

POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN FOUR VILLAGES IN EKITI DIVISION NIGERIA

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Attention has been focused in Africa on the movement of people from so-called rural to urban areas (Caldwell, 1969; Kuper, ed., 1965; Caldwell and Okonjo eds. 1968). This movement has been pointed out as being disadvantageous for agricultural communities since it leads to scarcity of labour for farm activities. The Farm Settlement Schemes of the former Western Region of Nigeria were organised partly to offset this apparent scarcity (Barth and Adegun, 1966).¹ The effect of this movement on urban areas has also aroused much concern as more school leavers arrive seeking unavailable jobs (Callaway, 1964). Agricultural extension studies throughout the world have emphasized the advantages of contacts between rural and urban areas for the rural areas themselves, Elkan writes:

"Often the most progressive farmers in Africa have been those who have had a spell away from farming and who have returned to it with ambitions and attitudes nurtured in towns and which have made them look to farming for the first time as a business venture and not only as a way of life." (Ekan, 1960: 130)

What appears to be important for agricultural communities as a whole and therefore for individuals is the amount and nature of this contact.

The present study was part of a wider economic survey of Ekiti Division, Nigeria. It began as an analysis of rural-urban migration based on census data available in Nigeria. These data were found to be limited in scope and accuracy and therefore inadequate for a detailed study of movement within one area. It was decided that the most reliable information could be acquired by interviewing individuals and families living in the area itself, the assumption being that rarely do whole families migrate together and information on those who are not resident can readily be acquired from those family members remaining. Prothero's study of migrants leaving Sokoto Province over a specified time period was the only work of this nature which had been done in Nigeria at the time (Prothero, 1959). Caldwell in Ghana attacked the problem on a much larger scale covering in detail the whole process of rural-urban migration from the initial impression gained by rural residents of urban areas to the eventual return of emigres to those areas (Caldwell, 1969). The present work was limited to four communities within Ekiti Division and was intended to be a pilot survey to be extended if the results proved meaningful. At an early stage the scope was widened to include all movements regardless of whether they could be defined as rural-urban in the sense of Caldwell, which had been made for a period of six months or more, and all movements connected with work on farms hereafter referred to as farm labouring, (Caldwell, 1969). For the purpose of analysis therefore migration was defined as the special movement and residence away from a place of origin for six months or more except that all moves for farm labouring were included regardless of the length of time spent away. The results presented in Part I refer to moves other than farm labouring. Part II deals with the farm labouring data. "A"

The Survey Area

Ekiti Division contains within its 16 Yoruba kingdoms of which Ado is the largest, the Ado kingdom boundary corresponding to the former Ado District Council (ADC) boundary before the formation of Gbonyin District Council. Within the Ado kingdom, and the present towns subordinate to Ado, the capital of the kingdom, and the present day administrative centre, and 28 farm settlements, Ado appears to

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have monopolised facilities within the kingdom, a factor which Lloyd attributes to the lack of unity among the subordinate towns (Lloyd, 1962), Cocoa is the main cash crop of the Division although its importance is of quite recent origin. Lloyd notes that although cocoa was important in the 1930s the effect on cash income was not felt until the rise in cocoa prices in the 1950s². Education came rather late to the Division, the first secondary school appearing in 1964, but once it had arrived, the Ekiti people were among the most enthusiastic. Respondents pointed out that Ekiti used to be one of the more backward divisions. The first roads were constructed in the late twenties and thirties but were not sealed with bitumen until the 1950s. Ado itself had a telephone service in 1949 and rediffusion was installed in 1958. The town received its first piped water supply in 1961 and electric poles were laid in the same year.

Census material indicates that the rapid growth of the Division started after 1952³. Between 1931 and 1952 Ondo Province was already one of the fastest growing Provinces in the whole Nigeria and within the Province, Owo Division experienced the fastest growth; between 1952 and 1963 Ekiti Division experienced the fastest growth. An estimate made of the 1962 mid-year population indicated that Ekiti had the second highest annual percentage growth rate of all the Divisions in the Western Region, and one of the highest for the whole country (Okonjo, 1968). Within Ekiti Division itself, the districts to the South and West show the greatest increase, all districts lying to the North of Ado falling below the average percentage increase for the Division as a whole.

The Sample

Data were collected from four villages in the Ado District Council area of Ekiti Division during the period February to July 1965. The 1963 population census of Nigeria gave the population of the four as Ado, 154,369; Awo, 9,399; Afao, 2,654; Eyio, 1,136. All four lie within 10 miles of one another and except for Eyio all are well served by roads. Eyio is the most isolated and was chosen partly because of this; the other three centres were chosen randomly from a list of all centres in the Council area. Eyio was the only place where any lack of co-operation was encountered during the work.

Enumeration areas used in the 1963 census were sampled and a census made of all heads of families living in the areas. A random sample of heads was then taken from each area. In all, 24 enumeration areas were chosen and 170 heads and their families included in the sample. Data were incomplete for two of these families and are not therefore presented here. In all cases information was collected about the heads themselves, their own brothers and sisters (siblings) and their own wives and children. Data were collected not only about past moves of respondents but also about family members who were at the time of interview living in another place, since the intention was to see how much contact there had been and was at the time of the survey between different centres. Family heads who were farmers provided the information on movements made for Farm labouring. In all, data were compiled for 1,119 family members of school age and over. A total of 1,445 individuals were recorded for the 168 families, an average of nine individuals per family or seven if siblings of the head are excluded (Table 1). Data were least complete for siblings and are therefore presented in brackets in some of the tables: information on wives divorced or no longer living with their husbands was difficult to obtain and in the end it was decided to exclude this. Table 1 indicates that the samples taken were not proportionate to the population size of each centre. There was some justification for taking a proportionately larger sample from the smaller centres of Awo, Afao and Eyio since greater interest lay in revealing the problems and effects of migration at the more rural than urban end of the migration

process; Ado was from this point of view of less interest. It should be noted that the aim of the survey was not to determine a national pattern of movement but to investigate the pattern in the particular communities studied.

Results Part I

Total Migrants

Table II indicates that a total of 37 per cent of the family members could be classed as migrants, slightly less than this if siblings of the head are included. Eyio with the smallest population had the smallest percentage, 28 per cent, following by Ado, the largest centre with 31 per cent. Awo and Afao had 40 per cent and 49 per cent respectively. 42 per cent of the individuals classed as migrants were outside their home areas at the time of interview accounting for 16 per cent of the total individuals from whom information was tabulated. Again Eyio and Ado had the least following by Afao and Awo. In net terms all the centres appear to show a loss although the numbers are too small to make any conclusive statements. The loss in Eyio and Ado appears to be only half that in the other two centres.

Rural-Urban Movement

There has been much discussion concerning the validity of classifying population centres as rural or urban. (Caldwell, 1969; Lloyd, 1962). It has been suggested that no population centre in the Western Region of Nigeria can be called urban since the majority of the population is involved in agricultural pursuits; it could be said that no population centre in this Region can be called rural since all are involved in a national and international economy and the majority of the working population has had to adjust to the new relationships necessary to this type of economy (Lloyd, 1962; Mitchell, 1961; Schwab, 1965). In terms of the availability of choice of occupation, leisure, education, medical facilities and consumer goods, some centres are obviously more involved in this wider economic system than others. The assumption in the present work was that all centres in this Region express some urban features and that the term urban can therefore include a wide variety of centres, some being more urban than others. Using this concept of a continuum extending from rural to urban centres a simple scale of urbanity was used to rank all centres to which individuals had migrated at some period.³ The number of items used for ranking purposes was limited by the statistical material available for all centres. Three variables were used: population size as in 1952, road communications and educational facilities for the latest date available. All three variables were significantly correlated at the five per cent level of probability.

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS "r"

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Education</i>
Roads	0.61	0.77
Education	0.66	

The correlations imply that all three items can be included on the same scale (Goode & Hatt, 1952). No attempt was made to assess the individual importance of the items since the statistical data used did not appear to justify more refined measurement. 86 destination centres mentioned were ranked for each item, the scores ranging from one to eight. The scores of each centre for each of the items were simply summed and the centres finally grouped according to eight types, depending on the score. The most urban centres were scaled as one, the least eight. Ado, Awo, Afao and Eyio scaled 3, 7, 7, and 8 respectively.

The largest percentage of moves out of the four centres was concentrated on destinations with a more urban index than that of the centre of origin (Table III); for Ado, itself with an index of three the greatest concentration was on destinations with an index of two, for Awo and for Afao three and for Eyio six. These differences occur in spite of the extreme concentration of facilities in Ado itself and its obvious attraction for the surrounding area. Some scale types appear to be more attractive than others; the largest concentration of moves for the whole sample was on those destinations with an index of three which is partly explained by the importance of Ado. The fall between centres with indices of three and four for all centres and the rise between six and seven for Ado and Afao might be partly explained by the geographical distribution of the scale types; Ado was the only centre in the ADC area which scaled 3, five centres scaled 6, nine centres, 7 and three scaled 8.

The average number of moves per destination was the largest for Afao, nine, the smallest for Eyio and Ado, four, movements out of Afao appear therefore to be least selective in destination. In terms of the number of different centres chosen by emigrants Ado showed the greatest variety, migrants going to 63 different centres, Afao 35, Awo 25 and Eyio 16.

Functional Selectivity of Moves

The purpose of a move was defined according to what migrants were doing while away. Moves were divided into four types; movements for formal educational purposes, training for various trades, work (excluding farm labouring) and 'others'. The last category included visits to other family members and in the case of females, moves to join husbands. If the wife was in fact working she was included in the work category although the initial impetus to move may have been to join the husband. For all four centres the largest percentage of moves, 51 per cent, was made for the purpose of finding work, and the smallest, four per cent, for training in various trades (Table IV). The difference between the centres was greatest in the case of the last type of move and Eyio had the largest percentage in this category. The next largest variation although very small was in the work category. Eyio had the smallest percentage, 43 per cent, as against 51 per cent in Ado and Afao and 56 per cent in Awo. No functional selectivity was apparent between destination centres and areas to which emigrants went.

Data for children of family heads who were working outside the four centres at the time of interview were analysed separately to see if within these very broad functional categories any significant features could be observed. The total children living away and classed as having occupations was 67. Females noted as wives were not included unless they had an occupation outside their activities in the home. Unemployed children were also not included. In all, 14 male children were said to be unemployed. The figure for females was higher than this but it was difficult to separate their unemployment from petty trade employment. Of the 14 unemployed males, three were living outside their homes and were contributing to the unemployment situation in the more heavily populated centres.

For the 67 children employed outside four types of job were most prevalent; trading, clerical, trades and services (houseboy and housegirl). These four categories accounted for 47 individuals. The other groups, teachers and a general one which respondents called "professional" accounted for another 14. The greatest concentration of moves was in the category of clerks where nine of a total of 12 went to Ibadan or Lagos, followed by those in service, six out of 10. The destination centres for people in the other occupational groups differed greatly. Even among the clerks there was some variation between the centres of origin; those from Awo went to Lagos and

Ibadan, from Afao to Ibadan only, from Eyio to Ado and Akure. For Awo, Afao and Eyio, the only destination in common for any type of work was Ado. No destination centre was common to all four centres.

Direction of Flow of Movements

Tables V and VI show the flow of moves out of and into the centres in terms of the administrative areas within which centres of destination and origin lie. Table VI refers to immigrants, that is individuals not born in Ado, Afao and Eyio, who were included in the sample, and also all heads of immigrant families who were at the time of interview living in the sampled enumeration areas. 55 such family heads were interviewed.

In all cases except Ado, the largest percentage of moves out was concentrated within the immediate administrative area (ADC) than within any other area; Eyio and Afao had the largest percentage of moves within this area, as many as 66 per cent and 49 per cent respectively. Movements from Ado were concentrated on the next two administrative areas although the concentration was not as great with 26 per cent moves each to places within Ekiti Division and Ondo Province. Awo and Ado are the two centres from which emigrants appear to move to more distant administrative areas but no particular attraction between contiguous administrative areas is indicated for any centre. It appears that once migrants are outside their own District Council area there may be a tendency to move to more distant places.

Movements of immigrants into the four centres follow a different pattern from those of emigrants noted above. The evidence here indicates that Ado attracts a larger percentage from the immediate administrative area than either Awo or Afao while at the same time attracting from a wider area. The data for Eyio are too few to indicate any pattern.

Other Regions within Nigeria do not appear to exert a strong influence over movements into or out of the centres. The Northern Region seems to be the main centre of attraction for emigrants (Table VII).

Centres of destination within administrative areas also appear to differ in spite of the geographical proximity of Ado, Awo, Afao and Eyio, (Table VII), and the indices of urbanity of these destinations indicate that the farther immigrants go the more likely they are to be attracted to destinations with a more urban index. People apparently move to more urban centres but the choice of actual destination may be determined by other considerations. A multiple regression analysis was carried out to test the relationship between the proportion of migrants going to a particular place and the difference in size of population, road communication, educational facilities and actual distance in miles between the place of origin and destination. Only for migration from Ado did these variables significantly account for the variability in the proportion of migrants going to particular places; even here they accounted for less than a quarter of the variation:

<i>Population Centre</i>	<i>Total Variance</i>	<i>% Variance explained by Regression</i>	<i>F Test</i>
Ado	351.58	21.66	F (4,50) = 3.46 s
Awo	858.07	17.19	F (4,28) = 1.45 ns
Afao	1504.21	16.47	F (4,30) = 1.48 ns
Eyio	894.24	23.08	F (4,12) = < 1.00 ns

s. significant

ns. not significant

The importance of personal contacts in the migration process has often been noted (Caldwell, 1969; Goode & Hatt, 1952). Schwab discussing the relative strength of primary and secondary relationships notes that even in urban setting in Nigeria, secondary relationships give way to claims of Kinship in important situations (Schwab, 1965). Immigrants to Ado, Awo, Afao and Eyio were asked certain questions about the factors which had drawn them to their present destinations. A large number of the immigrants had had some prior connection with the centres through family or friends, Awo having the largest proportion in this respect, Ado the least. Of the remaining factors, the friendliness of the destination centre was the only major one where any personal choice was involved (Table VIII).

PART II

Migration for Farm Labouring Work

Table IX indicates that a large number of farmers have migrated at some time for this purpose and only in the case of Ado have a large proportion hired out their labour at home rather than away. Many farmers did in fact say that they would not hire labour from their own areas for various reasons; they felt that such labourers were lazy and took advantage of the fact that they know the person hiring them. Baldwin and Galletti noted that there was a certain amount of local labour in the main cocoa producing areas but that this was not as important as that moving in from outside the cocoa belt and Ekiti was found to be one of the cocoa areas from which farmers moved long distances to do farm work, although they did note that this supply was decreasing (Little, 1965). The data in Table X give some indication of the distance which migrant farm workers go. Ado farmers appear to concentrate more within Ekiti Division than farmers from the other three centres. Farmers from Ado appear to travel the greatest distances.

This antipathy to local labour is not entirely borne out by the data presented in Tables XI and XII. A large proportion of farmers did employ labour from outside the four centres but in terms of the number of labourers employed in the year previous to the survey, Ado, Awo and Eyio farmers all appear to have employed similar proportions of local and immigrant labourers. In the case of Afao little local labour was reported to have been employed. Hausas formed the greatest proportion of the labour employed here.

Labourers in Afao also tended to remain for longer periods. It should be noted that it is difficult to get an accurate number of labourers employed owing to the varied length of time for which they work and the fact that the same labourer may be employed a number of times throughout the year.

Apart from hiring out their labour, many immigrant labourers do in fact have farms in Ekiti. No information was available as to the exact number of such immigrant farmers but farmers included in the sample were asked about non-family members and people not born in the area farming their family land. No information was available for Eyio (Table XIII). Ado and Afao, the two centres with apparently the largest number of immigrant labourers also had the largest number of such immigrant farmers; 25 Ado farmers noted such people, Afao, 20. Only one of the farmers in Ado indicated that the non-Ado born were growing any cash crop although some of the non-family members who were born in Ado were doing so. In Afao, the situation appears to be different; all strangers were said to be growing cash crops although not cocoa, rather tobacco and cotton on bush fallow.

Discussion

People living outside their home at the time of interview represented 16 per cent of the total sample and 42 per cent of the total migrant population in the sample, excluding those who had migrated solely for farm labouring. 26 per cent of the people actually living in Ado, Awo, Afao and Eyio experienced some contact with other areas. The data indicate that the majority of these moves were made to centres more urban than the centre of origin, the actual urbanity of the centre of destination varying according to that of the centre of origin. It is interesting to note that of the two centres with the largest proportion of people living outside at the time of interview, Awo and Afao, Afao had the higher percentage of previous migrants; this indicates a greater amount of interchange. Not migration data alone might have placed Awo and Afao in the same category but it appears from this analysis that they are worth considering separately.

The data indicate that actual size of movement is not related to the size of population in the centre of origin. Caldwell in Ghana studying specifically rural-urban migration where rural and urban were defined according to population size, had found that the larger the centre the more the migration owing, he suggests, to the greater number of educationally qualified people in the population (Caldwell, 1969). In the present study, Afao had the largest proportion of migrants in the sampled families while both Awo and Ado had larger populations. Ado and Eyio are similar in the amount of movement associated with them and it is clear that their similarity is due to different reasons since they differ greatly both in size and position. The situation in Eyio might be partly explained by its comparative isolation, that in Ado by its possession of more facilities and opportunities which presumably enable it to retain otherwise potential migrants. The more significant features of the movement out of Ado which distinguish it from all other centres are not therefore its size; emigrants are more selective in choice of destination, that is they tend to choose from a wider variety of centres, and are more likely to concentrate on more distant administrative areas and centres. Also, objective factors such as the difference in size of population, educational facilities, road communications and actual distance in miles between Ado and the destinations of migrants explain some of the difference in the proportion of migrants going to a particular place whereas this does not appear to be so for Awo, Afao and Eyio. Immigrants on the other hand are more likely to come from nearby centres although again to be attracted from a wider area. With regard to movements for farm labouring, Ado farmers appear more likely to hire local labour and also themselves to work more locally. Schwab notes that increased economic specialisation and diversification enables individuals to enter into more flexible contractual relationships, and centres like Ibadan and Lagos have therefore a more flexible approach to the adoption of new norms and behaviour (Schwab, 1965). It follows that these centres may be able to absorb people from a wider area who have no previous links with the place. Also, those living close who wish to enter into a contractual relationship are able to do so without any consideration of any lineage or other primary group affiliation. For emigrants, the more differentiated centres like Ado provide a background which enables individuals to move freely.

The evidence suggests that there is no direct relationship between the percentage of people out at any one time and the amount of labour employed on the farms. For instance, Awo and Afao had similar proportions of their population living out at the time of interview but differed greatly in the number of farmers hiring labourers; Afao farmers were twice as likely to hire labour. Ado and Eyio were also similar in this respect but Ado farmers were more likely to hire labourers. Both Awo and Eyio farmers appear to be more likely to hire themselves out than to hire labour and may therefore be poorer farming communities. Families from Ado and Afao appear to

have more strangers on their family land, possibly indicating their greater economic viability. However, Afao and Ado differ in the organisation of the farming system and in this case Afao is least like Ado. Ado, Awo and Eyio farmers are similar in the distance they travel to find farm work and the area from which they hire labour; farmers from Afao appear the least likely to hire local labour or to hire themselves out locally.

Afao appears to be a centre worth considering further in order to understand more about the problems of migration on this scale. Heavy migration which is unselective may be a feature of a community which is undergoing rapid social change rather than a reflection of a community lacking economic opportunity. The tendency to hire labour with whom there can be no ties of lineage or other affiliation, and to hire oneself out in totally alien communities may be a means of avoiding conflict deriving from such rapid changes. Leighton and Lambo in their study of Yoruba villages attempted to establish a relationship between migration and stability in communities but were unable to do so because of conflicting evidence on the issue. (Leighton & Lambo, *et al.*, 1963). Further work on centres like Afao might be profitable in understanding more about the process of migration and the type of community it reflects.

TABLE I
Sample of 168 families

Sample	Population Centre	Ado	Awo	Afao	Eyio	Total Sample
Population 1963*		154,369	9,399	2,654	1,136	167,558
Enumeration Areas 1963*		222	14	3	15	256
Enumeration Areas Sampled 1965		15	4	3	2	24
Total Families Samples 1965**		75	25	35	33	168

* Census of Nigeria, 1963.*

** 'Family' includes family head, his wives, children and his siblings.

TABLE II
Migrants as a Proportion of Individuals of School age and over*

Centre	A	B	C	D	E
Ado	452 (589)	31.2 (30.2)	11.0 (13.4)	35.5 (44.4)	14.2
Awo	224 (261)	39.7 (37.2)	20.7 (20.6)	53.9 (55.7)	6.7
Afao	310 (390)	48.7 (44.3)	20.6 (20.7)	42.3 (46.8)	4.6
Eyio	133 (205)	27.8 (20.9)	9.7 (9.2)	35.1 (44.2)	10.8
Total Sample	1,119 (1,445)	37.4 (34.0)	15.6 (17.5)	41.9 (47.4)	8.9

* Figures in brackets include siblings.

Farmers who migrated solely for farm labouring are not included.

Key A: Total individuals of school age and over in 168 families.

B: Total migrants as a proportion of A.

C: Total migrants living outside the centres in 1965 as a proportion of A.

D: Total individuals living outside the centres in 1965 as a proportion of total migrant population.

E: Total immigrants as a proportion of total migrant population.

TABLE III
Urban Concentration of Movement
Percentage of Moves*

<i>Destination Urban Scale</i>	<i>Ado</i>	<i>Awo</i>	<i>Origin Afao</i>	<i>Eyio</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	15.6	13.3	1.3	5.3	8.6
2	19.4	23.1	17.1	7.1	18.3
3	16.9	31.4	46.0	28.6	32.4
4	8.0	7.0	6.7	—	6.7
5	9.7	5.6	6.7	3.6	7.2
6	7.2	14.0	4.0	39.3	9.7
7	12.7	0.7	12.8	10.7	10.2
8	4.6	—	0.7	1.8	1.9
Out of Nigeria	—	0.7	0.7	—	0.4
Index not calculated	5.9	4.2	4.0	3.6	4.6
Total percentage ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Movements made for farm labouring are not included.

TABLE IV
Purpose of Movements
Percentage of total moves*

<i>Centre</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Purpose Train</i>	<i>Work**</i>	<i>Other</i>
Ado	22.1	1.4	51.0	25.2
Awo	21.5	8.7	56.4	13.4
Afao	33.8	1.6	50.9	13.6
Eyio	24.4	19.7	42.6	13.1
Total Sample	26.8	4.1	51.4	17.6

* Movements made for farm labouring are not included.

** Includes unemployed.

TABLE V
Administrative Selectivity of emigrants
Percentage of total moves*

<i>Origin Destination</i>	<i>Ado</i>	<i>Awo</i>	<i>Afao</i>	<i>Eyio</i>	<i>Total</i>
Ado District Council	7.2	32.2	49.0	66.1	33.5
Ekiti Division	26.1	10.5	19.5	12.5	19.3
Ondo Province	25.7	8.4	12.4	5.3	15.4
Adjacent Provinces Western Region	8.9	9.8	5.0	7.1	7.4
Other Provinces Western Region ..	13.1	15.4	11.4	1.8	12.0
Lagos (Federal Territory)	13.9	13.3	1.3	3.6	7.9
Other Region	3.8	8.4	0.7	3.6	3.4
Other Country	—	0.6	0.7	—	0.4
Centre not traced	1.3	1.4	—	—	0.7

* Movements made for farm labouring are not included.

TABLE VI

Administrative origin of immigrants—Percentage of immigrants*

<i>Origin</i>	<i>Ado</i>	<i>Awo</i>	<i>Destination Afao</i>	<i>Eyio</i>	<i>Total</i>
Ado District Council	29.6	11.1	21.0	75.0	25.9
Ekiti Division	15.9	61.1	57.9	—	34.1
Ondo Province	13.6	27.8	15.8	—	16.5
Adjacent Provinces Western Region	13.6	—	5.3	—	8.2
Other Provinces Western Region	11.4	—	—	—	5.9
Lagos	4.5	—	—	—	2.3
Other Regions in Nigeria	9.1	—	—	—	4.7
Centre not traced	2.3	—	—	25.0	2.4
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Immigrants include individuals not born in Ado, Awo, Afao and Eyio but living there in 1965.

TABLE VII

Population centres within administrative areas attracting most migrants*

<i>Destination</i>	<i>Ado</i>	<i>Awo</i>	<i>Afao</i>	<i>Eyio</i>
Ado District Council	Igbeno 7	Ado 3	Ado 3	Iyin 6
Ekiti Division	Ikerre 3	Ilawe 6	Ikerre 3	Ijan 7
Ondo Province	Akure 3	Ondo 2	Akure 3	Akure 3
Adjacent Provinces	Ede 3	Ife 2	Ife Oshogbo 2	Ilesha 2
Western Region	Ibadan 2	Ibadan 2	Ibandan 2	Abeokuta 1
Other Regions in Nigeria	Kaduna 2	Ilorin**	Ilorin**	Minna** Sokoto**

*Numbers indicate urban index of the centre.

**Urban indices not calculated.

TABLE VIII

Factors determining choice of destination—Number of respondents*

	<i>Family</i>	<i>Friends</i>	<i>Friendly</i>	<i>Posted by Employer</i>	<i>Work Opportunity</i>	<i>Farm Land</i>	<i>Total Respondents</i>
Ado	6	4	6	4	3	—	25
Awo	4	3	—	—	—	4	14
Afao	5	1	3	5	—	2	16
Total Sample	15	8	9	9	3	6	55

*Respondents were heads of 55 immigrant families living in the sampled enumeration areas but not included in the original sample.

TABLE IX

Choice of work place for farmers working as farm labourers—Percentage of farmers^a

Centre	% farmers worked in home centre only	% farmers worked outside only	% farmers worked at home and outside
Ado	51.0	29.8	19.2
Awo	—	94.1	5.9
Afao	—	96.0	4.0
Eyio	19.0	66.7	14.3
Total Sample ..	25.4	61.9	12.7

^a153 Family heads only.

TABLE X

Administrative selectivity of emigrant farm labourers
Percentage of total farm labouring moves^a

Origin Destination	Ado	Awo	Afao	Eyio	Total
Ado District Council	11.4	—	12.9	17.2	11.7
Ekiti Division	40.9	18.2	8.6	5.7	17.6
Ondo Province	20.5	22.7	4.3	25.7	15.2
Adjacent Province Western Region ..	13.6	36.4	17.1	40.0	23.4
Other Provinces Western Region ..	9.1	13.6	57.1	11.4	29.8
Not traced	4.5	9.1	—	—	2.3
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100

^a Family Heads only.

TABLE XI

Employment of local and non-local labourers
Percentage of farmers employing

Centre	Ado	Awo	Afao	Eyio	Total
% employing local labour only	42.6	40.0	—	42.8	31.1
% employing non-local labour only ..	11.1	30.0	75.0	28.6	32.1
% employing both local and non-local labour	46.3	30.0	25.0	28.6	36.8
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE XII
Origin of Farm Labourers Employed in 1964
Number of Labourers

<i>Labourers Centre</i>	<i>Non-local labourers</i>	<i>Local labourers</i>	<i>Total labourers</i>
Ado	124	167	291
Awo	20	19	39
Afao	197	14	211
Eyio	24	16	40
Total Sample	365	216	581

TABLE XIII
Number of Family Lands with Stranger Farmers*

<i>Centre</i>	<i>Farmers indicating strangers on family land</i>	<i>Farmers with strangers from Ado/Awo/Afao</i>	<i>Farmers with strangers outside Ado/Awo/Afao</i>
Ado	31	6	25
Awo	2	—	2
Afao	20	—	20
Total	53	6	47

* 'Strangers' here refer to non-family members.

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FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Throughout this paper reference is made to the Administrative areas as they were in 1965
- ² See Census of Nigeria, 1931, 1952, 1963. Government Printer, Nigeria.
- ³ It has also been suggested that a rural-urban continuum does not exist since aspects of both types of community can be found in the same population centre. (Pahl, 1966) However, urbanity implies a more differentiated community both socially and economically, and the increased importance of secondary, contractual relationships. It does not imply that relationships of primary nature are no longer important or no longer existent. (Schwab, 1965)