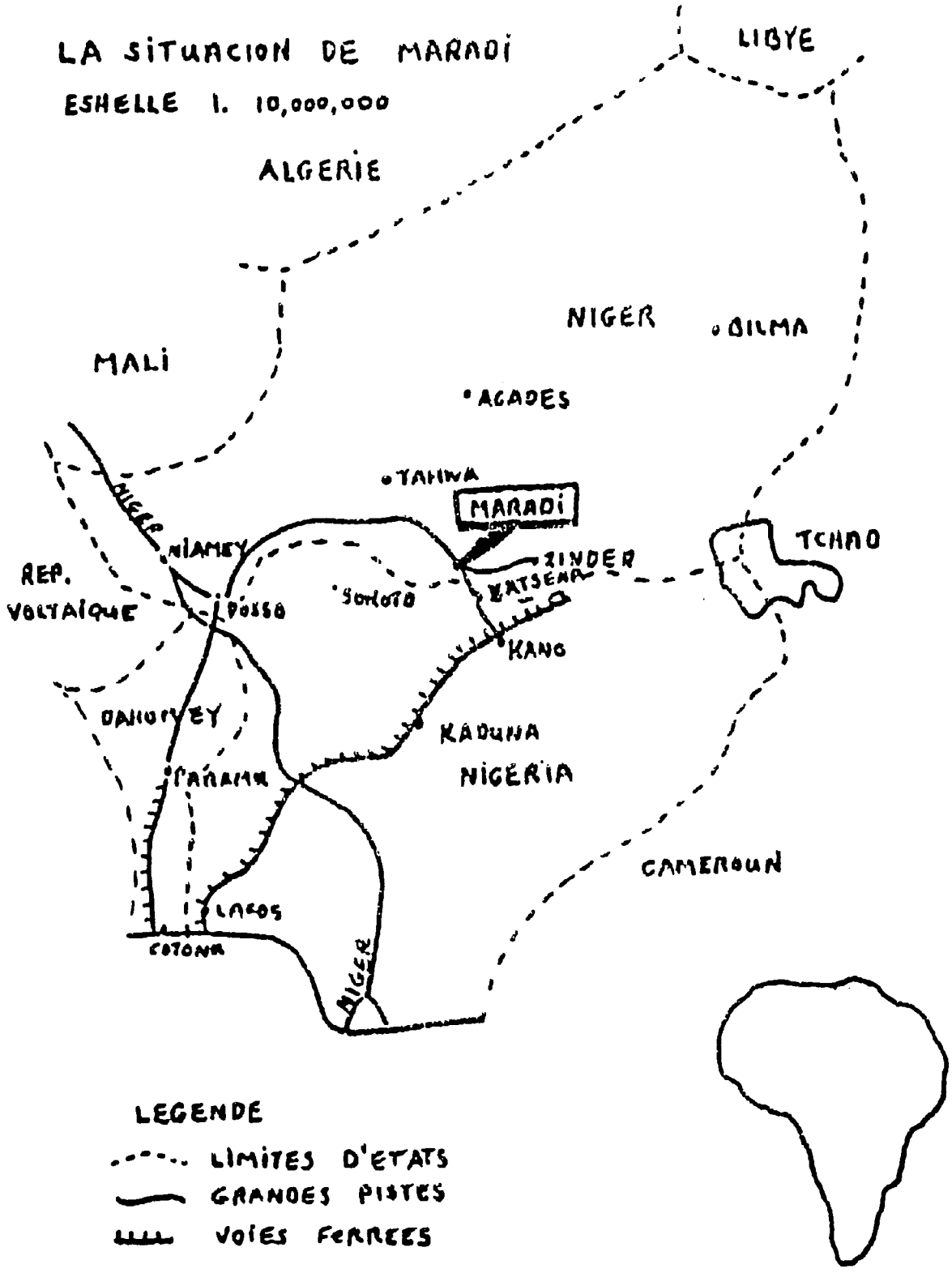


Fig. 11.--Location map of Maradi.

slaves of the nomads and are often referred to as "Bouzous." Their lives were often disrupted by fighting between rival and nomad tribes or by Toubo incursions (Tremestriel No. 77, 1974). Pacification enabled the villages to form in greater peace after these periodic conflicts were settled, though some emanicipated slaves preferred to leave for the south. These native slaves who pressed southward are at present the villagers--part nomads who settled in Maradi. This is a process which has been going on for some 30 years or more. Most recently, however, sice 1965, larger groups have been centering around water points or bareholes as, for instance, at the vicinity of the capital city, Niamey, in the west along the River Niger and southeast around the city of Zinder.

Agades, the oldest real town of this region and the small center in Gall, is thought to be the primary source of this large Hausa population. It is known that there were Sonhai colonies which were left by the Sanhai emperor Askia Mohammed when he traveled from Goa, his capital in the west on the River Niger, to Mecca in 1550 (Tremestriel No. 77, 1974). The particular aim was to establish a commercial and political center at Agades linked to Goa along the route of the caravans making way to the east. At Agades and in Goa a language related to that of Goa is spoken. Perhaps this accounts for the similarities found today in the ethnic language of the Hausa, Peul and Touareg.

It is important to note that these centers, which served as caravan stopping posts and places for trading in northern Mediterranean and other areas east, have become the large urban areas of today's Niger (Niamey, Maradi, Zinder, etc.).

Of course, the Hausa are the largest ethnic group found in Maradi. They have a relative idea of the geographical boundaries of the territories they inhabit, and of the identity of their immediate neighbors, the nomads: Peul, Touaregs and Toubous; and the farmers: Djerma-Songhai. Yet although there is no ultimate cohesion among them, their daily rituals and work areas have well-defined boundaries and their ethnic categories are focal points of loyalty betwix and between individual groups rather than seedings of discord.

As well-spent time in the first phase of our research, three months of participatory observation, in and around the two migrant communities (Camp Marché de Bétail and Camp Gardé), one sensed a mode of instant community--a "togetherness" linking Hausa with Peul, and Hausa with Touareg, and Peul and Touareg in reciprocal roles. Daily face-to-face encounters included eating together, working together and during our interview sessions of questions and answers, each group acknowledged the others' tribal and ethnic differences by lightheartedly joking and jostling. Ethnic partnerships and

perpetual kinships within one group or another were received with liberal openness as a spirit of "oneness" prevailed in an atmosphere we attempted to create as we set about trying to distinguish ethnic differences in our unstructured questionnaires.

Of course, the frequency of the famine caused by the drought in this geographic area promoted a need for moral as well as socioeconomic companionship to survive. Yet, we dared to venture so far as to predict that a common hardship among these ethnic groups was the prime or most important element which gave impetus for the witnessed solidarity and mobility. We continued to labor under the fact that ethnic conflicts still exist but leaned a bit to the left of center arguing that although the basic element in ethnic kinship relations usually rely on patrilineal descent, in practice. These communities' solidarity could have taken a matrilineal twist making the matrimonial rites and ceremonies a thing of flux and change. Within the communities that formerly appeared to be accepted as a single domestic grouping, the concepts usually associated with kinships and voluntary assistance were acknowledged as <u>not</u> being sufficient enough to generate ample manpower to explain the levels of the production of crops and livestock. These people must have learned to accept one another's differences and to depend upon cooperation with other mobile units, like themselves to survive. These groups have learned as other groups through-

out the world that ties of this sort are established through mutual trust and respect as goods and services are consistently exchanged between individuals and groups. This is a major factor whose influence cannot be over emphasized, whether we deal with developing or developed societies throughout the real world.

Touaregs

In the region of the "Air" range, around the 18th and 19th centuries, this was the meeting point of the white world of the north and the black Sudanese world. Both were dependent upon each other as they engaged for their livelihoods in activities to do with traffic. They once depended upon a strong organizational process which was controlled by the marital and hierarchial Touareg origin. The organizational unit has undergone a constant economic lapse since the colonization period and a radical change since the drought. The organization of the traditional economy of the nomad world has accordingly disorganized the entire region. When the French economy came to this region a new expansive demography was introduced and a new culture of which many changes have been obviously acknowledged. This decline has affected not only the Touaregs around the "Air" range but all the Saharan nomads. Even the southern nomads around Maradi are said to have been affected but much later than those in the north, so

that they have remained more traditional in their living patterns.

As we look at the overall pattern, the Department of Maradi whose northwestern part is occupied by the "Air" region, we find one of the largest departments in Niger, but one with the lowest Touareg population density (0.14 per km. 2). This area has been inhabited by them since prehistoric times judging by the many cave drawings in the most unfrequented places (Tremestriel No. 77, 1974). However, the population of this region at present, estimated at about 40,000, displays a feature in which there is the highest proportion of nomads who number around 26,000. There are barely 10,000 Touareg of the major group of Touaregs from the southern Sahara of white origin; they look like most of those Touaregs found particularly in northwest Niger. There are many of the darker-skinned Touaregs who were invaders from the north and who, on taking to nomadism, subjected the fixed populations of Hausa and Negroid origins, who had settled before their arrival. They subsequently interbred with them to a greater or lesser extent. This type of settled population was long subjected to the periodical nomadic and warrior elements. A brief history of the people of this region has provided an explanation of today's presence of various ethnic groupings and points to the decline of the nomadic element in this area since the beginning of this century.

Peul

The Peul nomads, particularly the "Bororo" fraction, entered the region of Maradi-Arabs from the west, that is, from Mali, nomadized in the Gall area. Their tents are usually made of skins and their women are usually veiled, unlike the Touareg women. For about 40 years or so, there has been a movement from the south of Peul nomads, particularly the Bororo fraction. They form small disorganized groups and came to live around the outskirts of the city seeking good pasture land and sinking wells. They are quite independent and are said to be better stock raisers than the Touaregs as they are more venturesome and closer to their animals and constantly concerned with their well-being. In times of drought, for instance, they are not afraid to go back as far south as Nigeria areas, while the Touaregs tend rather to fall back or return to the old water points. In the 19th century in and around Maradi, it was the Peuls who were considered the conquerors and who were later to head the local population which resisted their "diaspora": with the aid of reinforcements coming from the direction of Zinder.

The consolidated African population of the region of Maradi is Moslem and religion has a fairly strong hold in this area. Among the nomads there are members of the "Maraboutie" tribes, who specialize in the "Affairs" of God while the less nobler of the tribe are entrusted to

maintaining a livelihood from farming and other agricultural pursuits.

Foreigners

Of the former French colonies in Black Africa, Niger has inherited one of the highest foreign populations. This expatriate group number substantially and is predominantly composed of Frenchmen, Lebanese, Syrians, Arabs and Africans of other nations.

Most of the Lebanese-Syrian population belong to the commercial sector: shopkeepers, traders, and money lenders. The scarcity of data on their socioeconomic and political attitudes does not allow this author to speculate on whether they have enough political influence to determine the destiny of the indigenous population, but it is apparent some degree of influence is present. However, it is safe to say the economic bourgeoise of Niger predominates the European communities' control, the largest and most ideal housing and recreational accommodations, which are most often situated among the groves of shade trees and along the banks of the Niger River. Factories and large businesses are run by a coalition of this bourgeoise which unquestionably exercise strong socioeconomic influence, the nature of which could very well produce or influence political activities. The nature of any political activities in this military regime, like most others, is unfortunately too deeply hidden to be analyzed with any precision.

Modern African Elite

As everywhere in Africa, colonization produced western educated elites, consisting of political leaders and civil servants who were recruited and continue to be recruited. This group has and continues to have a dominant influence within the social, economic and political structure of each nation.

It has often been said the "new" elites of today are recruited from a much larger base than the traditional ruling class (Coulon, 1966). Unfortunately, there is little data available on the social backgrounds of the so-called "modern" elite to deny or confirm this claim; as such, it is not possible to know what proportion of political leaders, bureaucrats, or intellectuals come from the old ruling class or from the Maraboutie families. Despite the low numerical level of institutions of learning which are available to today's youth, schooling is in short supply, yet interesting in that it shows trends of the willingness of the present ruling society not to separate the education of sons and daughters of the elite from that of other students. This, being more obvious at the secondary level, shows on the whole that children of a large number of the elite households attend private schools which are usually administered by expatriates. Higher educational pursuits, at the university level, might be said to show that traditional social structures are not as

noticeably alive among the modern elite as before. As today, traditional inferiority does not necessarily prevent young men and women from receiving a good education or deny them the chance of getting a position in civil service ranks. But, it is still likely to prevent them from reaping the choice benefits of political status.

In the context of the phenomena of rural-urban migration where economic benefits of limited agricultural pursuits and handcraft within the urban areas are limited, controversies lie within the range of who gets what, when and how. Who the migrant really is, why he has come to the city; and what adjustments have to be made to assure benefits from urban living; these are all primary questions the local governments ought to pose in their search for an answer to problems of rural-urban migration. Most importantly, these are questions we posed as we searched for answers and the primary reason this study was formulated. Some very basic assumptions stimulated our inquiry: There are considerable differentiations among the geographic sub-areas of Niger on the basis of historical migrational and/or indigenous status; one generalization cannot be applied to all migrants, particularly in low income areas.

Urbanization in an underdeveloped setting generally brings about large-scale and disorderly arrivals of an induced "floating" population, namely people with no place to go or of stable settlement, especially when the region is largely inhabited by nomads and often without work pro-

ducing a cumbersome and undesirable task for local offices. The induced inhabitants are said to be "undesirable parasites" who are unable to settle down and perform a particular function. Not so! Our study took us to two migrant communities in Maradi, Niger; the findings proved they, the migrants, provide a necessary element of variety when pursuing in a day-to-day trade and mutual aid trust society. The overall growth rate for the urban population in this geographic region is high. How true the census of the past decade is, is questionable depending upon the information source. Most importantly, we had to acknowledge the rapid rate of urbanization, with the attendant changes it brings, the latter phenomenon itself is the most significant aspect of the urban problems: rapid change. The rapid growth of the cities now, and the simple statistical projections of their probable growth, have frightened an overwhelming future consequence.

The urban population of Niger, though growing in figures, appears to be lacking in drive and incentive, more so in Niamey than in either Maradi or Zinder. It is discussed in most intellectual circles that this phenomenon is observable and it is real. A few basic cautions were offered to me by my fellow African researchers. Statistics are of dubious reliability because no one admits knowing the size of the overall population or what the true rates of growth are because of political restrictions. This handicap is a phenomenon which clearly

points to the continuation of the decadent inherited economy. For example, city sizes are constantly downplayed to justify low expenditures of government funds.

Niger's cities are beset by the same kind of urban problems that plague so many cities throughout the world. Most problems stem from the frantic pace of growth, or at least are exacerbated by it. The economy in this region, subjected as it is to very harsh natural conditions, finds itself in double jeopardy. And lastly, the momentum of expansion of area and population appear to outstrip the capacity of governments to expand or even maintain the level of services from water and sewage to housing, medical care and schooling. Careful and deliberate research could provide a measure of information, an offering to Nigerien political leaders that might in some small way assist the over-burdened structures of government. By virtue of these issues, we selected two sites and proceeded with our research.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY: BACKGROUND AND PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION

Method

It was in the context of this phenomenon of rapid urbanization and the controversies surrounding it that this study was formulated. We were interested in testing empirically a number of hypotheses from the viewpoints of who migrated, how they were accepted within the urban sectors, and what facilities were available to the migrants. As so little had been undertaken along these lines, we decided that a broad general approach would be useful: a comprehensive exploratory study with few preconceived notions or single theoretical perspectives which, if altered later, could negate the entire field operation. Our interests revolved initially around the effects of urban experiences on individuals who migrate to the city. What was their fate in an urban setting? How do they fare? We set out to design as rich a set of measures of the urban experience as possible, to capture the quality as well as the quantity of urban life. In short, to find out what lives of these people were like and the effect the already stable community had on them.

Recognizing the possibility that there were already many migrants living within the city, yet remaining substantially isolated from its institutions and experience, we

felt we must: find out who lived in the city, how they fared when they came and demanded social services, and where they lived. It was also most important to find out how Africans might appraise some dimensions of urban experience that made a difference and others that had no impact on their lives. As, in what ways did people change (or not change) within the urban environment? To these ends, we would need the overall history of Maradi's urban community growth. Also, with the African elite: where they lived, jobs they hold, and their educational history. Housing allocations by the government to their employees and other most favored tenants, particularly housing to the European economic community. School facilities and opportunities in commerce and economy which had influenced their pre-migration experience: why they decided to come this way, how and with whom they had made contact in their initial adaptation to the city as their relationships within the city, the district and department at large are important avenues to be explored.

As a political scientist, were were also interested in political attitudes among local officials and their behavior, especially their participation in the evaluation of the migrant flow. With the hope of answering this wide range of political, social and economic experiences, we began this study in January 1976. It was carried out within the Department of Maradi, a vast geographical area which includes not only the city of Maradi but all its surrounding

areas. Maradi was selected because of its composition and its being considered a typical African city experiencing rapid urban growth. Most importantly, it is within the context of this phenomenon of rapid urbanization and the controversies surrounding it that this study was formulated. Despite considerable research on rural-urban migration throughout the world, we found very little information on African rural-urban migration and even less on rural-urban migration in Niger. Because of this huge gap, trying to find an adequate understanding of the rural-urban network in Niger, particularly on its impact and implications for urban development, we began a dedicated search for information.

We began by using a theoretical point of departure with a view toward gathering data for the use of generating through multi-various avenues (public officials, private citizens, French archives, participatory observation and unstructured interviews and questionnaires). We hoped for broad findings which could eventually be employed by the local governments for the purpose of addressing themselves to present and future public policy issues. We were interested in testing empirically a number of hypotheses from the viewpoints of economic interrelations and change; also the conflict processes in other local government areas. As so little had already been undertaken along these lines, we decided that a broad general approach would be most useful.

The first two months in Niger we spent time discussing the phenomena of urban migration with some young African scholars who were interested in the social sciences. Numerous hours were spent with private and public persons who had established skills in economic and political analysis. This was priceless, enabling us to better understand some of the causes associated with the magnitude of problems encountered in the process of rural-urban migration. My concerns as a foreigner were to get many, yet differing, inputs or viewpoints about the overcrowded cities of Africa and the prognosis of future migrants' fate who chose to live within these urban settings. It soon became perfectly clear that African "urbanologists" were like urbanologists the world over; there were many scholarly differences of opinions on the subject, each leading to different conclusions about present and past policies concerning the future of the urban settlements. What are migrant communities? What are their futures?

Viewpoint 1

Some looked down on this human agglomeration as a pathological and unemployable group of migrants. These people have far too many children to support and most often turn them out on the public to beg for a livelihood. These are "marginal" people, they limit the already scarce

water supply, sewage systems, garbage disposal and other basic social services available. Finally, migrant communities are seen as parasitic in nature, aggravating the already unclear, unhealthy atmosphere--physically, psychologically, and socially.

Viewpoint 2

The counter-vision sees the migrant community as just another group of natives, African counterparts who have been forced to leave the rural areas in search of survival. These people are seen as honest and capable, just as other urban dwellers; and if given a chance they, too, can assimilate and develop their own communities on their own initiative. Most importantly, urban sectors need these migrants who in time can contribute to the economy and growth as workers and consumers through improvements they can make in the agricultural areas. The skills of this so-called illiterate society has already been demonstrated by their "self help"--collective efforts in building houses and in their own time becoming a part of the large network of ongoing entrepreneurs through shear gut. These "outcasts" are, in fact, considered a central force in the future growth of the overall African social, economic, and political society.

Our primary research in Maradi is focused on the two migrant communities, Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail. Ultimately, we try to confirm or deny the disputes

over "culture poverty" and the viewpoints which may suggest ethnic differences and conflicts which are believed to force migrant groups to clash because of unfortunate personality traits which lead to the inability of any unification of the rural-urban migrant within the urban setting. We are aware that results from research have shown that different personality traits are present, but these results do not do justice to the disposition of the typical migrants who are ever conscious of the assistance of other migrant groups which constitute the basis for a rational and future-oriented sense of being and how to stay alive. Here is one of the major generalizations gathered by looking at a few independent variables.

Rural-Urban Ties

Migrant men and women and their families are constantly moving back and forth between rural homesteads and urban quarters (Yeld, 1969). There is an assumption that contentment is searched for but never attained. This is not only part of the rural-urban system which was sampled, but an inconclusive finding. Our interest at the time then was in studying the group of actual migrants living in the city. These two groups together are thought of as rural-urban migrants. In our study the major theme is centered around the men and women who illustrate "face-

to-face" interactions, directness and frequent sharing of the social and economic facilities available to them for their survival within the city.

In order to put the pieces together, we decided we needed a broad or macro look at some of the largest urban areas in Niger before trying to zero in on any one or two migrant communities. So, about eight to ten weeks were spent in participatory observation in and around the streets and private abodes in these major cities in Niger: Niamey, Zinder, and Maradi. Our day began before sunrise and lasted up until late hours into the night. Who are these people? What are they really like? Often we watched the older women as they passed, the sunlight sweeping over their faces. This was a profile which resembled the African wood carvings we had observed in so many art museums in America; mysterious, omniscient, the features elongated by compassion, the eyes shrouded with a profound sadness. Occasionally, we paused and watched little islands of men, young and old, standing outside dim-lit bars as though waiting to enter and drink when those inside the small quarters had finished. They were very loud as they grappled and boxed in rough playfulness, knocking off each other's brimless skull caps, and cursing tenderly. At first, we were jarred by the violence in their horseplay; yet, strangely envious and respectful we wanted to be included somehow. For somehow,

even though they were sporting like little boys, there was no question that they were truly men. AFRICAN BLACK MEN! We also watched the infants and preschoolers as they were tended by young and old women alike, often strapped to the backs of the women who lumbered along the dirt paths with long, sturdy strides such of footing and destination as young babies slept soundly or looked around exploringly with expressions of peace and contentment.

We found it amazing to witness this family phenomenon, these African families at so-called poverty level managing to raise their children with some degree of trust and provide their young with love, warmth and attention to daily needs. Had we not just read only yesterday some American psychologists' discussions on the mutual hostility, suspicion or simple non-communication of both parents and children being reared in our affluent society in America? Yes, Dr. Benjamin Spock it was who warned of parents' over-reliance on outside advice simply because mothers have lost their intuitive ability to rear their offspring (Spock, 1974). The role of the extended family without a doubt is still a part of a particular crucial time in the bulk of a child's life here in Niger. This assumption was confirmed, when we were later to learn the concept of juvenile delinquency is almost unheard of there.

Educators and leaders of various groups and occupations were interviewed on an informal basis as we tried to find out the kinds of urban experiences they had encountered in policymaking roles. We were searching for what seemed to be typical experiences for the rural-urban migrants whom we would later attempt to interrogate in our designed study of small migrant communities: rural integration within the urban setting. We moved from city to city.

Zinder was the first city to capture our interest. Although it provides the excitement of being one of the foremost planned cities of Niger, it soon became clear that many factors made it highly atypical: its isolation, principally administrative and symbolic functions as a meeting point for international trade, particularly among West African countries. Zinder has its urban problems but the two cities with the highest growth rates and most severe problems of rapid urbanization are Maradi and Niamey. The influx of migrants-squatters was voiced by most as the problem of the cities. The problems that squatter settlements pose are probably most severe in Niamey; however, Maradi with its abundance of inner-city tenements which serve as alternatives to the migrant camps, was smaller, less complex and all factors combined, sensually attractive for research. Also, the presence of numerous contacts, both professional and institutional,

in that city made it a natural location for this investigation.

On April 12, 1976, we moved into Maradi to begin our preliminary work. We found the geographical design of Maradi had more possibilities and problems associated with urban growth than we had first expected, but this growth could be more easily isolated in Maradi than in Zinder or Niamey. Foremost, Maradi has a sure market which seems less dependent on the river than on the neighboring country of Nigeria. As such, the development of a transportation network is and will have a major and most favorable effect in the future of Maradi's growth, as was explained by the Honorable Mayor of Maradi. The Mayor pointed out some inevitable and favorable effects as they will generate around the position Maradi will find herself within a natural center of exchange, which will double its function of selling on the spot and for transporting goods by truck and railways. It is almost certain that the expansion of the transportation reaching Maradi by rail coming from the sea will cross Nigeria, hereby making Maradi the leading city having main rail line transportation, whose function is purely economic (Ministre de Transport, 1976).

Important to our study we were to learn in the development of Maradi, on a long or short-term range, urbanization must be taken into account based on the level

of transportation that it is able to support. For instance, an important transportation route (rail or road) must be able to connect the shipping zone with future industrial zones. These are possibilities that are important as they offer a far reach elsewhere in the direction of agriculture and housing, dividing the Goulbi Valley; hence, a controlling factor favorable to the outer expansion of the city. The remote distances of habitation are only able to expand toward the south along the broadside of the Plateau and to the east along the paved highway between Maradi and Kano, Nigeria (see Figure 10, page 52 and Figure 11, page 58). On the west the city is limited by the edge of the Plateau which is affected by the regressive erosion (a back flow from the Niger River). It is temporarily limited on the north, less favorable for habitation, because of the presence of the airport, making it almost impossible to live in "L'Axa de la Piste." Any immediate extension will be imperative, conditioned by the necessity of acknowledging the existing problems (Ministre de Interior, 1976). The city is, in effect, actually divided into three isolated sites: the inhabitants, commerce, and the administration.

One can readily detect the openness of the route, Maradi's core, which poses a delicate problem of functioning on a double axis--that of urban and transit crossways. The acquisition of the terrain of the airport risks cramp-

ing the type of development needed in the future, suppressing the growth. The two squatter communities of this study are seen squeezed into the areas on the east and west, expanding outward from the commercial site.

Sites of Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail

The first site selected for investigation was Camp Gardé on the west flank. It was representative in that new migrants settled close enough to the commercial area, yet far away from the sites of the sedentary population. The second site, Marché de Bétail, might be described similarly as to its geographic proximities to commerce and other permanent dwellings. However, it varied in that it being situated on the east flank afforded an area of expansion along the highway toward Kano, Nigeria. No matter, we agreed to treat the two sites' economic problems in the same manner and approach them in a variety of ways.

Basically, it was necessary to observe the most recent arrivals and their relationships to other migrants already in the area. We set out on early morning vigils which often lapsed into the night. This was carried out over a period of three months. We met those migrants already settled and watched their reactions to those in the midst of erecting shelters and those who were just disembarking from large carrier trucks and buses with all

their possessions. We sorted out new arrivals by age groups: old, young adults, children, etc. There were those few who took new friends, perhaps distant relatives, "home" with them. Certainly, every women with a baby strapped to her back was a source of inquiry. Where would she spend the night? Who would give her assistance? We observed very closely those who spent the first night sleeping along the road on mats, usually these were young adult males who were joined by other men, old and young, from the already-stationed migrants' camp sites who had given up their rooms to incoming women and children. Early morning hours found us returning to the streets along the sites to observe who and how these new inhabitants were fed and where they made their way in the days following.

The small shop owners along the road were able to tell us a great deal about the methods used to integrate the new migrants. Young girls were recruited almost immediately for babysitters and housemaids as there is always sleeping room available in exchange for their services. Young boys from about ten years and older seemed to automatically annex themselves to the male crews who searched the desert areas daily for straw and firewood. Many boys were recruited to fetch and sell water for community use. A close watch on the comings and goings of young males around the ages of 17 years and up re-

vealed them to have enough cash to enable them a change of clothing and jobs, and always enough money to rent an expensive place to sleep for a night or two before they rejoined the new job brigade. Their leisure time, if any, was usually spent greeting other young males, laughing loudly as they joked about their future--expected gains which invariably amounted to merely joining another employment project that offered mere subsistence. As time went by, a matter of only a few days, the newest migrant families appeared to be integrated into the migrant community. Indeed, we became aware of an informal yet well-organized community administration.

Kinship prevailed as a deep sense of pride was binding together the lives within this makeshift community. With all its implications, kinship is still one of the strongest forces in the traditional African life. We found this old kinship that is reckoned through blood bethrothal and which controls social relationships between people in any given community; it governs marital customs and regulations as it determines the behavior of one individual toward another (Mbiti, 1969). This was the roots of migrant community administrative care. We noted, usually a group of old men, who mentally registered incoming families (asked the family name, tribe, ethnic identities, age and occupation) and allotted any empty huts or a piece of earth whereby living quarters could be

erected. A house and any job options were made within the circle of this administrative body. Very little time was lost in directing the new subjects to the shared facilities available within the compound.

We were a bit amazed that this vast number of migrants who had chosen to become a part of an organized community of invaders of the overall urban sector of Maradi seemed to be bound together by a common culture--Peul, Hausa and Touareg alike. Perhaps, the fact they shared a common religion (Islam) added to a sense of common origin, unity, oneness, and togetherness as they sought to adjust themselves to "big city" living. We hoped to soon find out.

This so-called common culture expressed itself in the form of three ethnic groups living in harmony in probably the smallest living space available. In both sites (Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail) careful investigation later revealed two-thirds of the migrants were of Hausa origin and they more or less dominated the administrative procedures of the camps. The Peul and Touaregs, least in number, seemed to suffer few adverse effects by this, although it was obvious the houses of Peul and Touareg circled the perimeters of compounds. However, they mingled freely within the compound proper. Household utensils, food, water and domesticated animals' milk and flesh were share in common. One could easily find cultural similarities which cut across ethnic and

linguistic lines. Although they dressed a bit differently and possessed different shades of skin tones (black, light brown and lighter browns), the sharing of food and domestic chores by women and children and the shared occupational opportunities of their men represented a token fellowship, communion and respect they felt toward one another.

Once we finished covering some of these macro dimensions of Maradi migration sites, we decided on the two communities already mentioned and spent considerably more time in each one. Personal friendships were made. This was important not only to become familiar with the conditions of life, types of people and range of concerns in each place, but also to establish the trust and rapport necessary to conduct the study under open, relaxed conditions. We learned it is much easier to win a person's confidence over barbecued chicken and baked fish than over a questionnaire! At this point, we decided to begin our micro study-search for factors to be explored and the drawing of a sample as we literally moved into the two migrant sites.

Factors to be Explored: What is a Migrant Community?

One way we conceptualized the problem was to envision the people of Maradi. I constructed a portrait of community life for past and present migrant communities.

The migrant settlements of Maradi, by whatever name (shantytowns, bidonvilles, hutvilles) are common to all cities in "Third World" nations, and they reflect the same forces of socioeconomic interplay. Because of the scarcity of money, "standard" housing or permanent dwelling units are priced well above the income of the migrant family's ability to pay. Therefore, vacant lands in and around the central city become natural squatting grounds for hundreds and hundreds of families. In the late 1960's and 1970's such squatter settlements grew and account for about one-third of the population of Niger today. These proportions are constantly on the rise; as one geographer points out, Africans have always been on the move, but more so since the drought of 1965 (Epstein, 1961).

According to the official records of the Nigerienne Secretary of Interior (1976), "hutsvilles" are defined as a group of makeshift dwellings with high density of occupation, the construction of which is carried out in a disorderly fashion with inadequate materials, without zoning, without public services, and on land which is illegally being used but sometimes consented to be used temporarily by the local governments (Okediji, 1966).

Recent research in and around Niger has revealed that there are many types of migrant settlements, some of which are quite spread out rather than dense and

overcrowded; while others are quite congested. However, they are accepted by the local governments as temporary and are constantly under improvement over time in terms of construction materials and urban services supplied by the government. Thus, this government aid is rendered for the purpose of ultimately having housing facilities for the constant "migrant flow" (Ministre de Interior, 1975).

Figures 12 through 21 demonstrate a typical housing arrangement and activity carried out by inhabitants of the area. From a distance the typical hutsville appears as a dirty, makeshift, congested and unorganized human inferno. Women and children walk back and forth with huge earthen crockery on their heads filled with water; many of them cluster around the communal water supply washing clothes. Both are daily rituals. Men sit around in groups playing games and laughing, apparently with nothing else better to do, while the women pound millet as their naked children romp and play in the dry sands.

For the outsider, this housing looks precarious at best and appears to be a concoction hazardously thrown together out of discarded scraps with minimum care or attention. There are the open sewers which create a terrible stench day after day and night after night; more so since the weather stays hot, stuffy and still. Just before the rainy season (June to September) dust storms fill



Fig. 12.--Group of Touaregs near their dwelling.



Fig. 13.--Closeup of Touaregs whose light skin and dress illustrate a distinct influence of their Arab-African (Black) heritage.



Fig. 14.--Cluster of Touaregs resting at noon day. Note the colorful garb.



Fig. 15.--A Peul mother holding infant of not more than two weeks old. Note there is no head covering. The length of hair, texture of hair and skin denotes her ethnic origin.

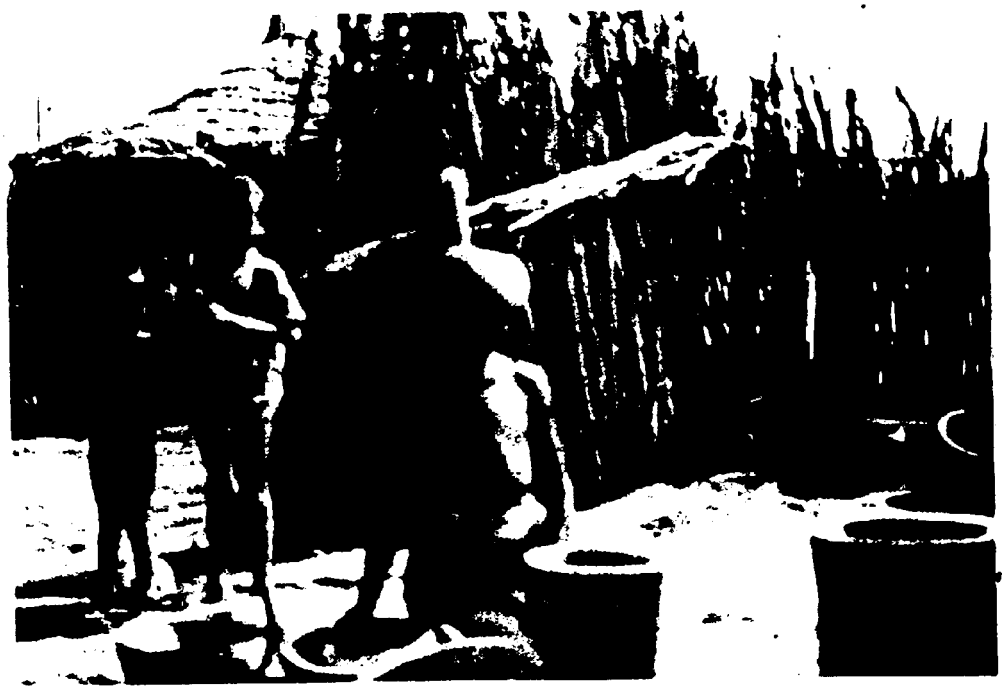


Fig. 16.--A Hausa mother preparing food for her children.



Fig. 17.--Hausa children playing in front of their shelters.



Fig. 18.--Members of the Peul group in their typical surroundings.



Fig. 19.--A Hausa child at play with the mother not too far away.



Fig. 20.--Working Hausa mothers with colorful head scarves.



Fig. 21.--Heard of cattle owned only by the Peul group. Cattle is kept in the migrant camp area at night and taken out toward the day. They are back for milking this particular afternoon.

the air with sand and other loose debris; and when the long awaited rain comes, they come with violent rain storms and there are mud slides which cascade down past the huts, often weakening the structures. Yet, these dwellings seem to survive and are speedily repaired before the next session of violent precipitations.

A second and closer look at these communities reveal quite a different picture. However, one finds that the living quarters are designed and constructed with a keen eye for comfort, efficiency and durability, given the effects of climatic conditions and the limit to available materials at hand. Much care is evidenced in the internal arrangement of sleeping space. Space for children is back and away from the door opening, while the older people sleep close to the front openings, affording quick and easy access to getting in and out of doors since there is restricted sleeping space. Cherished objects, crockery for cooking and eating are displayed out in the yards of each dwelling with a personal pride of ownership, and there is also joy of temporary exchange for use between neighbors. Most men and women rise very early in the morning with the first crowing of the cocks, and they work hard the entire day. Although there is little activity out in the open from noon until three or four o'clock in the afternoon, work is still in progress in the protection of the shady areas. Straw mats

are woven, mending of clothing and ironing are but some of the mid-day activities. Children are seldom, if ever, in school. They are generally quite noisy from sun up to sun down as they play roughly yet joyfully with one another. Their activities, however, are always under the watchful eyes of adults, whether it be their parents or another adult who find it necessary to discharge disciplinary action.

Unfortunately, our survey shows most parents (over 95 percent) do not send their children to school, preferring to send them out to work at an early age. The children begin working at the age of about five depending, of course, on the task prescribed. It is very common to see children in this early age group leading the aged and handicapped about the city streets begging for alms (cadeaus). Most importantly, a high degree of social cohesion was witnessed amidst the communal family, contradicting what outsiders may call a conflicting complex internal social organization of ethnic groups.

There is no doubt the effects of the wave of rural-urban migration during the recent and severe drought has led to a more rapid growth of the squatter populations throughout the cities of African nations. Families have been severely affected by the famine which has followed. An abrupt shortage of the water and food supply has depressed the already low standard of living of many within

the rural-urban and peri-urban areas. Simultaneously, the national and local governments are being forced to develop some type of agricultural and small industrial pursuits in which they hope will, in turn, supply internal markets.

There has been a growth of cooperative farming, within Maradi. Not enough, perhaps, but these events are said to be matched by public funds and have probably contributed to the slow but steady construction of some permanent housing. Prior to the drought, scarce and expensive urban transportation was obsolete and has been forced to be updated. This had an effect on mobility in and around the city. Many new migrants searching for homes were not welcomed with enthusiasm by city dwellers, who were also poor, often too poor to afford to pay the rents charged for their dwellings. Therefore, the number of hutsvilles increased rapidly, and there are signs that these neighborhoods will remain as permanent dwellings, even though most of the local governments speak of eradicating them when public housing units can be forthcoming. When this will occur no one really knows.

Housing

Most of the migrants in the communities studied live in straw huts or "guildas" which means "house" in Hausa, made of straw-matting and scrap material (see

Figure 22 and 23). These makeshift dwellings are carefully built to resist the torrential rains of summer, yet allow for circulation of any breeze which serves to keep the quarters as cool as possible. A series of these dwellings is usually located out and around the periphery of the fixed shanty-styled districts, dubbed "bukoki." "Bukoki" housing is a grouping of square box-like cubicles. About an estimated 18 feet in diameter from ten to twenty or more of this type of living quarters are constructed in very close proximity of each other with very narrow mazes or pathways leading from one abode to the other. The tailor shop, the barber, restaurants and other small consumer services are included within this compound. The compound is then enclosed within a "banco" wall about ten feet high constructed of the same building materials as the house: sunbaked bricks (see Figures 3 and 4, page 3). There are many of these shanty-styled districts neatly interwoven among the government-owned housing projects.

The government housing is also built, quite conspicuously in community clusters, but they are constructed of fired brick and cement blocks. These houses are much larger than the "bukoki" type housing and are equipped with running water and electricity, unlike the previously-mentioned "bukoki" housing. Usually, only professionally employed persons are granted the right to rent these



Fig. 22.--A look inside the straw huts demonstrates a loose but orderly arrangement of sleeping and eating space.



Fig. 23.--Peuls and Touaregs who share housing.

houses. Hereby, teachers, soldiers and other government employees are apt to live in these housing units, only as long as they remain within the chosen fields of prescribed governmental jurisdiction.

Out from the central city, the areas farthest from the heart of the town, we find those large houses with spacious grounds of neatly watered lawns and colorful flower gardens. These home sites were built in the early 20th century by the French for the French. They are presently inhabited by the Europeans and a few of those non-Europeans falling within the highest categories of workers. This is an imaginary circle which completes a real and subtle hierarchy within the housing sector. The "European" community, as it is called, comes within close proximity of the poor migrant communities, and only near and around the recreational areas. These recreational centers, predominately European, are composed of large swimming pools with beach houses, garden restaurants and bars (called the "club"), riding stables and boating facilities, all serviced by the underdeveloped nation's underemployed natives. Geographically, recreational sites are constructed on choice land sites out from the city and along the banks of the Niger River and the Maradi River.

The Migrant Communities

Hut populations are referred to and considered by some as the most unstable living areas since the inhabi-

tants are mainly accepted or looked upon as nomadic in origin not classified as permanent workers. This is a definitive expression employed most often by the less mobile community who tends to upgrade their own social position while trying to disregard the existence of the migrants. As such, the new migrants are excluded from the sedentary society based on their program of travel and work rather than on ethnic identity and are treated as a marginal supplementary entity within the city. This is a mental picture of the rural-urban migrants as they go about daily, earning or begging just enough money to purchase water, millet, clothing and other food stuffs for their families and their animals, so as to be able to move "off again" wherever.

It has been argued, since the foundation of the towns, African populations have been mobile and varied in degrees over the years, and more so since 1969--the height of the Saharan drought when the momentum increased. Furthermore, there is another factor to be considered as there has always been a seasonal fluctuation, before the period of the drought and appears to be continuing, which is observed as the population of the towns are at their lowest ebb during the period of June to September (Mainet and Nicholas, 1964). This period of time finds most of the inhabitants in general leaving the city proper to engage in various agricultural activities. Although

their work takes place in rural areas, they often set up temporary living quarters around the periphery of the city amidst other migrant communities already there. This phenomenon, as we observed, is particularly true for the "hut" populations, making it extremely difficult for the researchers to separate the so-called recent migratory flux of the seasonal migration from town to country. The population figures, therefore, fluctuate a great deal at this time and are difficult to state with any degree of accuracy (Service de la Statistique, 1976).

Standards of Living

The migrant communities are grossly affected by the distinct categories or levels of employment conditions and housing selections as discussed above. There is the European management category with a high income and standard of living corresponding to that of their counterparts in developed countries plus a bonus to prompt them to stay abroad. This group is recognized as the "bourgeoise." Then, there are the local workers (non-European population) who are privileged by comparison with the induced inhabitants on account of their fixed and regular pay and considerable fringe benefits (government housing, medical services, food bonus for purchase of millet, greatly possibility of raising a few cattle, etc.) who rate second on the socioeconomic totem pole. Thirdly, are the rural-urban migrants living admist this socioeconomic structural

level draped in a black cloak of deprivation. They are forced to construct instant rows of housing without any plumbing or electrical services to say the least. These migrant sites are selected dependent upon the "paternalistic" instincts or whims of the local government officials. These people could be described as a new group of migrants making a request to be socialized into an already passive, submissive and cynical socioeconomic community.

Commerce and Economy

The Grande Marché is a large covered marketing complex where local gardners and small cattle raisers come three or four times a week to compete with larger and more distant farmers to sell and trade a variety of produce. Out along the highway and other main streets constructs are erected and designed for peddling services such as clothing booths, barber shops, butchers selling raw and cooked meats, chicken and egg stalls. Large hampers of charcoal and firewood collected by young boys and girls are also sold by older citizens for the purpose of family cooking. Also for sale are construction materials: straw mats already woven or loose straw to be used with timber for the construction of new housing, or most often for repairs on the old structures. These are but a few diversified elements of commercial life found within the city proper, often within select community boundaries.

Outside of these boundaries, but very close by, are the large grocery stores and colorful shops similar to those in industralized nations' cities. But these are seldom visited by the poor (the migrant) because the prices are far too high. Often these large store owners do business with local merchants within the community sector as they are able to offer certain advantages to those local retailers who are able to (1) trade and extend loans when needed, allowing families to get some of the scarce goods when there is sickness or periods of unemployment; (2) they divide merchandise into small packets to allow purchases of tiny amounts at one time (two cigarettes, a few stones of sugar or butter for the evening meal); and (3) some "wayside" restaurants who feed a mobile segment of the population daily--morning, noon and night. These eating places are social gathering spots where workers meet each day to laugh and "swap gossip." Often they have no money to pay, leaving the restraunteur dependent upon being reimbursed on the next payday or by a friend or another family member who may come by later in the day.

On the whole, entrepreneurial capitalism has taken strong roots in Maradi; and most all of it is in the hands of a few local residents, not all to the outsiders. More jobs are constantly opening up locally, and as more jobs open up in the industrial establishments located within the

city, more migrants are becoming a part of the labor force. This income is returned to the community. This fact is acknowledged as we witness more and more stalls being extended along the front street areas. What once was equated as merely one block of stalls is now referred to as kilometers of retailers extending along the throughways. Unlike the Grande Marché, which is open three or four days a week, these small market scenes are open daily including Sundays starting at five o'clock in the morning and lasting until mid-afternoon. After the sun moves from directly overhead, the shopping and trading begins anew, lasting beyond sundown and into the night.

These shops bost of sales to women wearing sandals and colorful head scarves carrying personally handwoven shopping bags as they inch along rows of vendors. These women are deliberate in their picking and choosing. Some of these women were elevated from the ranks of those who, three or four months ago, wore no shoes and carried no shopping bags because they could afford to purchase only enough merchandise which could be easily carried in one hand. This demonstrates there is some economic mobility within the migrant community.

This growing level of commerce in and around Maradi is a sharp contrast to what we witnessed in Niamey, the capital city. Most shopkeeping and handcraft shops in Niamey were owned and operated by non-Nigeriens. There were very few native owners found in certain low levels

of trading. The bulk of local commerce remains in the hands of settled dealers from outside the country. Taxi service is dominated by the natives of Benin while jewelers almost always boast they are from Senegal. The Nigerien people from the capital city seem to have no real sense for business. Perhaps, it is because they continue to feel smothered by the presence of the large commercial dealers who are Europeans. A university student brought to my attention the customs of the colonizers who never selected the local cadre to assist in running any businesses. This practice seemed to continue even after independence, particularly in the capital city.

So different is Maradi; there we find Nigeriens who belong to the large commercial community. Natives own and operate large stores and certainly worth mentioning here, the largest and most modern hotel, Hotel Jangarzo, the pride of Niger, owned and operated by a Black Nigerien who also owns the largest nightclub and cinema house in all Niger. (Mention is made of these accomplishments only to show the contrast between the two cities.) These central commercial structures which undoubtedly reflect on the ownership of the small commercial communities have a less than passive effect on migrant families and individuals who have come to the city to vie for an existence or better life.

Drawing a Sample: Research Techniques

After concluding what we might refer to as a macro analysis of the socioeconomic order of things in several urban communities in Maradi, we concluded that the resident areas of Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail were sufficient in that they would be able to present, and did give us, the micro level of insights into the informal and practical workings of the urban system in addition to the formal; these aspects or elements as seen in the material that follows are used extensively. So it was, with the welding of those African scholars' "academic insights," our team's personal observations, and my "gut feelings" we cut the "sponge" of our research methodology.

Some Limitations of the Research

We should note three developments which made the study less scientific or even more "impressionistic" than this researcher originally hoped it would be. The first involved my inability to carry out preliminary plans of conducting several formal interviews with public figures within the decision-making body. Some informal discussions were held, but in a very confidential and restricted manner. It was just not possible to get sufficient information on any specific or single issue (in any of our locations) for a thorough case study to be accomplished. This unexpected development necessitated a more general, and less structured approach to urban policy issues.

Secondly, we soon discovered that much of the data (resulting from scholarly research and informal conversations) concerning the areas of decision-making and the structure of influence of public policy issues already done was in fact quite subjective and, even more importantly, contradictory at times and points. A simple, apparently factual-type question, for example, what percentage of taxes or local and national revenues were allocated to social services (schools, hospitals, etc.) produced such varied answers as, from one interviewee: "Nearly 90 percent of the budget went to one service or the other." Or, "There is a high degree of apathy toward parents sending children to modern schools or doctors." The result, then, in the absence of consistent, non-contradictory and objective information on policy-making forced this researcher to depend increasingly on feelings about these processes.

Finally, in regards to the choice of migrant sites, we had little choice. It was the federal officials who had cleared our research request for Niger. However, it was still necessary to clear with local officials to receive authorization to work in their areas. Great care was taken by my senior research assistant, an active citizen of Maradi, to clear with local authorities, office of the mayor, to obtain a written document allowing our team to do a study of this sort in a specific migrant community.

Even after we obtained the mayor's official stamp of approval, it was again equally necessary, if not important, to contact the symbolic chief or community leader within each compound. A small cadeau (usually $10 to $20) was offered in exchange for their cooperation in informing the resident population who we were and the importance of their cooperation in answering the questions of the researchers.

So, it was through this method of selection and acceptance we were able to start our interviews within Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail.

Being a foreigner emerged as something of an advantage. As one, we were unknown and being Black Americans visiting a Black African nation seemed a topic of great interest. Our friendliness and interest came as a pleasant surprise and curiosity seemed natural in someone from a distant location. We were able to pose questions that would have seemed either ludicrous or suspicious for a fellow African, but in us were passed off as naive. We explained my presence, through my interpreter, by saying we were attempting to learn about my past, about life in the city and about how it differed from the places people had lived before. As this was a topic of general interest, no one thought it strange. However, at later points there was a certain amount of jealousy on the part of the people who had not been interviewed. They would frequently ask

us why we had not been to their compound and when we were coming. We explained the problem of time and my hopes to see them, everyone. However, since the rains were on their way, we had to select a handful of heads-of-households in hopes they would tell us what the rest of the community was like. People seemed to understand my story and appeared satisfied.

From this point on, we were working hand in hand with native Nigeriens. A sincere attempt was made to carry out a professional competence and a keen sense of commitment to scientific research in attuning to the study of local realities.

During our first "question and answer" contacts with the residents of Camp Gardé #1 we tried to find out as much as possible about the local culture: how the social system was structured, what was important to the people, how the social services (schools, hospitals, etc.) and economic interest were perceived. Headquarters, usually a straw-covered enclosure with two small benches for the interviewers, were erected in a centrally located area within the compound. The interviewees came in large numbers and formed a circle around the interviewers, moving along after each questionnaire had been completed. It was usually a noisy, boisterous crowd having to be subdued periodically by the chief, who always remained from start to finish each day.

Formulation of the Questionnaire

Heads-of-households came and went. Who told whom to come and when to come is still not clear; however, they came in large numbers each day. They were very friendly and extremely enthusiastic as they responded to questions posed to them in their ethnic tongue by the senior research assistant who then translated the answers to the rest of the research team in French.

Importantly, under such circumstances as described above, parts of this study, especially those dealing with employing the random-sampling techniques and the possibility of gross distortion resulting from "three-tiered" translation, is a constant and serious threat to the reliability of this study. This lack of a ready-made sampling frame and the "one-to-one" dialogue between interviewer and interviwee is acknowledged as a common problem facing many researchers in Africa today.

At every point we tried to be aware of our own thoughts and tried to keep from imposing them upon those members of our own team or the persons being interviewed. The three months we had spent in other migrant communities in participant observation and non-structured interviewing proved most valuable. Those many hours spent in open-ended discussions with a large variety of people paid off as we were ready with our printed questionnaires which were made up by listing those items that we felt emerged

as especially interesting and important. But this time (end of June) this had become the full fledged pre-test version of the questionnaire.

The pre-test was not too extensive and not complex as every question in it was open-ended. (There were 25 items on general background and 10 on urban experiences.) We estimated it would take from one to two hours to complete and demanded one or two sessions to complete 15 questionnaires.

During the last week of June, pre-tests were administered to five heads of families in Camp Gardé, five in Camp Gardé #2, and five in Camp Marché de Bétail. A simultaneous quota sampling method was used to obtain the widest variation in length of time in the city, type job, ethnic group, age, sex, etc. When the questionnaires had been completed, all answers to a given question were listed on separate sheets, one per item. For each question the answers were classified in mutually exclusive categories covering the entire range of obtained responses. This was a crucial step in making certain that the survey process was as valid as possible and avoiding the imposition of our own ideas on those of the respondents.

We studied the results and ran a simple analysis to see which items seemed to be "working." Those questions which were ambiguous, hard to understand, too politically sensitive, or which did not discriminate among the population were revised or dropped as were those that seemed

most distant from measuring the underlying concepts sought.

The final product of this analysis was a revised questionnaire which was completed and took the better part of June and July; during which time we decided upon sampling techniques and procedures as well as a short orientation on interview training (see Appendix B).

The revised questionnaire was designed to collect information from sample heads-of-households about the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the family size and composition in the rural and urban geographic areas. We interviewed 450 heads-of-households. The sample included men and women from an age range of 20 years to 80 years old. This decision was based on the conviction that urban life is not experienced in the same way by men and women, young and old. Through this broad sampling we hoped to increase the analytical leverage of what really constituted a family.

Four hundred and fifty interviews seemed to give the kind of multi-variate analysis we sought. We found, for example, if a man has two or more wives he has many households since each wife would usually have her own house erected within the same compound. Distinguishing where other wives and households lived became a major research project within itself. We later learned that physical birth meant very little. Children were counted as family even though they were not of the same biological origin.

It became clear we had to deal with this phenomenon in such a way it would yield some active elements in the areas of our interest--urban life. We were interested in examining what kinds of urban experiences were typical of whole communities; therefore, we decided to sample additional young males and females independent of families.

Data were collected on each interviewee on the age, composition of family before and after the drought, occupation and earnings of family members in the past locality (village or farm) and the present occupation and earnings within the city. The number of deaths of children, children (5 to 15 years of age) in school, if children were not in school, the reason. We added another phase to this question when it became apparent over 90 percent of the respondents used the same responses: " . . . the school is too far away." We asked another following question: how many school-aged children were employed? The response to this question gave us a more valid reason for the reason most parents did not send their children to school. This we classified as "quota" sampling; a method we used throughout our study in the hopes of obtaining the widest variations in the length of time in the city. Economic problems encountered in the city influenced the family structure, we thought, and would ultimately shed light on future desires and advantages of social services taken by the migrant who chose to remain in the city or return to his site of origin.

Extensive improvement of the interviewing was quite tedious. Many times in the effort to accomplish sound procedures and validity of the results from the sample group of the selected population, there was a need to return to various public and private officials who were willing and able to supply additional information as their perceptions of educational and medical facilities available and other economic policy designs.

Every attempt was made in the process of preparing this data collection to insure its accuracy. Data gathering in the interviews were sufficiently rich to permit a fairly rigorous measurement of these key variables such as: ethnic group relationships, the purpose for staying in the city, submission to modern facilities, etc. We tried to show basic attitudes concerning the behavior and human expectation of friendships within the community as well as perceptions of themselves, the migrants, and their community is being under severe stress.

Once the basic data of 450 questionnaires was in, we moved to classify events and systematically identify each variable in order that these emprical observations were systematic, visible, explicit and reproducible; in sum, they were made operational. Some immediate steps were taken to put these operational (but still "raw) data into a form appropriate to the analysis, ascertaining correlations and testing of hypotheses (see Appendix C).

The study is not intended to be restricted to description, only as an attempt was made to manipulate the data series. At the simplest, the manipulation takes the form of aggregation into time units (before and after the drought) and assignment to a fixed set of ranges, such as deciles and percentages. This conversion took the form of normalization in order to make scores comparable across time (as the population is changing in size). Ratio of participation and adjustment among members of ethnic groups to members' total responses was also used as a prediction index.

Differentiation defined as the number of different kinds of bonds each ethnic group has with each other was used as a general differentiation scale of types of employment and the number of school-age children in school or employed are computed. The correlations among the relationship networks of the most relatively central urban linkages will be articulated or relayed to domestic policy orientation. For any policy orientation (Hausa, Peul and Touareg) the total population according to each weighting method can be calculated for domestic, foreign, and total conflict or peaceful situations, and in turn, converted into proportions of the total numbers or strengths of advocated public policies.

Against the background plan for the field research, some basic research questions were formulated. Later we attempted to convert these questions into feasible hypotheses.

Questions Formulated

1. Is there any significant difference in the composition or style in which different ethnic groups migrate to the city?
2. Is there a significance in the sex and age ratios of the migrants?
3. Is there a significant difference in the number of migrants, particularly within ethnic groupings who migrate to the city?
4. Is there a significant difference between or within family composition before and after the drought?
5. Is there a significant difference seen between drought induced migration and migration said to be induced by other factors (employment, schools, social services such as health and welfare, and those persons accompanying other family members)?
6. Is the migration associated with the drought considered a permanent aspect of this population shift?
7. Does the number of children (0-15 years) within a family structure seem to invaribly decrease rather than increase during the period of migration?
8. Are there high variances seen between the infant mortality rates among the three cited ethnic groups?
9. Is there a significant difference between the

employment patterns or skills of the migrants before and after migration?

10. How significant is the difference in the number of persons that seek different forms of medical treatment (traditional, modern, etc.)?

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

This study was conducted in a way we felt could identify the critical factors associated with the problems of urban planning and the formulation of public policy in the Republic of Niger. We knew we had to find out some of the major causes for the discrepancies found in the formulation and implementation of the present public policy, not knowing whether the goals sought had been set or based on fact or theory. Most specifically, we had to have some ideas about what was causing the gaps, those expressed by some local officials in private, which were related to the rate of social services available, and those sought after usually without success. We also concerned ourselves with the General Systems Theory and its functions in accordance with our data analysis.

Social services (those local governmental programs designed for the public) might not be adequate. There were far too many people who needed medical care turned away from both private and public clinics and hospitals. Far too many young, school-aged childred (0 to 15 years of age) could be seen daily, out in the streets begging rather than gracing the classroom. There was a steady increase in the rates of reported crime. To what extent, then, do these statistical factors associated with urban

growth and development hold up within the city planning of Maradi? No one admitted he was certain.

Statistical uncertainties are matched by equally great uncertainties regarding socioeconomic and political implications of continued population growth. As such, the government on a national and local level must be concerned. The basic Malthusian thesis that indefinite population growth will bring widespread poverty is applicable under internal policy commitments of isolation of local affairs from national affairs. This is similar to a nation's isolation from internal trade, minimal standards of living, marginal flexibility in technology, and low energy output (Ehrlech and Holden, 1971). Today, such conditions are closely approximated with the Republic of Niger's subsistence levels as in most Asian and African countries. However, if one of these factors is absent, the Malthusian rationale is undercut by the possibility of modifying the underlying resource base. This view is held as we seek to define the problems associated with urbanization in Maradi. In terms of distribution of social services, resources and work distributions must be properly utilized and distributed. We argue the entire population of the city could not subsist on the existing resources. The existence of rural-urban migration flow in practice cannot be denied.

The processes of rural-urban migration, which illustrate some of the most critical implications of the in-

creasing population, for political systems and social institutions is associated with the following: population growth which places unavoidable and increasing demands for goals and services upon the local government. The lowest economic or politically powerless groups which remain unattended in the allocation of resources and wealth present severe problems to governmental management that result in insufficient job opportunities, overburdened educational systems and increased shortages of medical facilities. The ramifications of these problems are evidenced in terms of political instability and often violent behavior. The relationship of the linkage between these problems and population density is emphasized within this study. The activities and expectations of the rural-urban migration flow causes us to ask: who are the migrants?

We addressed ourselves to this question by first proving that the migrants are real. Migrants are real in that they are physical beings who have left one geographic area to come to specific urban sites--Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail. We used this fact to convince the local authorities; to make them understand each migrant was a person who takes up space, breathes air, eats food to survive, finds somewhere to sleep, and most likely will eventually solicit social services. The migrant's presence forces change in the pattern of things within the socio-economic community. As such, it behooves the local

governments to learn as much as possible about each migrant or migrant group. Do they come to the city with occupational skills designed for employment? Do they plan to stay around for a while, etc.? How the migrant comes and the length of time he intends to stay certainly forces the social, economic and political structures to make some degree of concessions, whether they be real or imaginary, in order to accommodate the polity.

Concessions and accommodations are shaped by the pressure placed on the structures of the polity whether they be forthcoming from the migrant stream or the permanent group of the citizenry. This observation has implications for this study since it becomes more than a question and answer session between the researchers and the migrants. It develops into an incorporation of and an advantage to the powers of government. Because of this relationship we knew we had to collect "hard facts," facts which could be identified or acknowledged as such by the local authorities. Yet, we knew there would be some findings which the local authorities might choose to ignore. However, our objective remained the same: it was to conduct a scientific study whose major findings would be accepted by the policymakers whose interest should be geared toward the building of a strong social, economic and political base.

Most of the local officials whom we met expressed an agreement as to Maradi's undergoing rapid urbanization

and that the ongoing processes of urbanization were not keeping pace with the slow socioeconomic adjustments to growth. It was agreed that the aspects of Maradi's population growth and the near stagnation of its economic development were indeed cause for alarm, but there was not a mutual agreement on the core of this problem.

Present and anticipated problems were the impetus for searching for solutions.

Sample Description and Procedures

Rural-urban migrants, 450 heads-of-households, became our research sample. The samples were selected from two migrant camps within the city of Maradi. Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail were three to four kilometers (three miles) apart. Our efforts were focused on the nature of this migrant population and what the potential was of their becoming permanent residents. We designed a questionnaire (Appendix B) which covered: the identity of the migrant as to tribe; ethnic group and family name; the geographic location they came from; some of the reasons they had left the rural areas and had come to this city. Our basic premise was that with physical displacement comes the inevitable exposure to new relationships and new experiences, the effects of which cause individuals to act and respond in unpredictable ways.

It was acknowledged by the researchers that the consistency of responses to the items on the questionnaire

would be vital to the final analysis. As such, the end results would prove favorable not only for the design of public policy, but would also have long range goals in identifying and supporting the researcher's motivation for future or extended study. With this in mind, considerable effort was expended attempting to decide on how we could obtain a valid random-sample; who we should interview (as to family composition); and how we would go about constructing the items on the questionnaire. We soon learned this was not a simple assignment as unavoidable limitations were imposed. The local authorities became most visible and vocal in the primary stages of our research. Because of their actions, we were not able to arrive at a true random sample.

Basically, it became a case of interpreting the philosophy of the local officials toward some questions we were allowed to ask and eventually their interpretation of the responses to these questions since we were working within a security-conscious military regime. Thus, we were forced into developing a three-tiered communications network: a structure which connected migrant-local authorities and the research team always under the control of the local government.

In an effort to satisfy the above structural design, a restriction was placed on our style and place of inquiry. For example, the two sites, Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail, were selected for us by the local officials. After

we entered the migrant camps, it was the local chief who decided which heads-of-households we were to interview. These restrictions certainly placed severe limitations on the sampling procedures. Obviously, this calls into question the reliability of some of the variables, and has implications also with respect to the data collected and the success or failure in offering valid solutions to an overall urban policy guideline. Further, it was necessary to limit our analysis to those coded variables which were concerned with past and present job skills (those existing prior to migration and those presently being pursued). Inasmuch as tribes were numerous they could not be used to our advantage in enhancing our study (see Appendix C).

Statistical Techniques

In an effort to bring maximum clarity to the findings of these variables which emerged in this research project, a recapitulation of previously described questions at the end of Chapter Three were put into the form of null hypotheses. It will be given along with the statistical presentaion of the results which were obtained through the tésting of these hypothesis. The statistical analyses used were:

1. Chi-square test of significance for items on the questionnaire.
2. Frequency distributions were computed to determine statistically significant dif-

> ferences. The Chi-square tests proved itself most favorable to the statistical analyses of our study. Most frequencies were too low for significance testing.

Chi-Square Statistic (χ^2)

The basic notion underlying the Chi-square technique is that it is a very general test that can be used whenever we wish to observe frequencies. We can evaluate whether or not the frequencies which have been empirically obtained differ significantly from those which would be expected under a certain set of theoretical assumptions (Blalock, 1972). By using a null hypothesis we were able to observe frequencies for a number of two nominal scale variables which had been cross-classified. For example, we stated in terms of age and ethnic grouping, whereas in terms of null hypothesis we observed frequencies in a category of Hausa being older or younger as a group than the Peul or Touareg. This projected a chance departure from the hypothetical or expected frequencies for the category.

The expected frequencies are derived from any definition one may want to give to a null hypothesis. Frequencies can be turned into percentages, making it possible to ask whether or not these differences are statistically significant.

> In order to interpret the meaning of the Chi-square, it is necessary to consult the χ^2 table. The value of χ^2 table. The value of χ^2 necessary for significance at .05 percent;

.01 percent levels of confidence vary according to the number of degrees of freedom available.

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e}$$

Where f_o and f_e refer respectively to the observed and expected frequencies, for each cell we obtain the difference between the observed and the expected frequencies in each cell. We divide this figure by the expected number of cases in each cell in order to standardize it so that the biggest contributions do not always come from the largest cells. The sum of these non-negative quantities for all cells is the value of the chi-square (Blalock, 1972).

Chi-square's function is to compare the observed frequencies with the expected frequencies. It is clear that the more closely related the observed and the expected agree, the smaller will be the value of chi-square. If the value of chi-square is zero then and only then can all observed and expected frequencies be called identical. We would hardly expect observed and expected frequencies to be exactly the same (Blalock, 1972). Nevertheless, it is apparent that the greater the difference between the observed and the expected results, the greater, then, the chi-square and the greater the possibility of a significant difference.

As such, on the other hand, if the value of chi-square is larger than that expected by chance, then the null hypothesis may be rejected. On the other hand, if the value of the chi-square is found to be smaller that that is necessary for significance, the null hypothesis is <u>not</u> rejected.

Analysis of Data

Who are the migrants? We will attempt to resolve this question by the analysis of data related to ethnic structure; future population growth; family dynamics and the effect of the drought; health problems; educational opportunities and the expressed desires of the migrants' future in Maradi.

Ethnic Structure of the Population

Facts concerning Maradi's present population were even more confusing than those concerning its past. Since migrants are not officially recognized, their names do not appear on government's regular or official statistics, nor in any consistent form in the census data. Estimations of the number of the inhabitants range from 1,410 units of housing with 6,000 inhabitants to the enormous figure of 7,000 units and 28,000 people (Magagi, 1976) In our study, 450 heads-of-households, we identified 1,457 dwellings, many of them multiple-family dwellings within the two combined camp sites. According to our interviewers, only about two percent of the inhabitants had access to running water--public taps. About 10 percent of this two percent who had access to free water (they were closest to water supplies) obtained it from the river, sunken wells and public taps. This access afforded them the privilege to sell water to the rest of the migrant population for a price set by the local authorities. It was difficult to

find out the exact price of the transaction or the type of agreement reached between the sellers of the water and the local authorities. However, it was accepted as a well-known fact that the government officials collected a monthly rate for estimated water consumed by the migrant communities. And it was usually the Hausa group who were sellers of water.

The composition of the demographic profile of the two sites, Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail gave 33 percent for each of the three groups (Hausa, Peul and Touareg), approximately the same ethnic proportions. We were aware of the three groups living together within each camp, but we did not know the composition of families, age grouping, or the total number of migrants within each ethnic group. We felt it was important to find out if there were significant differences in ethnic grouping between camps or within camps, and if there were differences, did these differences in ethnic grouping have any effect upon a specific group's abilities to respond favorably or unfavorably to city living.

Statement of Hypotheses

It is against the previously-mentioned background questions posed in Chapter 3 that we drew up a number of testable hypotheses. Based on these testable hypotheses we can proceed to draw conclusions of realities on fact in this current study.

In our statement of hypotheses, we have given only the null hypotheses--without going into repetitions of stating the alternative hypotheses. We want to make it clear that in all the cases our alternative hypothesis is the same; that is, "The null hypothesis is not true."

Hypothesis I

Null: There is no significant difference in the composition in which different ethnic groups migrate to the city. The ethnic structure in the two camps are similar. Symbolically:

HO: $\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3$

where μ_1 represents statistical structures of Hausa in the two camps and μ_2 and μ_3 represent Peul and Touaregs, respectively.

It can be noticed from Table 1 that the statistical structures of the population of the three ethnic groups in the two camps (Gardé and Marché de Bétail) are similar. In other words, we accept the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between groups. There is a distribution of a ratio of 1:2 between Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail for each ethnic group (Hausa, Peul and Touareg).

From Table 1 family size is easily shown; even the structure within each ethnic group appears to be similar. Although the Hausa outnumber the Peul and Touaregs about 40:1 and 3:1 respectively, all of them have about 70 percent of its family members who are children and there is generally a low male population compared to female because of the practice of polygamy.

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE MIGRANTS AT CAMP GARDÉ AND CAMP MARCHÉ DE BÉTAIL
(N = 450 Heads-of-Households)

	%	N	Total
City			
Maradi	100	1	450
Ethnic Groups			
Hausa			327
Site 1	36.7	120	
Site 2	63.3	207	
Peul			9
Site 1	33.3	3	
Site 2	66.7	6	
Touareg			114
Site 1	36.0	41	
Site 2	64.0	73	
Sex and Family Size			
Hausa Family Members			2,246
Site 1		1,001	
Site 2		1,245	

TABLE 1--Continued

	%	N	Total
Sex and Family Size (continued)			
Males Site 1	10.0	101	
Males Site 2	8.0	100	
Females Site 1	17.0	171	
Females Site 2	19.4	241	
Children Site 1	72.9	733	
Children Site 2	72.6	904	
Peul Family Members			151
Site 1		14	
Site 2		137	
Males Site 1	21.4	3	
Males Site 2	8.1	3	
Females Site 1	21.4	3	
Females Site 2	16.2	6	
Children Site 1	57.1	8	
Children Site 2	75.7	28	
Touareg Family Members			762
Site 1		303	
Site 2		459	
Males Site 1	14.1	43	
Males Site 2	8.9	41	
Females Site 1	18.4	56	
Females Site 2	17.9	82	
Children Site 1	67.5	206	
Children Site 2	73.2	336	

Numerically, this tends to present a one-sided picture of an imbalanced community. On the contrary, after eight months of observation and interviews within these confines, we found sex played a significant sustaining role in that the number of females are considerably larger in number than the males. This offers vital insights into present and future family economic and social stability. The female works at home and outside the home while she continues to care for her children. It is not uncommon to see females working together caring for each other's children, as they pound grain in shifts and often carry water bottles across their shoulders while their babies are tied to their backs. If given a chance, this could develop into a progressive socioeconomic community on its own initiative. This does not say the males are not united in their work efforts, but if they are, it is not so readily apparent.

We can conclude that the migrant groups in both of these communities contribute to the local economy, both as workers and consumers. We are observing, basically, an agricultural output from migrants, squatting on public land.

Hypothesis II

Null: There is no significant difference in the number of migrants within the different ethnic groups who have migrated to the city.

From Table 2, we see the predominance of Hausa (72.7 percent) as opposed 25.3 percent for Touareg and 2 percent

for Peul. However, it should be noted that this is Hausa country, a region of Niger, which has always had a large settlement of Hausa. It is the Peul and Touareg who might be called newcomers to this region, as explained in Chapter 2.

TABLE 2

ETHNIC GROUPS WITHIN BOTH SITES

Group	Camp Gardé		Camp Marché		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hausa	120	73.2	207	72.4	327	72.7
Peul	3	1.8	6	2.1	9	.2
Touareg	41	25.0	73	25.5	114	25.3
Total	164	100.0	286	100.0	450	100.0

The Republic of Niger has been affected by the problems of drought and famine, particularly in the northern and central regions. Since 1968 the conditions have persisted over a wide stretch of area. We discussed this at length in Chapter 2. There are some established facts: most of the area in the northern and central regions, which consist largely of semi-desert plains, is so dry that most of it can be inhabited only by pastoral nomads, like the tough and hard Peul. The Touaregs belong to an

organizational unit around the "Air" range. They are southern nomads around Maradi's southern borders and are said to have been affected, but much less than in the north by the elements of the drought. As such, we see the consolidated African population of the region of Maradi has a representative number within both camps, Gardé and Marché de Bétail. It is evident the drought has become a major factor associated with rapid urbanization in Maradi. We accepted the null hypothesis based on these findings and concerns, and decided to analyze some issues related to the drought.

Future Population Growth, Family Dynamics and the Drought

In order to attempt to get some clarification of these issues as they are critical to social and economic development, we specified a number of hypotheses.

Hypothesis III

Null: There is no significant difference in the sex and age ratio of migrants. Symbolically:

HO: $\mu_1 = \mu_2$

where μ_1 represents the proportion of males and μ_2 represents the proportion of females.

Invariably from Table 3, we observe that there are more females than males for all age categories. Studies indicate that with a large number of females between ages of 1 to 50, there can be expected higher birth rates resulting in a rapid population growth. Therefore, our null

hypothesis is rejected and with this rejection there is a serious implication for urbanization.

TABLE 3

SEX AND AGE RATIOS OF MIGRANTS POST-DROUGHT IN BOTH CAMPS

Sex	Children 0-15	Young Adults 16-49	Older Adults 50-Older
Males	189 (42.0)[1]	136 (42.9)	53 (39.8)
Females	261 (58.0)	181 (57.1)	80 (60.2)

$\chi^2 = 0.35839$

[1]Figures in parentheses are percentages.

The rapid rate of urbanization, with the attendant changes it brings, is itself the most significant aspect of the problem. The rapid growth of the cities now, and the simple statistical projections of their probable growth have frightened and overwhelmed many officials. The statistics cited above in Table 3 are of limited reliability, partly because no one really knows what the size of the population or the rates of growth really are in Maradi. There has been a tendency in official circles to give lower statistical figures hoping that announcing them and publishing them in official plans and documents, will make them so. Finally, there has been some attempts to

deliberately underestimate population figures for political reasons: for example, Niamey's size is sometimes down-played to justify lower expenditures of government funds there, according to some French demographers in Niger.

Niger's cities are beset by the urban problems that plague so many cities throughout the world. The government must adjust its funds to the momentum of geographical expansion and population. If the population outstrips the capacity of government to expand or even maintain the present level of services (water, sewage, housing, welfare and education), the economics and political structures of the entire nation will be threatened. The task of providing universal, free education and enforcing the laws of compulsory education where over half the population is under 16 years of age is a formidable one. Finally, the poverty of a large part of the urban population, most significant since the drought, places severe demands on the government, and creates potential for unrest: a nagging demand for jobs, health care and other social services overburdened the present structure of government.

Based on these concerns we decided to analyze some issues related to the drought and population growth.

Hypothesis IV

Null: There is no significant difference between the family composition before the drought and after the drought. Symbolically:

HO: $\mu_1 = \mu_2$

where μ_1 represents the situation before the drought and μ_2 represents the situation after the drought.

In Tables 4 through 9, we highlighted statistically the impact of drought on the family composition. From all aspects (individual camps or the two combined sites) the null hypothesis is rejected as can be clearly seen from the specified levels of significance. It is important to note that all significance levels are above .5 percent (our critical acceptance level). A closer look at Tables 8 and 9 shows that the Hausa males drop from 13.9 to 8.9 percent; Peul males drop from 19.6 to 11.8 percent; Touareg males drop from 13.7 to 11.0 percent. All of these male group figures represent a significant drop.

On the other hand, looking at the percentage of females, there is a very moderate drop for all the ethnic group figures (1 percent Hausa; 3 percent Peul; and 1 percent Touaregs). However, there is an increase for children for all groups (67.1 to 72.8 percent Hausa; 58.9 to 70.6 percent Peul; and 67.0 to 70.9 percent Touareg).

An important realization emerges from the study of the following tables: the age factors within the family composition is closely linked to educational and employment possibilities. Within the scope of the present

TABLE 4

CAMP GARDÉ PRE-DROUGHT

Ethnic Group	Family Numbers	Males		Females		Children		Total Number
		#	%	#	%	#	%	
Hausa	879	149	15.1	198	20.0	642	64.9	989
Peul	10	4	30.8	4	30.8	5	38.5	13
Touareg	213	46	18.0	58	22.7	151	59.2	255
Total		199		260		798		1,257

Chi-Square = 6.690

D. F. = 4

Sig. Level = 0.1532

TABLE 5

CAMP MARCHÉ DE BÉTAIL PRE-DROUGHT

Ethnic Group	Family Numbers	Males		Females		Children		Total Number
		#	%	#	%	#	%	
Hausa	1,456	220	13.2	306	18.4	1,140	68.4	1,666
Peul	37	7	16.3	8	18.6	28	65.1	43
Touareg	461	62	11.6	94	17.6	378	70.8	534
Total		289		408		1,546		2,243

Chi-Square = 1.74

D. F. = 4

Sig. Level = 0.7829

TABLE 6

CAMP GARDÉ SITE #1 POST-DROUGHT

Ethnic Group	Family Numbers	Males		Females		Children		Total Number
		#	%	#	%	#	%	
Hausa	1,001	101	10.0	171	17.0	733	72.9	1,005
Peul	14	3	21.4	3	21.4	8	57.1	14
Touareg	303	43	14.1	56	18.4	206	67.5	305
Total		147		230		947		1,324

Chi-Square = 4.652

D. F. = 4

Sig. Level = 0.3249

TABLE 7

CAMP MARCHÉ DE BÉTAIL SITE #2 POST-DROUGHT

Ethnic Group	Family Numbers	Males		Females		Children		Total Number
		#	%	#	%	#	%	
Hausa	1,245	100	8.0	241	19.4	904	72.6	1,245
Peul	37	3	8.1	6	16.2	28	75.7	37
Touareg	459	41	8.9	82	17.9	336	73.2	459
Total		144		329		1,268		1,741

Chi-Square = 0.927

D. F. = 4

Sig. Level = 0.9206

TABLE 8

CAMP GARDÉ AND CAMP MARCHÉ DE BÉTAIL PRE-DROUGHT

Ethnic Group	Family Numbers	Males #	Males %	Females #	Females %	Children #	Children %	Total Number
Hausa	2,655	369	13.9	504	19.0	1,782	62.1	2,655
Peul	56	11	19.6	12	21.4	33	58.9	56
Touareg	789	108	13.7	152	19.3	529	67.0	789
Total		488		668		2,344		3,500

Chi-Square = 2.085

D. F. = 4

Sig. Level = 0.7202

TABLE 9

CAMP GARDÉ AND CAMP MARCHÉ DE BÉTAIL POST-DROUGHT

Ethnic Group	Family Numbers	Males		Females		Children		Total Number
		#	%	#	%	#	%	
Hausa	2,250	201	8.9	412	18.3	1,637	72.8	2,250
Peul	51	6	11.8	9	17.6	36	70.6	51
Touareg	764	84	11.0	138	18.1	542	70.9	764
Total		291		559		2,215		3,065

Chi-Square = 3.143

D. F. = 4

Sig. Level = 0.53493

survey it is not possible to predict the future trend of the growth of the youth group. This area should be of interest for further research. From experience of population growth in developing countries, it is important that Niger should plan for the worst case of population growth by designing development programs in such a way that provides a safety valve for escape from serious economic deterioration. If one were to make a list of issues and problems of urban development, special attention should be paid to national and local policy concerning education and job training.

From our data we found that 88 percent of the families have school-age children that were not attending school. There was no significant difference among ethnic groups. We also found 64 percent of the families admit to having school-age children working. Therefore, we inferred there is a preference for the children to work rather than pursue schooling at this stage.

This simplifies a detailed and very persuasive argument. We argue that there must be a new approach taken to education. To ignore the economic factor related to skilled labor and basic educational pursuits defers the major theme of urban development and long-term economic security for the nation.

There is a need to recognize leadership for enforcement, administration and management of all educational

institutions; the structure, disciplinary control of qualified teachers, the recognition of methods and courses taught. This could provide a productive and progressive development for all classes of the community for a practical education suited to age, ability and aptitude of the pupils and relevant to the needs of the country.

Closely linked to literacy and competence in economic pursuits would be courses in health education. Most problems associated with the frantic pace of population growth are both related to medical and economic incompetence.

Less dramatic, but perhaps more serious in the present and future potential for the job market is today's preparation. The data relative to past and present types of employment of each group are stated in Hypothesis V and are presented in Tables 10 and 11.

Hypothesis V

Null: There is no significant difference between the employment patterns of the migrants before and after migration. Symbolically,

HO: $\mu_1 = \mu_2$

where μ_1 represents the past preferences or interests in type of employment and μ_2 represents the present preference or advantages of types of available employment.

Table 10 and 11 indicate the relationship between the past and present types of employment ensued. Who, if anyone, from the past list of jobs held or skills have to try and re-adjust to some other type of employ-

TABLE 10

TWO-WAY CROSS TABULATION FOR PAST AND PRESENT EMPLOYMENT

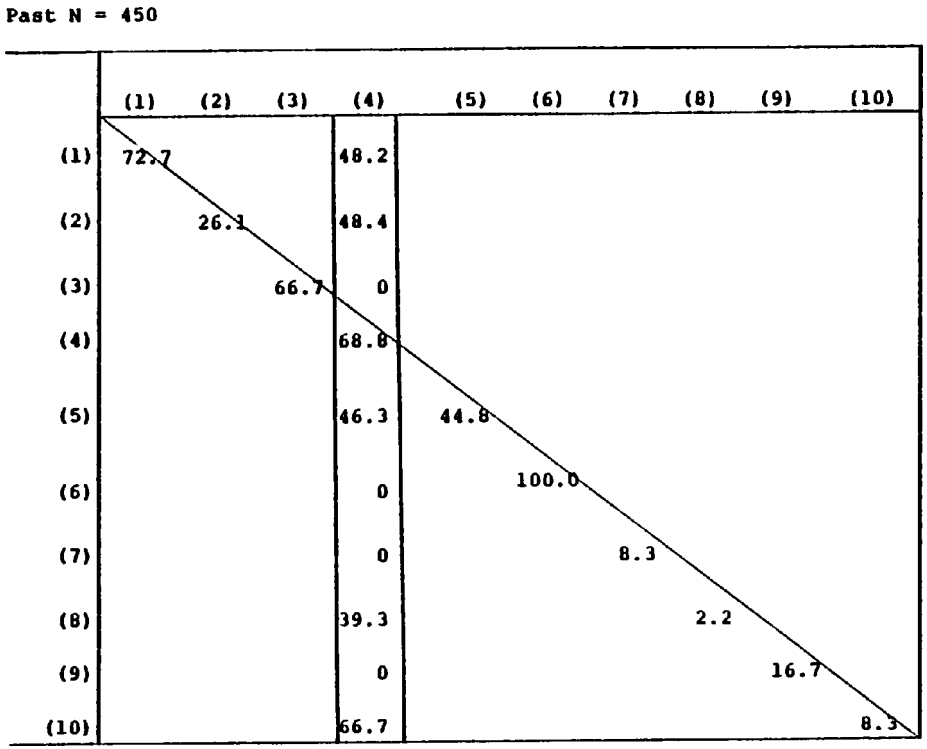
N = 450

Past Emp.	Present Employment (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	Total
Row 70 (1)	8 72.7	1 9.1	0	2 18.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
(2)	2 1.3	41 26.1	0	76 48.4	2 1.3	5 3.2	0	6 3.8	9 5.7	16 10.2	157
(3)	0	2 16.7	8 66.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
(4)	0	3 9.4	0	22 68.8	0	0	0	0	0	7 21.7	32
(5)	0	2 3.0	0	31 46.3	30 44.8	0	0	0	1 1.5	3 4.5	67
(6)	0	0	0	0	0	6 100.0	0	0	0	0	6
(7)	0	3 25.0	0	0	0	0	7 8.3	0	2 16.7	0	12
(8)	5 3.7	38 28.1	4 3.0	53 39.3	5 3.7	0	1 .7	3 2.2	14 10.4	12 8.9	135
(9)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 16.7	5 83.3	6
(10)	0	2 16.7	0	8 66.7	0	0	0	0	1 8.3	1 8.3	12

Source: International Standard Classification of Occupation, Revised Edition, International Labor Office, Geneva, 1969, pp. 34, 77, 126.

TABLE 11

PAST AND PRESENT EMPLOYMENT



Past Employment	
1. Farmer	7. Commerce
2. Tanner	8. Charity
3. Nurse Maid	9. Tailor/Seamstress
4. Cooks	10. Carpenter
5. Barbers	
6. Religious Leader/ Medicine Man	

Past Employment	
1. Farmer*	6. Religious Leader
2. Tanner	7. Commerce
3. Nurse Maid/ House Maid	8. Charity
4. Cook	9. Tailor/Seamstress
5. Barber	10. Carpenter

*No longer plants food, but sells water and straw for human consumption.

ment within the present circumstances? An inspection of the tables reveals a cross-tabulation for past and present occupations. The table is designed to demonstrate how many cooks are still employed as cooks; how many barbers, carpenters, and nurse maids are still able to practice their same profession.

It is by drawing a line diagonally from left to right (Table 11) that we can denote the degree of change in each occupational group. This two-way tabulation scale points out that there is change in varying degrees, with the exception of only one category, that of religious leaders and "medicine men."

The higher the percentage scores, the less change can be noted as: 72.7 percent of farmers are still practicing some form of farming; 66.8 percent of nurse maids have remained nurse maids; 44.8 percent of the barbers are still occupied as barbers; and 58.3 percent of commercial occupations were the same (Table 11). As such, about 6 out of 10 occupational levels have remained within the percentage of 44.8 to 100 of the same.

On the other hand, there are four areas of occupational categories which have changed significantly: carpenters, 8.3 percent; tailors and seamstresses, 16.7 percent; charity 2.2 percent (most significant to say the least); and tanners, 26.1 percent. We would argue that migrants whose occupational skills fall within the above

four areas, were obliged to seek other occupations because they could not find work or profitable gains within their fields. The fact that the table shows fewer migrants (2.2 percent) indulging in the craft of begging or searching charity as occupations presently denotes the small numbers of migrants who knowingly are placing demands on the government, overburdening the socioeconomic structures of government.

Most significantly from Table 11 we can accept the null hypothesis. It is fortunate that we are able to see in Table 10 where a high percentage of those affected by occupational change have gone. Observing Table 10, column (4) cooks, we see a high percentage distribution. This indicates cooking of food and other related access to food. This becomes a significant finding in that there is an increase in cooks (handlers of food) which can be equated with nourishment and health. We could offer the propostion that: becoming a cook in the city becomes a most attractive profession for the personal survival of the migrant; and equally impressive proposition could be developed concerning that perhaps the sedentary segment of the urban society has become dependent upon the migrant labor force. Certainly, the latter proposition is worth further exploration.

Health Problems

There are a wide variety of diseases which render

the unfortunate victim almost totally helpless. Most of the literature on developing countries expresses alarm over the high infant mortality rates often at the expense of ignoring prenatal deficiencies that would probably occur in spheres of concrete, primary human needs such as nutrition and physical health. Qualitative and quantitative deficiencies in nutrition are now an important source of morbidity and mortality among low income segments of the population. An adequate diet made possible by an adequate income can soon be reflected in improvements in health of expected mothers and new born infants, with adequate planning. Thus, improvements would in time affect survival rates and also population size and age distributions of the population. Malnutrition, sanitary conditions, and disease control all illustrate the interdependence of social policy and public services to human needs. Thus, in search for some indicators that reflected both the quality of health service rendered and the response of the migrant to these services, we tried to find the percentages of those families: who had recent child deaths; who are or were ill and sought medical care; and the preference shown by the patient toward modern medical practices, traditional medicine, or both.

Hypothesis VI

Null: There will be very little, if any variance of infant mortality among the various

migrant groups. Symbolically:

HO: $\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3$

where μ_1 represents the average death rate of children per Hausa, μ_2 represents the average rate per Peul, and μ_3 represents the average death rate of children per Touareg family.

From Table 12 we see the Peul have a higher average death rate in both camp sites (1.67 and 1.83). There is a consistency shown. Within the Hausa group we could say the death rate is consistently low in both camp sites (.66 and .58). However, the Touareg's average death rate shows an acute inconsistency between camps (1.27 and .56). Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected. Overall combining both camps, there is only one death per family per annum. Perhaps a high figure for the time frame, which is one year or less within the migrant camp. This could have significant meaning; however, the limited data restrict any conclusions.

We felt obliged to follow up these findings by questioning the migrants as to their awareness of medical facilities available. If the families are unaware of the medical facilities within the city, or if they chose to ignore modern medical assistance which was considered an item of significance. So, we constructed Hypothesis VII.

Hypothesis VII

Null: There is no significant difference in numbers of persons that seek different forms of "medical" treatment. Symbolically:

TABLE 12

INFANT MORTALITY DIFFERENCES

Ethnic Group	Camp Gardé		Camp Marché de Bétail	
	Number	Average Per Family	Number	Average Per Family
Hausa	79	.66	121	.58
Peul	5	1.67	5	1.83
Touareg	11	1.27	41	.56
Total	95	1.20	167	1.32

HO: $\mu_{i1} = \mu_{i2} = \mu_{i3}$

where μ_{i1} represents the percentage of Hausa that prefer the type of medical assistance, i, μ_{i2} represents the percentage of Peul that prefer the type of medical assitance, i, μ_{i3} represents the percentage of Touareg that prefer the type of medical assistance, and i indicates the types of medical assistance "(1) none, (2) traditional, (3) modern, (4) both traditional and modern."

The hypothesis will be rejected at even 1 percent level of significance; in which case we can say that people have clearly defined preferences for the type of medical assistance they think they need.

Observing Table 13, there is a low percentage of preference for traditional medical assistance. A specific variance is shown by the Touaregs between camp sites. Perhaps the fact that Site #2, Camp Marché de Bétail, is further away from the medical facilities accounts for the 12.7 percent preference for modern as opposed to the 33.3 percent preference in the Camp Gardé cell.

We should acknowledge the high percentage scores found in "None" for all groups at both camp sites and the same acknowledgment for column "Both." Also, looking at the Peul cells, there are zeroes for "Traditional" and 33.3 percent for "Modern" and "Both." This may show that the Peul are most positive toward modern medical facilities.

So, in response to the question of medical care sought and the type of doctors preferred by the migrants as a whole, we found over 50 percent of those sick sought

TABLE 13

PREFERENCES OF TYPES OF MEDICAL ASSISTANCE
(IN PERCENTAGES OF POPULATION)

Ethnic Group	None		Traditional		Modern		Both	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Hausa	.7	61.3	14.4	9.5	19.5	17.1	31.4	12.1
Peul	33.3	66.7	0	0	33.3	33.3	33.3	0
Touareg	38.9	71.8	5.6	7.0	33.3	12.7	22.2	8.5

Chi-Square = 49.187
μ = 15
N = 433
Sig. Level = 0.0000

(1) = Camp Gardé
(2) = Camp Marché de Bétail

out medical services of some sort. And of the four categories of the types of doctors preferred 34 percent preferred none; 14 percent preferred traditional medicine men; 19 percent preferred modern doctors; and 30 percent preferred both. We found those that preferred none and both very close, percentage-wise, and those that preferred only traditional or only modern were almost evenly divided.

We conclude the migrants are quite conscious of the need of medical and the facilities available. There will be a gradual demand for more facilities and the demands for more modern methods of medical care.

Adaptive Characteristics

Questions relating to adaption to urban life are being gradually replaced by studies which allow for a broader based analysis of the total urban system. Ethnic and organizational associations are important, but it seems to us, today's individuals are tied to a network of self-evaluation in relationship to socioeconomic worth within the parameters of an urban setting.

Thus, we made an effort to explore the dynamics of clearly defined urban social and economic situations. Social tensions, conflicts within the city at large, schisms and the dialect of urban behavior which favored the migrant or formed a strong bias against him. Although a few questions severed a minimal level of inquiry,

they tended to spell out some implications of the rapidly increasing urban populations, some aspects of the proliferation of social groupings, and the increase of behavioral variability of individual attitudes and choices. We felt strongly that internal and external pressure helped to produce a fluid and changing situation.

Linked to this complexity of change, we decided to ask two questions: (1) what do you find is most important to you in the city, and (2) do you intend to stay in the city? Looking at Table 14 characteristics most often referred to were: (1) the ability to work for money; (2) the ability to get food and lodgings; (3) advantages of charity and other social services available; (4) exposure to schools, and (5) none or undediced.

It is quite evident that although there is knowledge of schools for children, hardly anyone sent their children to school. Most migrants felt the schools were too far away. The ability to work for money shows very high percentage scores for all groups in both camps. It is interesting to note the high rate of incline for Charity and Other Social Services at Camp Marché de Bétail; particularly so for the Peul (33.3 percent). Perhaps the reason could be because Camp Marché de Bétail is so close to the Grande Marché (where food is sold and exchanged). The Peul, a pastoral ethnic group, rank high (16.7 percent) in being undecided as to why the city is important.

TABLE 14

IMPORTANCE OF THE CITY LIFE IN PERCENTAGES

Character-istics	Camp Gardé			Camp Marché de Bétail		
	H	P	T	H	P	T
Inclination to work for money	82.5	100.0	95.1	85.1	50.0	83.1
Inclination to get food and lodging	4.2	0	2.4	2.0	0	1.4
Charity and other social services	10.0	0	2.4	10.4	33.3	8.5
School	1.7	0	0	0	0	0
None (Un-decided)	1.7	0	0	2.5	16.7	7.0

Chi-Square = 25.3666

D.F. = 20

N = 442

Sig. Level = .1878

We did not think they felt it was altogether unimportant because Table 15 recorded 66.7 percent for desiring to remain in the city.

By using Table 15 for questioning future plans, Hypothesis VIII was constructed.

Hypothesis VIII

Null: The proportion of migrants remaining in the city after the drought will not be significantly different than zero. Symbolically:

HO: $\mu_{i1} = 0$

where μ_i represents the proportion of the ethnic group, i, remain in the city, and i indicates (1) Hausa, (2) Peul, and (3) Touaregs. μ_{i1} represents the proportion of Peuls remaining in the city and (4) represents the portion of Touaregs remaining in the city.

From Table 15 we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that a substantial proportion of the migrants will remain in the city. We note the significance level (.0000). The significance is not centered around who is going back, but around those who are determined to stay. The response of the Peul illustrates a particular concern for further research. Could the effects of the drought have damaged their life style, and their culture? Can we expect more of the nomads from the pastoral desert communities to come and live in the cities? The percentage levels (100.00 and 66.7) recorded in the cells of Table 15 should be cause for immediate concern by the policymakers and urban planners in Niger.

The data hold that most migrants are not waiting

TABLE 15

FUTURE RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES IN PERCENTAGES

Alternatives	Camp Gardé			Camp Marché de Bétail		
	H	P	T	H	P	T
Options to remain in the city	12.5 (15)	100.0 (3)	15.0	31.4 (65)	66.7 (4)	28.8 (21)
Return to rural area	85.5 (103)	0 (0)		56.5 (117)	33.3 (2)	69.9 (51)
Other (Undecided)	1.7 (2)	0 (0)		12.1 (25)	0 (0)	1.4 (1)

Chi-Square = 54.442

D.F. = 10

N = 449

Sig. Level = .0000

Note: Actual numbers in the sample are in parenthesis.

to go back to rural areas. Local and national authorities must develop a level of social services, jobs, education and housing to accommodate this new society. The main evidence to substantiate this view is taken from the presence of the now developed nations.

As we point out in the introduction to this study, the goal was to explore and to develop a new set of social, economic and political indicators within the urban sector that would afford solid information concerning the migrants and their adaptation to the urban community. This data could, in turn, be extended to the government policymakers. We concerned ourselves with obtaining a solid picture of the quality of life of the migrants so that the policymakers could use it in their attempts to construct a factual and realistic foundation on which to base their initiations and decisions for social programs.

By developing this picture of "migrant life" and by identifying the size and strengths of the present structures of social and governmental agencies, we could highlight the social, political, and economic indicators unique to Niger; that if used effectively could promote a large scale economic movement. Most importantly the evaluation of present structures would and in our basic conceptions of the present urban problems and our recommendations for the initiation, continuance and elimination

of social programs which would decrease those problems associated with increased population within the urban sector.

In terms of the set of goals stated above and the available information from our data, it is possible here to point out some essential public policy areas that are not only vital to the needs of the present urban population of Maradi, but can also be accountable for the future population growth. It is hoped that social and political actions can be taken that would produce better health care, housing and employment. An urgency for a radical educational policy which can deal with perception of education and can ease the conditions of the urban system to a great degree.

As the value distribution of the sub-systems (education, social and political) are reevaluated, a type of public policy which can deal with the re-indoctrination of the sedentary community and the orientation of the migrants coming to the city can mean goal-attainment for the whole of Niger. Policymakers both within the local and central goverment must deal with the inabilities of the social service sectors to accommodate the members of the present and increasing population. To make it clear, the rapid rate of population growth and the lack of social service facilities will present a threat to not only the socioeconomic system but to the political order itself.

Practical Problems with Systems Approach Model

Insofar as we addressed ourselves to the General Systems model as our guide to measure rural-urban migration (see Chapter 1), we must take time now for questioning the viability of that model as it relates to our research in Niger. As we started out, our research plan was to collect data from several units or stuctures within Maradi's social, economic, and political sub-systems. We felt confident that by collecting data and inspected analysis on that data (questionnaires) from the recent migrants within chosen migrant camps, the sedentary community, the school officials, private industry and the local officials, that we could develop a systematic approach to our research of the migrant. The proposition presented was that we could study a migrant community, its social structure, and show how this potentially small social community or subsystem interacted with its environment. As we argued in Chapter 1, there is only one system (Niger). The social community or communities, the economic sector and the political sector are all sub-systems within the system.

Our purpose was to find out how the migrant community worked in relationship to the other social, political and economic networks within the system. We set out to find some of the basic problems or concerns of the migrants themselves, within their small community and their contacts with the outside world (city dwellers, etc.). Then, we

planned to demonstrate how some of these basic underlying concerns of the migrant community interacted with the local community at large. What were the conflicts? What were the alliances?

In order to conceive of these sub-systems interacting within the environment, one must be able to analytically separate the sub-systems (political, social and economical) so that the boundaries of each could be identified. As Aron Young (1968) points out in Systems of Political Science a boundary in a sense is not always a physical entity particularly, such as a geographic frontier of a nation-state. Rather, as in our case, it can be an analytical concept which refers to the distinctions between that which is alluded to in the system and that which sometimes is not. In our study, the criteria for what we included as potential boundaries was the migrants, the sedentary community, the local authorities, social services available (housing, schools, medical assistance) and the economic opportunities. Thus, it was in this form--the part of interaction among and between distinctive units and their environment--that we focused our original analysis.

We note here in some detail the limits that were placed on our research. Some of our problems were mentioned earlier in this chapter. Again, we explain the research model designed for this study was hampered by

the restrictions placed on our travel and inquiry into public affairs by the government. Niger has a military regime which had been quite favorable to our project. However, due to the effects of an aborted coup which took place on March 15, 1976, one month after my arrival, a close lid was placed on all activities for the purpose of national security. This action restricted our data sources. We were able to interview in only two migrant camps which had been selected by the local authorities in Maradi. How they decided which camps were to be accessible to us, I do not know. However, all government records, located in the Niger Archives in Niamey, were sealed. Important fiscal documents on housing and school funds and other social services were not available. Interviews which had been scheduled with public officials were cancelled. The large numbers of armed soldiers in the streets and public structures cast a spell of silence over the city at large. Those private citizens who were once willing to discuss the problems of Niger with us prior to the aborted coup became incommunicative.

Under the above-stated conditions, our Systems Approach model was severely crippled. The questionnaires which we prepared for the migrants were redesigned by order of the local authorities. However, what they questioned and ordered removed did very little damage to our original questionnaire. The damage we felt was in these perimeters. The questionnaire which was to be used by

public officials and the business community had to be abandoned. Any open discussions of political or social issues were labeled "anti-government," and requested to be discarded. As such, we lost our three-tiered methodological structural design. But, we made the best of our predicament.

In order to derive testable propositions from our original hypotheses, we reasoned that we had to find a way to measure the relationships of the different segments of the community and the sectors of government indirectly. This was done by: soliciting the help of other research teams in Niger through the help of private agencies such as Afrocare and U.S. Embassy documents, and where personal experiences were shares as some introductions to "friends of friends of mine" type contacts gave access to some public officials and non-public officials whose confidence we were able to secure. There were some very basic questions asked and most of the time answers were elaborated on by knowledgeable public and private citizens who asked that they be kept anonymous.

What all this meant to our study is not clear because it seemed in the end to likely yield a bank of data both rich and quantifiable, data which served to test the null hypotheses formulated after completion of our field work. In spite of the admitted complexity and limitations placed on our research which was designed to analyze the total

system, there are several points of view which might be helpful in the comprehension of the amended model. For example, the physical sub-systems were separated from the motivational: both aspects tested on a value scale, on geographical relationships, and in a matrix of function versus facilities. Such a structure could be used to appraise the cost and value of alternative approaches in solving a given problem. We found it was needed for correlating the programs of present agencies, for closing gaps in their relationships, and for designing future comprehensive approaches to urban problems in Niger.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION FOR PUBLIC POLICY

Observations and Summary of Findings

In this dissertation, I have tried to investigate in varying degrees the significance of rural-urban migration in Niger. A general profile of the urban migration and the migrant communities at large (Camp Gardé and Camp Marché de Bétail) is divided into two basic parts: non-empirical data (participatory observation) and the empirical findings. The primacy of the migrant community has been emphasized throughout the study. How long the migrant has been in either of these two camp sites and why the migrant came, particularly during the period of the drought, has created varied degrees of interest. The level of the population shift or population distribution, coupled with the pattern of social mobility which it implies, has produced a system of social stratification which, by its own extremes, has established the lines for political conflict or a new urban policy.

Individuals and families within the migrant communities are dependent upon social services, resources and other socioeconomic opportunities, such as land, housing, jobs, education and medical assistance, which are already sparse commodities in Niger. Urban policy dictates the

availability of these services. As such, urban policy is understood to include all decisions and "non-decision" programs, and activities by the governmental institutions which affect the allocations and distributions of funds which are associated with the political, socioeconomic, and spatial relationships in urban areas. Slum removal efforts, as well as the tolerance of slums, are both examples of urban policy (Cohen, 1974).

As earlier sections, especially in Chapter 2, have shown, ethnic group characteristics, cultural origins, and level of occupations have had most visible boundaries within the cities of Niger. These demographic characteristics are reflected in the lines of social stratification which are drawn in the distribution of public and private housing, medical facilities available, primary and secondary schools, and the ownership of large and small commercial interests.

The results of empirical data specified in Chapters 3 and 4 support the above statement. Several hypotheses were tested by using a modified General Systems Approach model. These hypotheses centered on the daily lives of 450 families who had just recently migrated to the two above mentioned camps, migrant communities in Maradi. It was noted that 99.9 percent of these families migrated to these specific sites within a period of the last two years to six months. The drought was almost

always given as the reason for migration. We sought information concerning the migrants' demographic composition and the imagined or "real" roles they were playing within the urban sector of the city.

From our hypotheses testing, we have discovered the following:

1. We found that these migrant locations that evolved when a migrant comes into the city are uniform. In Camps Gardé and Marché the patterns of assigned housing are uniform in nature (Hypothesis I).
2. We observed that although there are ethnic and cultural differences among the migrants (Hausa, Peul and Touareg), their urge to move to the city is similar (Hypothesis II).
3. We noticed the peculiar position of having females in a majority within the migrant setting. Of course the migrants' religion (Islam) could count for two or more wives per male, but we were not prepared to accept this as the only reason. Most sociologists point out there are more males than females who migrate to European and African cities during what we might call a normal migration process. We felt that because of the drought more women appeared to be migrating to the cities of Niger. We also noted that the young adult females

and children are clearly in the majority. This a phenomena worth mentioning (Hypothesis III).

4. The family composition of the migrants before the migration period was smaller than after migration. There is an increased proportion of children (dependents) (Hypothesis IV).
5. We found the migrant does not change his occupational pattern as the result of migration (Hypothesis V).
6. There is a clear indication these migrants follow the pattern of recording high mortality rates among infants. Per ratio for each family who migrated, there is at least one admitted child dead during the period of one year or less (Hypothesis VI).
7. We can argue that these migrants are quite sensitive to the different kinds of medical services available to the public (Hypothesis VII).
8. We established empirically that the migrants have an inclination to remain in the city after the end of the drought (Hypothesis VIII).

In the interest of recommendations for public policy, we felt these facts should provide good indicators for institutional reform and future programs related to urban development.

Problems and Recommendations for Public Policy

The most important political fact in independent Africa is the conflict between public authorities and the mass of the population. Originating in the colonial experience, and emphasized during the struggle for independence, the possession of public authority involves interests which set rulers apart from the ruled. The interests of those in positions of domination contradict the interests of those subjected to that domination (Dahrendorf, 1959). Official decisions about cost and appropriation of funds and the specific course of action to be taken are important indicators of the character of Niger's military regime.

One of the assumptions of this study, supported by our empirical data, is that today's government in Niger has an alarming statistic on problems associated with urban poverty and unregulated growth. The drought conditions since 1968 have pushed the pastoral nomads into the cities in large numbers. Water supplies are limited for domestic vegetation as well as for watering the cattle. The life style of this former colonized nation is plagued by its holding on to the traditional (colonial) approaches to supplying the needs of the masses.

While it is not the objective of this study to deal with all the aspects of the problems of choice, it is possible to point out and suggest that several criteria

might be adopted in evaluating the problems and evaluating opportunity costs in a project analysis. With the social indicators developed through the testing of our hypotheses we see a connective link between educational reform, employment, health, and housing.

Education and Employment

In each major city in Africa, a large fraction of young men and women are unemployed, perhaps the biggest social and political problem of all. The many youths who have no jobs, and many who may never have worked for wages, even though they left school years ago, are usually caught in a dilemma. They can try to join the army of sub-groups within the free labor market, often short term jobs, lasting for a single operation or uncertain time frame with a wage of bare subsistence, or they can opt for returning to school (often trade schools) hoping they can upgrade their occupational status within the prescribed economic sector. The latter demonstrates how the economic domain and education play a large, if not conclusive, role in the overall pattern of national integration and stability.

West African societies are still to a great extent, though no longer entirely, in the grip of an expatriate economic system. This is an economic structure akin to colonial labor. In Chapter 2, we discussed the time we spent at the University of Neamey talking with American

and European teachers about their role in African education, their salaries and their future ambitions in relation to remaining in Niger. We were also fortunate enough to be invited to several informal gatherings where additional information was received from expatriates from other various occupational levels. They were quiet open with discussing their experiences in Niger. Unquestionably the expatriates presence has had and continues to have particular connotations both within and outside the educational system. In Niger, the expatriate is most often white, a Frenchman or an American. And most often the grievances of the native African in Niger are racial, reminiscent of grievances tendered against the members of the colonial powers. Today, the Nigerian looks at the Frenchman and often the Americans working for wages, most often four and five times higher than the equally qualified African doing the same job, as neo-colonial agents who have replaced the colonial governments' personnel. A number of the assignments held by expatriates are considered of dubious value to the host nation, considering the remarks of several governmental officials. For example, they felt that the American Peace Corp personnel within the English Department of the University of Neamey occupied positions which qualified Nigerians or other Africans could and should hold. This situation thereby lends credence to the notion held in most African quarters that technical assistance is not really aimed at

real independence, but rather seeks to perpetuate dependence. Too often the white expatriate is seen enjoying both power and wealth at the expense of the host country in sharp contrast to his African peers. Underdevelopment has been and remains a deadly seed for social and political disruption in Niger.

In the Republic of Niger, as in most developing countries, however, widespread education has come far in advance of employment opportunities. This phenomenon, no doubt, creates new problems. The question becomes, how can a new nation meet the growing demands for trained personnel without bringing about unemployment and frustrations. Unemployment should not be confused with underemployment. Brenner (1965) discusses the problems of underemployment in West Africa. He describes unemployment as a situation in which workers and other resources cannot find profitable utilization. As such, unemployment is concerned with the number of people who are not working at all; underemployment concerns itself with the productivity of labor. One (unemployment) is the product of one social system, and the other (underemployment) of another. Most often it is through educational institutions that this variance comes about. Technical assistance arrangements affect employment patterns.

The role of technical assistance and its accompanying ideologies, moral and ethnic codes, and value systems have

particular bearing on the role of the expatriate academic in the African university (Ward, 1970). Organizations, educational institutions and agencies involved in recruitment of American academics for African universities have an obligation to consider carefully the role of the expatriate in African education and to impart such awareness to the personnel whom they sponsor. It is unfortunate, what we witnessed between professional academics at the University simply over the reason a native Nigerien was not hired. Obviously the relationship between nationalities is still plagued by problems of race, questionable motivations, and unequal status. The case in mind is one of the major causes of inefficiency and underemployment in Africa. An African, a Nigerien native who had earned a Bachelor or Arts in education and a Master of Arts in educational administration from a large American university was denied employment by his expatriate peers because he "talks too loud." This is not a decision based on intelligence.

If there is constructive and forward looking cooperation within the institutions of learning, there will follow similar cooperation between the universities and government. A commitment on the part of both parties to principles of individual dignity, academic freedom and community leadership will escalate a growing awareness on the part of the university that it must play an active role in the entire development process of the Republic of Niger. The nature

of this dilemma is expressed by Lipset (1960) as follows:

> The universities of the underdeveloped countries bear the burden of being in an age of nationalism, institutions part of whose task it is to propagate a universal culture and contribute to its growth, while simultaneously cultivating and developing the indigenous, actually, or potentially national culture and enhancing national life.

With minor exceptions due to different levels of development and the diversity of economic systems, African countries have to adopt the idea of compulsory employment of the indigenous population. There is discrimination in hiring practices. A political narrative of the bare facts of history catalogs this fact. Realizing that the mere prolongation of systems inherited from the colonial era should provide a rationale for reform. A practical approach to eliminating discrimination is basically economics.

Education for economic development therefore requires a national policy which recognizes that education at all levels is a requirement for economic development. Economic development also requires consideration of the specific characteristic which education must possess to facilitate such development in demonstrating to all Nigeriens that (1) education for economic development is planned to help spread economic opportunities and returns to ever widening groups within the society, and (2) the distinctive elements of education and economic growth are not just materialistic. Its aim is to prepare a citizen for a useful role in society.

Avoidance of a rather lopsided view of education can offer varied social stimuli. Education should be aimed at producing balanced personalities rather than mere automatons. African universities have an obligation to consider carefully the role of the expatriate in African education and to impart such awareness to the personnel they sponsor. It is unfortunate that what might under other circumstances be a rather simple relationship between professionals, employers, academics and intellectuals of different nationalities is still a relationship plagued by problems of ethnic grouping, race, questionable motivations and unequal status. At any cost, education as a process in Niger must create a new set of attitudes and talents conducive to finding new and more effective ways of doing things.

With trying to find a balance between education and employment, we recommend a radical transformation of educational structures to take place, and not just within the primary, secondary, and college levels. There is need for an educational training process that can reach each individual plagued with lack of skill, unemployment and the know-how for maintaining his family's health and happiness. Steps such as the following can be taken:

1. Restructuring of the subject matter taught, so that literary pursuits can be carried out with agricultural development. The planning and implementation of the content of primary and sec-

ondary education should be of the practical and pragmatic sort that would be appropriate to rural children likely to be involved with agricultural development. The content of subject matter should then lead to better integration of African children within their respective communities and distant communities. This would help reduce migration to urban areas, a migration that is not justified by availability of employment.

2. Indigenization of teaching staffs with massive programs and practices. The planning and implementation of indigenous education should involve not only the talents of educational officials, but those of specialists in the field of agriculture, public health, housing, development planning, and, eventually, vernacular languages. Bookish and theoretical teaching should make room for a kind of teaching that would produce civic minded young people aware of development problems and anxious to know and understand the overall problems of their nation and their lives within the confines of their nation and the world.
3. Adult education is a form of investment in a more rapid and permanent economic advancement toward social and political stability. The pro-

tagonists of this type of adult education movement take a view that every citizen has an inherent and equal right to education and that it is the duty of governments to implement this right. The practical approach is basically economic in that adult education as a form of investment concerns itself in humans as an end in itself, a way of learning good health, and moral and spiritual development.

4. Religious leaders should be recruited to spearhead a new educational program where all secular leaders can come together to review and revise their training and teachings. This program will introduce new blood, young people to revitalize life in the mosques, schools and homes. A campaign of this sort will help direct other educational programs to synchronize themselves with the social, economic and political milieu. In this way there would be a bond of religion and politics which could work in a most positive way in helping the Republic of Niger come to grips with its problems of development.

Health and Housing

We have already suggested that one of the central goals of education should be the rapid expansion of the

capacities of people at all levels of society. This quality of educational pursuits equips the individual for taking a rationally inventive approach to issues confronting him. Thus, the improvement of the content of education has to go hand in hand with the expansion of health regulations and adequate housing. The following steps should be taken:

1. Provide a means for diagnosing the different kinds of diseases common to each geographic region. By identifying the different kinds of ailments, it is possible to recommend the best treatments for relief of those ailments or the need for hospitalization as an effort to isolate a disease which is contagious. With regular contact with the local population and practice exercises involving social and economic problems in selected sectors of the communities school activities will reveal situations related to health. Written and oral classroom exercises should deal with subjects pertinent to the host community.
2. An approach to the problem of housing is not an easy one; however, if an area of land is supplied to a group with an adequate labor force, the government should furnish build-

ing materials for the construction of permanent housing. When a family starts such an enterprise in the town or city they will be required to recruit maximum labor efficiency, and be morally obliged to look after "their own" home.

Need for long-run strategy of education for economic development covering a period of about ten years will be both expansive and expensive. I recommend two major sources of revenues:

1. The profits from the expansion of uranium could be used for a major diversification of the economy, designed to build up other productive sectors of the economy and to attack the historical imbalance of the rural and urban areas through education.
2. Use foreign aid as an instrument in embarking upon a program of agriculatural and technical aid for Niger to be administered by a Sino-African or United States-African technical cooperative committee.

   This could consist of three elements: (a) an invitational program--inviting African students to visit a host country and observe its agricultural and industrial methods of development; seminars for agriculturalists or builders will

fellowships enabling African students and technicians to attend seminars and receive on-the-job training in the selected host country; and (c) consider having host countries dispatch technical agricultural teams (other than Peace Corps volunteers) to Niger. We would suggest all expenses, including salaries, air transportation, tools and equipment, be included in the "aid" package.

Conclusions

The present study does not pretend to be an in-depth study given the restraints of financing, time, and restrictions placed on our areas of research by the national government. We hope, however, the contents of this dissertation can do much to encourage future surveys. It should expand the ability of social scientists to evaluate and analyze the survey enterprise itself, the extent we tried to focus, and the problems we had to try to overcome. Most important, we hope an openness might ensue between national and local governmental agencies and future research teams. Expressed hope is that the administration of the President of the Republic of Niger, Colonel Kruntche, will be encouraged to make urban planning and urban development a high priority in the next Development Plan.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

DECRET N° 76-24 P.C.M.S. DU 21 FEVRIER 1976 PORTANT NOMINATION DES MEMBRES DU GOUVERNEMENT PROVISOIRE

Decret N° 76-24/PCMS du 21 fevrier 1976 portant nomination des Membres du Gouvernement provisoire.

Article premier.—Le Gouvernement provisoire de la Republique du Niger est ainsi constitue:

President du Conseil Militaire Supreme, Chef de l'Etat, President du Conseil des Ministres:
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SEYNI KOUNTCHE

Ministre de l'Education Nationale, Ministre de la Defense Nationale:
CHEF DE BATAILLON IDRISSA AROUNA

Ministre de la Fonction publique et du Travail, Ministre des Postes et Telecommunications:
CHEF DE BATAILLON SORY MAMADOU DIALLO

Ministre des Finances: INTENDANT MILITAIRE MOUSSA TONDI

Ministre de la Sante Publique et des Affaires Sociales:
CHEF DE BATAILLON MOUSSA SALA

Ministre des Affaires Etrangeres et de la Cooperation:
CAPITAINE MOUMOUNI DJERMAKOYE ADAMOU

Ministre du Developement Rural: CAPITAINE BOULAMA-MANGA

Ministre delegue a la Presidence charge de l'Interieur:
M. ALOU HAROUNA

Ministre du Plan: M. ANNOU MAHAMAN

Ministre des Mines et de l'Hydraulique:
M. MOUNKAILA AROUNA

Ministre des Affaires Economiques, du Commerce et de l'Industrie:
M. ALFIDJA ABDERRAHMANE

Ministre de la Jeunesse, des Sports et de la Culture:
M. GARBA SIDIKOU

Ministre de la Justice: M. MAMADOU MALLAM AOUAMI

Ministre des Travaux Publics, des Transports et de l'Urbanisme:
M. MOUSSA BAKO

Secretaire d'Etat au Developpement Rural:
M. BRAH MAMANE

Secretaire d'Etat a la Presidence charge de l'Information:
M. DAOUDA DIALLO

Article 2.—Le present decret qui abroge le decret 75-87/PCMS du 3 juin 1975 sera publie au Journal Officiel.

Fait a Niamey, le 21 fevrier 1976

Signe: LT-COLONEL SEYNI KOUNTCHE

APPENDIX B

DATE _____

*** E N Q U E T E S U R L U R B A N I S A T I O N ***

VILLE DE : _____

I)- QUARTIER OU GROUPE : _____ Village d'origine _____

TRIBU DE : _____

DEPARTEMENT DE : _____ Arrondissement de : _____

Nom du Chef de Famille : _____

Nom de son pere : _____

Ethnie : _____

Sexe : _____ Age : _____

II)- POPULATION MODE DE VIE :

1- Sedentaries : _____

2- Nomades : _____

COMPOSITION DE LA FAMILLE AVANT LA SECHERESSE :

A- Nombre d'hommes : _____

B- Nombre de femmes : _____

C- Nombre d'enfants : _____

COMPOSITION DE LA FAMILLE APRES LA SECHERESSE :

A- Nombre d'hommes : _____

B- Nombre de femmes : _____

C- Nombre d'enfants : _____

III)- PROBLEMES ECONOMIQUES :

- Metier anterieur : _____
- Metier a Maradi : _____
- Cause venue en ville : _____
- Date arrivee a Maradi : _____

Quelles sont les difficultes rencontrees en ville ?

IV)- LIEUX OU SONT SES PARENTS : 1- PERE : _____

2- MERE : _____

V)- Vous preferez habiter la ville ? Ou la Campagne ? _____

ESSAYER DE QUESTIONNER 450 CHEFS DE FAMILLE DE TROIS GROUPES ETHNIQUES :

1 - HAUSA = HAOUSSA

2 - PEULH

3 - TOUAREG

Importance di Ville : _____

Enfant ecale : _____

Sanitary : _____

APPENDIX C

COLUMN	VARIABLE NUMBER	CODE
1-3	#1 Interviewee	0-450
4	#2 Site	1. Camp De Garde 2. Camp De Marche De Betail
5	#3 City	1. Maradi 2. Zinder 3. Tahaua 4. Niamey
6-7	#4 Tribe	1. Bouza 2. Maadabua 3. Karnaka 4. Safo 5. Birnin 6. Dakoro 7. Kandamaou 8. Gulabuda 9. Mayahi 10. Mayee 11. Syia 12. Miae 13. Chadakore 14. Gitahu 15. Agalo 16. Gribree 17. Chinkati 18. Said 19. Akoud 20. Gidonsora
8-9	# Village (native)	1. Ma'Alleda 2. Damni 3. Guidan-Dazaou 4. Tallabi 5. Gwalandi 6. El-dala 7. Kari 8. Jataka 9. El'Mougou Li'man 10. Garimamani 11. Ma'Eroufa 12. Ikaka 13. Maladi 14. Warno 15. E'Kouka 16-50. Continued

COLUMN	VARIABLE NUMBER	CODE
10	#6 Departments	1. Maradi 2. Tahoua 3. Hawa 4. Sokoto
11-12	#7 Districts	1. Bouza 2. Madaoua 3. Dakaro 4. Madarounfa 5-14. Continued
13	#8 Ethnic Group	1. Hausa 2. Peul 3. Touareg
14	#9 Sex	1. Male 2. Female
15	#10 Age	1. 0-15 2. 16-20 3. 21-29 4. 30-40 5. 40-50 6. 50-60 7. 60-80
16	#11 Mode of Life	1. Nomade 2. Sedimentary
17-18	#12 Number (total) of family before the drought	Real Numbers
19	#13 Number of males (adult)	Real Numbers
20	#14 Number of females (adult)	Real Numbers
21-22	#15 Number of children	Real Numbers
23-24	#16 Number (total) of family after the drought	
25	#17 Number of males (adult)	
26	#18 Number of females (adult)	

COLUMN	VARIABLE NUMBER	CODE
27-28	#19 Number of children	
29-30	#20 Number of recent deaths of children	
31	#21 Type of employment before migration	1. Farmer 2. Religious Leader/Medicine Man 3. Nurse Maid 4. Cook 5. Barber 6. Tanner--Tender of Animals 7. Commerce 8. Charity 9. Tailor/Seamstress 10. Carpenter
32	#22 Present Employment	1. Venders (straw and waters) 2. Religious Leaders/Medicine Men 3. Nurse Maids 4. Cooks 5. Barbers 6. Tanners 7. Tend Cattle 8. Sell food--animals 9. Charity 10. Carpenters
33	#23 Why did you come to the city?	1. Drought 2. Employment 3. Followed the family
34	#24 How long have you been in the city?	1. Less than one year 2. One-two years 3. More than two years
35	#25 What is the most severe problems encountered in the city?	1. Cost of water 2. Housing 3. Water and food for animals 4. Lack of money 5. Alone without mate and children 6. Don't know 7. Too many people 8. None

COLUMN	VARIABLE NUMBER	CODE
36	#26 How many children do you have in school?	1. None 2. One or two 3. More than two
37	#27 Number of children working	1. None 2. One or two 3. Three or four 4. Five or more
38	#28 Who in your family has been ill?	1. No one 2. Father 3. Mother 4. Children 5. Mother and children 6. Father and children 7. Father and mother
39	#29 How many visits have you made to the hospital?	1. None 2. Once 3. Several times
40	#30 Which type doctor do you prefer?	1. None 2. Traditional 3. Modern 4. Both
41	#31 Do you prefer the city or will you return to the country?	1. City 2. Country 3. Does not know
42	#32 What is the importance of the city?	1. Work for money 2. Food, housing 3. Charity—social services 4. School 5. None

APPENDIX D

TABLE 16

POPULATION OF SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN NIGER
(OVERALL POPULATION)

Population and Date	January 1955-1968	Population School Age	Enrolled	%
1955 *	2,543,646	508,729	9,895	1.9
1957	2,628,635	525,727	11,696	2.2
1958	2,702,808	540,561	13,887	2.5
1959	2,781,562	556,312	14,920	2.6
1960	2,863,767	572,753	21,054	3.6
1961	2,948,496	589,681	26,609	4.5
1962	3,040,673	608,134	34,448	5.6
1963	3,187,466	637,493	43,556	5.8
1964	3,270,008	654,000	50,348	7.7
1966	3,441,624	688,324	61,948	9.0
1967	3,527,664	705,532	70,657	10.0
1968	3,629	725,846	77,261	10.6

Source: Service Central de la Statisque.
*1956 data was not included, now could we breakdown the attendance city by city.

APPENDIX E

TABLE 17

ATTENDANCE IN NIGERIEN PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1974-1975

Departments (1)	Total Population (2)	Population of School Age (3)	Population Attending School (4)	Percentages Column 4÷3 (5)
1. Agadez	90,000	18,000	4,287	23.81%
2. Deffa	168,000	37,600	3,252	8.64%
3. Dosso	603,000	120,600	14,284	11.84%
4. Maradi	777,000	155,400	17,708	11.39%
5. Tahoua	918,000	183,600	19,996	10.89%
6. Zinder	992,000	199,400	18,362	9.20%

Source: Service de la Statistique, Minestere de l'Interieur, 1976.

APPENDIX F

Sieste des Establissements Scolaires de la ville de Marche

Establissements Secondaries:

1. Lycie Technique Dan-Kassaoua
2. C.E.G. #1
3. C.E.G. #2

Etablissements Primaries:

1. Ecole Centre
2. Ecole neuve mixe
3. Ecole des filles
4. Ecole Lobit
5. Ecole Fioris (Govt. Affairs
6. Ecole Midersa
7. Ecole Quartier
8. Ecole Magama
9. Ecole Maradaoua
10. Ecole Yandaka
11. Ecole Soura
12. Ecole Privee garcons
13. Ecole Privee des filles

Enqueteur:

Jabou Magagi
I.R.S.H. Base de Maradi
1976

APPENDIX G

TABLE 18

ATTENDANCE IN SCHOOL, 1955-1968

Population Au Iter Janviur		Population Scol Afisable (School Age)	Effectifs Inscrits (enrolled)	%
1955	2.543.646	508.729	9.895	1.9
1957	2.628.635	525.727	11.696	2.2
1958	2.702.808	540.561	13.887	2.5
1959	2.781.562	556.312	14.920	2.6
1960	2.863.767	572.753	21.054	3.6
1961	2.948.406	589.681	26.609	4.5
1962	3.040.673	608.134	34.448	5.6
1963	3.187.466	637.493	43.556	5.8
1964	3.270.008	654.000	50.348	7.7
1965	3.352.882	670/576	55.146	8.2
1966	3.441.624	6.88.324	61.948	9
1967	3.527.664	705.532	70.657	10
1968	3.629	725.846	77.261	10.6

Source: Service de la Statistique, Minestere de l'Interieur, 1976.

APPENDIX H

TABLEAU 99

Niger: Enseignement Superieur
Recapitulation des etudiants Nigeriens au Niger at a l' Etranger

Annee, 1974-1975

PAYS D'ACUEIL	EFFECTIFS		
	Hommes	Femmes	Ensemble
1. Niger	164	6	180
2. Dakar	79	27	106
3. France	132	39	171
4. Ouaga	16	3	19
5. Abidjan	35	10	45
6. Benin	49	10	59
7. Algerie	19	3	22
8. Canada	5	--	5
9. Suisse	3	--	--
10. Bulgarie	1	--	1
11. Allemagne	1	--	1
12. Roumanie	5	--	5
13. Grande Bretagne	2	--	2
14. Ursse	47	2	49
15. Pays-Arabes	28	2	30
16. Nigeria	9	2	11
17. Ghana	--	1	1
18. Gabon	1	--	1
Totaux	596	115	711

APPENDIX I

List of Schools in Maradi

Secondary Schools:

1 - Technical High School (Dan-Kassaoua)

2 - C.E.G. 1

3 - C.E.G. 2

Private Schools:

1 - Ecole Centre

2 - Ecole Nueve mixe (mixed)

3 - Ecole des filles (girls' school)

4 - Scole Lobit

5 - Ecole Diori (Gov't Officials)

6 - Ecole Medersa

7 - Ecole Quartier

8 - Ecole Magama

9 - Ecole Maradaoua

10 - Ecole Yandaka

11 - Ecole Soura

12 - Ecole garcons

13 - Ecole Prive e des filles

DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. Family - Throughout this dissertation unless otherwise specified the word "family" refers to the collection of household members "who eat from the same pot."

2. Local Authorities - Each city has a mayor and a council. They are not elected officials but are appointed by the president, Lt. Colonel Seyni Kountche. Within the President's cabinet there is a Ministre des Travaux Public, des Transports et de l'Urbanisme who works very closely with the mayors. Each controls a separate and independent municipal administration, arranged in fairly standard departments (administration, finance, municipal works, etc.). The complexity of the administrative organization is determined by the size of the city which is sub-divided into communes. Each commune, urban or rural, has an appointed council. These municipal and communal councils in turn control the local affairs. However, their real powers are limited and the strength of the councils vary from city to city.

3. Ethnic - The word "ethnic" is used throughout to refer to the three groups (Hausa, Peul and Touareg) which are set off from the rest of the population on the basis of racial criteria, religious identity, cultural attributes or ancestral background. It has been used in this manner in: L. Bloom, "Concerning Ethnic Research," American Sociological Review, Vol. 13 (April 1948), pp. 171-177.

   The intention behind its use in this dissertation is to call attention to the difference between ethnic groups and tribes which leads to the common term of "tribalism" which as Desmond Guery has pointed out, tends to cloud the real issues involved in analysis by enveloping them with what seems to be a primitive and barbarious mystique peculiar to the African, is avoided as much as possible.

4. Policymaking or Policymakers - This is a well-rounded comprehensive concept used by most social scientists, particularly those trained in political

science. Policymakers are those persons oriented toward the spheres of knowledge and experience for conducting business of government. This concept is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the polity. Modern communications and changes in decision power among elites make it difficult for a city or nation to maintain a very consistent long-range policymaking structure.

5. Employment Classification - In real life there is no definition of labor, but in most nations people are classified according to the areas they spend most of their time.

The International Labor Organization (ILO) designed a manual called the "International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO)" to note the characteristics of particular occupation groups throughout the world.

The objectives of the classification are to provide a systematic basis for the presentation of occupational data relating to different countries in order to facilitate international comparisons; to provide a model for countries to use in developing or revising national occupational classifications, etc.

The basic principle of classification according to the type of work performed is applied in ISCO for grouping occupations, but the interpretation to be placed on similarity in type of work performed varies and depends on the occupational field considered. In practice, the principle is easier to apply at the level of occupations than at the unit group or minor group level.

In our study, we have used the arrangement of ISCO's 83 minor groups, the common occupational characteristics which link together the different unit groups within a minor group. These are frequently of broad or general nature. As housekeeping and related services, their functions include: performing laundry, chamber maid or other household chores. Cooks are a group of workers who prepare and cook food stuffs in the home, in hotels, or in restaurants. Their function includes: planning meals, preparing and cooking food stuffs; performing various other tasks related to the preparation of food. Workers in religion are classified as workers in a minor group: ministers of religion who give spiritual guidance, propagate religious

doctrines, perform a variety of functions associated with the propagation and practices of religion, and endeavor to cure human ailments by the power of faith. These are all classified in the unit groups listed: 1-41 and 1-49; 5-31.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abramson, Jane A. Rural to Urban Adjustment. Ottawa, Canada: Ministry of Forestry and Rural Development, May 1968.

Adegbove, R. O., "The Need for Land Reform in Nigeria, The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, (1967), 19(3), 339-350.

Amarteifio, G. W.; Butcher, D. A. P.; and Whitham, David. Temma Manhean: A Study of Resettlement, Accra, Ghana: Ghana University Press, 1966.

Amin, Samir. L'Afrique de l'Quest bloquee: L'economie Politique de la Conolnization, 1880-1970. Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1971.

Balan, Jorge, "Are Farmers' Sons Handicapped in the City?" Rural Sociology (June 1968), 32(2), 160-174.

Bascom, W., "Some Aspects of Yoruba Urbanism," American Anthropologist (1962), LXIV, p. 699.

Beals, R. E.; Leavy, M. B., and Moses, "Rationality and Migration in Ghana," The Review of Economics and Statistics, 49(3) (1951), pp. 480-486.

Birney, J. G. 1792-1857 Papers. Ann Arbor: Manuscript Division of the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, 1972.

Blalock, H. M., Jr. Social Statistics. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1972.

Bock, E. Wilbur, and Iutaka, Sugiyama, "Rural-Urban Migration and Social Mobility: The Controversy of Latin America," Rural Sociology 34(3) (September 1969), pp. 343-355.

Bogue, Donald J. and Zachariah, K. C., "Urbanization and Migration in India," in Roy Turner (ed.), India's Urban Future. Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1962.

Breese, Gerald. Urbanization in Newly Developed Countries. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

Brenner, Y., "A Journal of African Affairs," African Quarterly, Vol. V (2) (July-September 1965).

Brody, Eugene B., "Migration and Adaptation--The Nature of the Problem, American Behavior Scientist, 13(1) (September-October 1969), pp. 5-13.

Brokensha, David and Scudder, Thayer, "Resettlement," in Neville Rubin and William Warren (eds.), Dams in Africa. London, England: Frank Cass and Company, Ltd., 1968.

Bulsara, Jal F. Problems of Rapid Urbanization in India, Bombay, India: Popular Prakashan, 1964.

Byerlee, D., "Research on Migration in Africa: Past, Present and Future," AREP, No. 2, African Rural Employment Paper. East Lansing, Michigan: Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University, 1970.

Caldwell, J., "Determinants of Rural-Urban Migration in Ghan," Population Study, 22(3) (1968), pp. 361-377.

Capelle, J., "Education in French West Africa," Overseas Education, Vol. 21 (October 1949).

Carter, G. M. (ed.), "National Unity and Regionalism in Eight African States: Nigeria, Niger . . . ," Virginia Thompson's Niger. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966.

Central Statistical Office, National Economic Development Board, Thailand Population Census (1960 Changwat Series), Volumes: Khon Kaen, Loei, Nongkhai, Udonthani, Whole Kingdom.

Chabot, H. T., "Urbanization Problems in South-East Asia," Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology III, Washington, D. C.: International Sociological Association, 1964, pp. 125-131.

Chesiza, D. K., "Africa: What Lies Ahead?" African Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 2 (July-September 1961).

Christodoulu, D., "Land Settlement: Some Oft-Neglected Basic Issues," Monthly Bulletin of Agricultural Economics and Statistics, Rome, Italy: Food and Agricultural Organization, October 1965.

Clarke, John I., "1972 Urban Primacy in Tropical Africa," in La croissance urba ine en Afrique Noire et a Madagascar, pp. 447-453.

Cohen, Michael A., "The Myth of the Expanding Centre: Politics in the Ivory Coast," Journal of Modern African Studies, 11:277-246, (1973).

_____. Urban Policy and Political Conflict in Africa: A Study of the Ivory Coast. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

_____. "Urban Policy and the Decline of the Machine: Cross-ethnic Politics in the Ivory Coast," Journal of Developing Areas, 8:227-233, (1974).

Cornelius, W. A., Jr., "Urbanization as an Agent in Latin American Political Instability: The Case of Mexico," American Political Science Review 69(3) (September 1969),pp. 833-857.

Coulon, C. Political Elites in Senegal. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Coutumiers, juridiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise. (Publications du Comite d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F.) 3V, Ser. A, No. 8-10, 1939.

Cruise O'Brien, Donal B., Co-operators and Bureaucrats: Class Formation in a Senegalese Peasant Society," Africa, 41:263-277, (1972).

David, P. Maradi, l'ancienne etat et l'ancienne ville: Documents des Etudes Nigeriennes #18. Bordeaux: Institut Fondemental de l'Afrique Noire, Center de Recherche Scientifique, 1964.

Davis, Kingsley. World Urbanization, 1950-1970. Volume I. Berkeley, California: Instittute of International Studies, University of California, 1969.

_____. "Urbanization in India: Past and Future," in Roy Turner (ed.), India's Urban Future. Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1971.

de Graft-Johnson, K. T., "Population Growth and Rural-Urban Migration, with Special Reference in Ghana," International Labour Review, 109:471-485 (1974).

Dahrendorf, Rolf. Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. Los Angeles: Stanford University Press, 1957.

Delavignette, R. Freedom and Authority in French West Africa. Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950.

Detroit Public Library. The Burton Historical Collection. 15,000 Pieces on Etienne, Dutilh and Company, Philadelphia Export-Import House.

Deutsch, Karl. "The Nerves of Government," Free Press, 1963.

_____. "Transaction Flows as Indicators of Political Indicators on Political Cohesion," Philip E. Jacob and James Toscano (eds.), in The Integration of Political Communities, Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1964.

Deveze, M. La France d'Outre Mer, de l'Empire Colonial a l'Union Francaise, 1938-1947, Paris: Hachette, 1948.

Diejomaoh, V., "Rural Development in Nigeria: The Role of Fiscal Policy," Conference Proceedings of the Nigerian Economic Society, 1972, pp. 97-109.

_____. and Orimalade, W. A. T., "Unemployment in Nigeria: An Economic Analysis of Scope, Trends and Policy Issues," Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, 13:59-75,(1971).

Easton, David. A Framework for Political Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965.

_____. A Systems Analysis of Political Life. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965.

Eicher, C. K., et al. "Employment Geration in African Agriculture," Institute of International Agriculture, Michigan State University, 1970.

Eisenstadt, S. N. The Absorption of Immigrants, London: Routledge and Kegan, 1954.

Elkan, W. Migrants and Proletarians, London: Oxford University Press, 1960.

Epstein, A. L., "Urbanization and Social Change in Africa," Current Anthropology, 8(4) (October 1967).

Etherton, David. Mathare Valley: A Case Study of Uncontrolled Settlement in Nairobi. Nairobi: Housing Research and Development Unit, University of Nairobi, 1971.

Falae, S. D. "Unemployment in Nigeria," Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, 13:59-75 (1971).

Freedman, R. and Friedman, D., "Farm Research Elements in the Non-Farm Population," Rural Sociology, 21(1) (1956), pp. 50-61.

Fried, M. and Gleicher, C., "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban Slum," in R. Gutman and D. Propenoe (eds.), Neighborhood, City and Metropolis, New York: Random House, 1970.

Ghae, D., "Income Policy in Kenya: Need, Criteria and Machinery," East African Economic Review, 4(1) (1968), pp. 19-34.

Goldstein, Sidney, "Migration Differentials and Urbanization in Thailand." Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Washington, D. C., April 22-24, 1971.

Gosling, L. A. P., "The Urban Alternative: Comments on Rural-Urban Migration in Northeast Thailand," (Preliminary Draft). Notes for Presentation at a Meeting of the Southeast Asian Development Advisory Group's Mekong Committee Seminar, Washington, D. C., May 24-25, 1971.

_____. "Planning for Integrated Resettlement--A Research Program, (mimeo), 1971.

Gugler, Josef. "Migrating to Urban Centers of Unemployment in Tropical Africa." Paper presented at the Eighth World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, August 1974.

_____. "Part-Time Farmer: The Peri-Urban Holdings of Urban Workers in Kampala, (forthcoming).

_____ and Flanagan, William G. Urbanization and Social Change in West Africa. London: Cambridge University Press.

Guha, S., "Rural Works Programme in India," African Quarterly, Vol. V. No. 1 (April-June 1965).

Hance, William A. Population Migration and Urbanization in Africa, New York: Columbia University, 1970.

Hanson, Robert C. and Simmons, Ozzie G., "The Role Path: A Concept and Procedure for Studying Migration of Urban Communities," Human Organization, 27(2), Summer 1968, pp. 152-158.

Harrison, R. J. The Niger Republic. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966.

Hecken, H. J. (ed.). The Urbanization of Djakarta, Number 2A, Djakarta, Indonesia: Institute for Economic and Social Research, Djakarta School of Economics, University of Indonesia (Reprint from Economic Dan Kevangan Indonesia, VIII(11)) (November 1955).

Herskovits, M. J. The Human Factor in Changing Africa, New York: Knopf Company, 1962.

_____. Dahomey, Ancient West African Kingdom. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1967.

Ingersoll, Jasper. Human Dimensions of Making River Basin Development: A Case Study of the Nam Pong Project in Northeastern Thailand, 1967-1968. Washington, D. C.: Agency for International Development, 1968.

Inkles, A., "Making Men Modern: On the Causes and Consequences of Individual Change in Six Countries," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 75 No. 2 (September 1969).

International Joint Seminar. Adaption of Rural and Foreign Workers to Industry. Wiesbaden, Germany: Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate, Social Affairs Division, 1963.

International Labour Office, Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya, 1972.

_____. Report to the Government of Thailand on Internal Migration. Geneva, Switzerland, 1965.

Jackson, J. A. (ed.). Migration. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Karikari, K. A., "Adult Education: A Means to National Development," Sight and Opinion Quarterly for Current African Thinking, Vol. 3, 50 NP, No. 4 (1968).

Kilby, Peter., "Manufacturing in Colonial Africa." Peter Duignan and L. H. Gann (eds.), in The Economics of Colonialism. Colonialism in Africa, Vol. 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

_____, "Industrial Relations and Wage Determination: Failure of the Anglo-Saxon Model," The Journal of Developing Areas, 1(4), pp. 489-520.

_____, Industrialization in an Open Economy: Nigeria 1945-1966, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Kingsley, D., "The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World," American Journal of Sociology, No. 60, March 1955.

Knight, J. B., "Rural-Urban Income Comparisons and Migration in Change," Bulletin of the Oxford University Institute of Economics and Statistics, 34(2), pp. 199-228.

Kunstadter, P. (ed.) Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities, and Nations. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Kurtz, Norman R., "Gatekeepers: Agents in Acculturation," Rural Sociology 33(1) (March 1968), pp. 64-70.

Laquian, Aprodicio., "Rural Urban Migrants and Metropolitan Development," Tonronto, Canada: International Association for Metropolitan Research and Development.

Levi, J. F. S., "Migration and Unemployment in Sierra Leone," Manpower and Unemployment Research in Africa, 4(2): 20-25.

Lipf, G. K., "The P_1 P_2/D Hypothesis: On the Inter-City Movement of Persons," American Social Studies Review, XI (December 1946).

Lipset, S. M. Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960.

_____. "University Students in Underdeveloped Countries," Vol. III, No. 1 (Autumn 1964), pp. 45-56.

Little, Kenneth. West African Urbanization: A Study of Voluntary Organizations in Social Change, London, 1945.

Little, Tom. High Dam at Aswan. New York: The John Day Company, 1945, pp. 129-146.

Lupska, Peter A., "On Theories of Urban Violence," Urban Affairs Quarterly 4(3) (March 1969), pp. 273-296.

Mabogunje, Akin L., "Urbanization and Change," in J. N. Paden and E. W. Soja (eds.) The African Experience, Vol. 1, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970, pp. 331-358.

_____. "Migration Policy and Regional Development in Nigeria," The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, 12(2) (1971), pp. 243-262.

_____. "The Pre-Colonial Development of Yoruba Towns," in D. J. Dwyer, The City in the Third World. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

Macaspac, I., "Economic and Social Research for Lower Mekong Basic Development: Some Considerations for the Design of Future Programs," SEADAG Papers on Problems of Diu in Southeast Asia. New York: The Asia Society, 1966.

Madavo, C. E., "Making the Cities Work," Africa Report 16(8), (1971), pp. 18-22.

Mainet, G. and Nicholas, G. La Vallée du Gaulbi de Maradi: Documents des Etudes Nigeriene #16. Bordeaux: Institut Fondemental de l'Afrique Noire, Centre de Recherche Scientifique, 1964.

_____. Republic of Niger-Documents des Republique du Niger. Etudes Nigeriennes #17 Ifan-CNRS, 1968.

Marris, Peter. Family and Social Change in an African City: A Study of Rehousing in Lagos. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961.

Mazrui, A. A. and Tandon, Y., "The University of East Africa as a Political Constitution," Minerva Vol. V. No. 3 (Spring 1967), pp. 381-386.

McGee, T. G., "The Asian City: Problems and Prospects," Pacific Viewpoint 2(1) (March 1961), pp. 101-105.

McGinnis, P., "A Stochastic Model of Social Mobility," American Anthropologist, Vol. 53 (1951).

Ministre de Interior, Nigerian Archives, 1975.

_____. Nigerien Archives, Government Library, Niamey, 1976.

Ministre de Transport. Nigerian Archives, Government Library, Niamey, 1976.

Mitchell, C., "Migration Labour in Africa South of the Sahara: The Causes of Labour Migration," in Bulletin of Inter-African Labour Institute 6(1) (1969), pp. 8-46.

Moris, J., "The Evaluation of Settlement Schemes Performance: A Sociological Approach," in Raymond Apthorpe (ed.), "Land Settlement and Rural Development in Eastern Africa," Nkanga (3), Kampala, Uganda: Transition Books.

Nelson, Joan, "Urban Growth and Politics in Developing Nations: Prospects for the 1970's," Paper for Conference on International Economic Development, Pearson Conference Document #31. Williamsburg, Virginia and New York: Columbia University, 1970.

Nyerere, J. K., "The University in a Developing Society," Présence Africaine, No. 6, 1er Timestre (1967), pp. 3-10.

_____. The Nationalist, No. 901 (March 10, 1967).

Ohadike, Patrick D. "19 Urbanization: Growth, Transitions and Problems of a Premier West African City (Lagos, Nigeria," Urban Affairs Quarterly, pp. 69-90.

Olsson, Gunnar, "Migration and Resettlement: Some Comments on Action Suggested by Scientific Models," (mimeo) Southeast Asian Development Advisory Group's Making Committee Seminar, Washington, D.C., May 24-25, 1971.

Okediji, F. J., "Review of K. Little, West African Urbanization: A Study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change," The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, 8(3) (November 1966), pp. 500-508.

Overseas Reform Act (Loi Cadre) of July 23, 1956.

Parkin, D. J., "Urban Voluntary Association as Institutions of Adaption," Man. 1(1) (March 1966), pp. 90-94.

Peil, Margaret. The Ghanian Factory Worker: Industrial Man in Africa. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Piotrowski, Waclaw. "Z Problematyki Przystosowania Ludnosei Naplywowej Do Srodrowiska Miesjkiego, ("Some Problems of the Migrant Population Adapting to the Urban Environment"), Studia Socjologiczne 19 (1965), pp. 57-63 (Abstract taken from Sociological Abstracts, XVI (V) 1969, p. 36).

Planning Housing Information, Tremestriel #77, University of Niamey, 1974.

Prasada Rao, C. R., "Rural-Urban Migration: A Clue to Rural-Urban Relations in India," Indian Journal of Social Work, 30(4) (January 1970), pp. 335-342.

Radecke, E., "Land of Transition," Swiss Review of World Affairs, V. 22(2) (May 1972).

Republic du Niger, Plan Quadriennal 1965-68, Naimey: Presidence de la Republique (1965), p. 171.

Sabot, R. H., "Urban Migration in Tanzania." Unpublished Paper, Economic Research Bureau, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: University of Dar es Salaam, 1971.

Safier, Michael, "Urban Growth and Urban Planning in Subsaharan Africa," Josef Gugler (ed.), in Urban Growth in Subsaharan Africa, Nkanga, Kampala: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1970.

Schaaf, C. Hart and Fifield, Russel H. The Lower Making: to Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1963.

Scheff, Thomas J., "Acculturation and Ties to Former Home of Mexican Americans in an Industrial City," International Review of Community Development, (1966), p. 15.

Schwartzweller, Harry K. and Segger, John F., "Kinship Involvement: A Factor in the Adjustment of 'Rural Migrants'," Journal of Marriage and Family, 29(4) (November 1967), pp. 662-671.

Senior, Clarence. "Migration as a Process and Migrant as a Person," Population Review 6(1) (January 1962), pp. 30-41.

Service de la Statistique, Minestere de l'Interieur, Mr. Messan, 1976.

Shannon, Lyle W., "Urban Adjustment and its Relationship to the Social Antecedents of Immigration Workers," International Review of Community Development, 13(13-14) (1965), pp. 177-188.

Shelburne Papers, Vol. 80, "Minutes of African Affairs," Vol. 81, "African and Senegal Affairs," Periods 1757-1967.

Singer, J. D. General Systems Taxonomy for Political Science. New York: General Learning Press, 1971.

_____. "The Levels of Analysis Problem in International Relation," World Politics, Vol. 14, No. 1 (October 1961), pp. 77-92.

Southall, A. W. (ed.). Social Change in Modern Africa, London: Oxford University Press of International African Institute, 1961.

Spengler, Joseph J., "Africa and the Theory of Optimum City Size," Horace Miner (ed.), in The City in Modern Africa. New York: Praeger, 1967.

Spitz, G. Sansanding, les Irrigation du Niger. Paris: Societe d'Editions Geographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, "Terres Lointaines," Vol. L'Ovest African Francais, 1949.

Spock, B. Raising Children in a Difficult Time, New York: Norton, 1974.

Stanford Research Institute. Costs of Urban Infrastructure as Related to City Size in Developing Countries. Menlo Park, California: Stanford Research Institute, 1968.

Staniland, Martin, "Single-party Regimes and Political Change: The PDCI and Ivory Coast Politics," Colin Leys (ed.) in Politics and Change in Developing Countries: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Development. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Stouffer, S., "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating to Mobility and Distance," American Social Studies Review, No. 5 (1940).

Stryker, Richard E., "Political and Administrative Linkage in the Ivory Coast," Philip Foster and Aristide R. Zolberg (eds.), in Ghana and the Ivory Coast: Perspectively on Modernization. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1970.

_____. "A Local Perspective on Developmental Strategy in the Ivory Coast," Michael F. Lofchie (ed.), in The State of the Nations: Constraints on Development in Independent Africa. Los Angeles: University of California, 1971.

Suttles, G. D. The Social Order of the Slum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Sween, Joyce and Clignet, Remi, "Urban Unemployment as a Determinant of Political Unrest: The Case Study of Douala Cameroon," Canadian Journal of African Studies, 3 (1969), 463-487.

Tawney, R. H. Land and Labour in China. New York: Octagon Books, 1964.

Three Day Seminar on Social Problems of Urbanization in Pakistan, Karachi, Pakistan: Social Services Coordinating Council, Jarch 1962.

Todaro, M. R., "Income Expectations, Rural-Urban Migration and Employment in Africa," International Labor Review, Vol. 104, No. 5 (1971), pp. 387-413.

_____. "Model of Labour Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries," American Economic Review, 59(1) (1971), pp. 138-148.

Tremestriel #77, Ministere d'Interiour Nigerien Archives, Niamey Government Library, 1974.

Turnham, David. The Employment Problem in Less Developed Countries: A Review of Evidence. Paris: CECD Development Centre, 1970.

UNESCO Research Center on Social and Economic Development in Southern Asia. Urban-Rural Differences in Southern Asia: Some Aspects and Methods of Analysis, Delhi, India: United India Press, 1962.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. "Uncontrolled Urban Settlement: Problems and Policies." International Social Development Review, 1:107 (1968).

_____. Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics 1972. Volume 3, New York: United Nations, 1974.

United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation. Pa Mong Project: Lower Mekong River State One Interim.

_____. Sub-reconnaissance Investigation: Pa Mong Project (Laos-Thailand), 1-5, Washington, D.C., 1966.

United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, Committee for Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin, Semi-Annual Report: 1 January - 30 January 1969, II (June 1969).

_____. Statement of Principles and Policies for Resettlement and Settlement in the Lower Mekong Basin. Bangkok, August 1968.

Ward, J. C. The Expatriate Academic and African University, October 1970.

Warrimer, D., "Problems of Rural-Urban Migration: Some Suggestions for Investigation," International Labor Review, 10(5) (1970), pp. 441-451.

Wilkening, E. A.; Pinto, Jomo Rosco; and Pastors, Jose. "Role of the Extended Family in Migration and Adaption in Brazil," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 30(4) (November 1968), pp. 689-695.

Yeld, Ruth, "The Resettlement of Regusees," Raymond Apthorpe (ed.), in Land Settlement and Rural Development in Eastern Africa, Nkanga, Kampala, Uganda: Transition Books.

Young, Aron. Systems of Political Science. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968.